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BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

BY

FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D.,
LEIPZIG.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION.

With an Introduction

BY

PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, D.D., OXFORD.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.
1892.

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OXFORDER MEISTERN ALTTESTAMENTLICHER FORSCHUNG

T. K. CHEYNE UND S. R. DRIVER

ALS DANK FÜR BEWÄHRTE LIEB' UND TREUE

GEWIDMET.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS fourth edition of my *Commentary on Isaiah* contains the fruit of continued labour since the appearance of the third in 1875, and, after the latter was out of print, a thorough revisal of the whole has been made in preparation for a fourth appearance.

To the commentary in the form it has hitherto presented, the objection has been made that it contained too much etymological matter and too many curious details far removed from the proper object of an exegetical work. The complaint was not without foundation, and I have taken care that it cannot be raised against the commentary in its present form, especially since, apart from this consideration, I had thought to make the greatest possible curtailment, and my taste is opposed to unnecessary repetitions. In former editions of my commentaries, however, I always leave so much that is peculiar to each, that they do not quite become antiquated by later ones.

The illustrative essays contributed by my friends Fleischer (d. Feb. 10, 1888), Wetzstein, and Von Strauss-Torney are to be found in the second and third editions; those who consider these contributions of importance may still have access to them, at least in libraries.[1] The excursus by Wetzstein on the Gable mountain-range in Batanea (Ps.

[1] These papers are those of Victor v. Strauss-Torney, "Can סִינִים, in Isa. xlix. 12, be the Chinese?" and of Wetzstein, in the second edition, "On Isaiah, chap. xxi.;" "On the Nabl (נֶבֶל) and kindred stringed instruments, chap. v. 12;" "On כַּסּוּחָה, chap. v. 25;" "On כֻּסֶּמֶת and كُرْسَنَّة, and matters of agricultural botany generally, chap. xxviii. 25;"

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lxviii. 16), which was published separately in 1884 as a supplement to the fourth edition of my *Commentary on the Psalms* (1883), but which has not yet been appreciated as it deserves, was the last conjoint production which I could obtain from him.

In the correction of typographical errors appearing in this edition of my *Commentary on Isaiah*, I have been somewhat fortunate; perhaps I may venture to hope that it will be found as correct as could possibly be expected. And yet even this book, after it is finished, will sooner or later, in my eyes, shrink into a very imperfect and insignificant production; of one thing only do I think I may be confident, that the spirit by which it is animated comes from the good Spirit that guides along the everlasting way.

F. D.

LEIPZIG, *August* 7, 1889.

"On מזרה and רחת, chap. xxx. 24." There are also, in the third edition, papers, "On הדה in Isa. xi. 8, and יהודה in Josh. xix. 34;" "On סלע in Isa. xvi. 1, xlii. 11, and בצרה in xxxiv. 6 and lxiii. 1." The contents of these essays are much more varied than the titles lead one to expect.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

THE translation of chaps. i. to iv., and from page 436 to end of this volume, is by the Rev. JAMES KENNEDY, B.D., New College, Edinburgh. The Rev. WILLIAM HASTIE, B.D., and the Rev. THOMAS A. BICKERTON, B.D. (Examiners in Theology, Edinburgh University), have translated chaps. v. to xx. and chap. xxi. to page 435 respectively.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

By Professor S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Oxford.[1]

The death of Professor Franz Delitzsch, which took place on March 4, 1890, deprived Christian scholarship of one of its most highly gifted and influential representatives. Though known probably to the majority of English students only by his commentaries upon parts of the Old Testament, these writings represent, in fact, but a part of the literary activity of his life, and, except to those who can read between the lines, fail entirely to suggest the wide and varied practical interests to which his energies were largely dedicated. The outward story of his life may be told briefly. He was born at Leipzig, February 23, 1813; and, having graduated at the University of his native city in 1835, he became Professor at Rostock in 1846, at Erlangen in 1850, and at Leipzig in 1867, the last-named Professorship being retained by him till his death. From his early student days he devoted himself to the subject of theology, and laid the foundation of his knowledge of Hebrew literature (including especially its post-Biblical development in the Talmud and cognate writings), as well as of Semitic philology generally, under the guidance of Julius Fürst, editor of the well-known *Concordance* (1840), and H. L. Fleischer, who was destined in future years to become the acknowledged master of all European Arabic scholars. What may be termed the two leading motives of his life, the desire, viz., to make the Old Testament better known to Christians, and the New Testament to Jews, were first kindled in him by the apparent accident of his meeting in these early years two agents of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. His earliest publi-

[1] Reprinted from *The Expository Times*, June 1890.

cations, which appeared during the time that he was *Privatdocent* at Leipzig, were, however, philological or historical. The first of all was a learned and interesting work on the history of post-Biblical Jewish poetry, *Zur Geschichte Jüdischer Poesie*, 1836, followed, in 1838, by *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum, Schilderungen und Kritiken*, and *Jesurun, seu Isagoge in grammaticam et lexicographiam linguae Hebraeae*, in which, following his teacher, Fürst, he developed etymological principles which were far from sound, and which afterwards, at least in great measure, he abandoned. In 1841 he edited a volume of *Anekdota* in illustration of the history of mediaeval scholasticism among Jews and Moslems. The next work which deserves to be mentioned is of a different kind—a devotional manual bearing the title of *Das Sacrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi*, which attained great popularity in the Lutheran Church, and has passed through several editions (the seventh in 1886). In 1842 there appeared a Dissertation on the life and age of Habakkuk, which was followed in 1843 by the first of his exegetical works, consisting of an elaborate philological commentary on the same prophet—part of a series of commentaries which was projected by him at this time in conjunction with his friend, C. P. Caspari, but of which the only other volume that was completed was the one on Obadiah (by Caspari). A treatise on *Die Biblischprophetische Theologie*, published in 1845, closes the list of works belonging to the years during which he was *Privatdocent* at Leipzig.

Not much of importance was published by Delitzsch during the Rostock period (1846–50); he was probably at this time engaged in preparing lectures, and also in amassing that store of materials which was to be utilized more fully in future years. The seventeen years of his Erlangen Professorship were more prolific. 1851 saw *Das Hohelied untersucht und ausgelegt;* 1852, the first edition of his *Genesis*—interesting from the fact that he already clearly recognised the composite structure of the book; 1855, his *System of Biblical Psychology*, remarkable for original but difficult thought and subtle speculations; 1857, a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, to which Bishop Westcott, in his recent edition of the same epistle, acknowledges gratefully his obligations; 1859–60, the

first edition of a *Commentary on the Psalms;* 1861–62, a monograph, entitled, *Handschriftliche Funde* (notices of the textual criticism of the Apocalypse, and an account of the re-discovery by himself of the famous *Codex Reuchlini*,—a MS. of A.D. 1105 containing the Hebrew Text, with Targum, of the prophets,—which had been used by Erasmus, but had since been lost); 1864 and 1866, the first editions of his *Commentaries on Job* and *Isaiah* respectively (in the series edited by himself and C. F. Keil conjointly). The Erlangen period was closed by a second edition of the *Psalms* (1867—incorporated now in the series edited with Keil), and the two instructive descriptive sketches of life in the time of Christ, entitled, *Jesus and Hillel* (directed against Renan and the eminent Jewish writer Abraham Geiger), and *Artizan Life in the time of Jesus.*

The literary activity of the last period of his life, the twenty-three years passed by him in his Professorship at Leipzig, shows even greater versatility than that of his earlier years. His inaugural lecture is a study on *Physiology and Music in their relation to Grammar, especially Hebrew Grammar.* The studies on the age of Christ, just mentioned, were followed before long by others of a similar nature, viz. *A Day in Capernaum* (graphically written and learned), *Sehet welch ein Mensch!* and *José and Benjamin, a tale of Jerusalem in the time of the Herods.* In 1869 he published his *System der Christlichen Apologetik,* in 1873 and 1875 Commentaries, likewise in the series edited with Keil, on Proverbs, and on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, respectively. In 1871, 1878, and 1886 there appeared three monographs, full of minute and interesting researches, entitled, *Studies on the Origin of the Complutensian Polyglott;* in 1874, in honour of his former teacher and present colleague, Fleischer, *Jüdisch-Arabische Poesien aus Vormuhammedischer Zeit; Ein Specimen aus Fleischer's Schule als Beitrag zur Feier seines silbernen Jubiläums;* in 1885 a short Biblical study, *Der Messias als Versöhner;* in 1889 another, *Sind die Juden wirklich das auserwählte Volk?* The publication of Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* in 1878 stirred him deeply: he was alternately pained by the boldness with which it treated sacred things and impressed by its brilliancy and the frequent cogency of its argument.

The immediate result was the series of twelve papers, called *Pentateuch-kritische Studien* in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben* for 1880. In these papers Delitzsch discusses critically certain prominent questions (such as the laws respecting the Passover, the Tabernacle, Deuteronomy, the "Law of Holiness") on which Wellhausen's conception of the history of Israel turns, and, while frequently repudiating particular points in Wellhausen's argument, recognises in his conclusions a large element of truth. Six other papers on cognate topics followed in the same periodical in 1882. About this time also two courses of his lectures were published in English from notes taken by one of his pupils—*Messianic Prophecies* and *The Old Testament History of Redemption* (1880, 1881). Meanwhile he had been busy in the preparation of new and improved editions of many of his commentaries. Thus the fourth edition of his *Genesis* appeared in 1872, the fifth, incorporating the results to which his recent critical stndies had led him, under the title *Ein neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, in 1887; *Job* reached a second edition in 1876, the *Psalms* a fourth edition in 1883, *Isaiah* a fourth edition in 1889. In 1888 a number of discourses and articles were reprinted by him in a volume called *Iris; Farbenstudien und Blumenstücke;* here he gives freer scope than usual to his imagination, and treats a variety of topics half playfully, half in earnest, with inimitable ease and grace. Professor Delitzsch's last work was *Messianische Weissagungen in Geschichtlicher Folge*, the preface to which is dated only six days before his death. In this volume, which contains his lectures on Messianic prophecy in the form in which they were last delivered by him in 1887, his aim, he tells us, was to state the results of his lifelong study—"eine Spätlingsgarbe aus alter und neuer Frucht"—in a clear, compendious form, as a last bequest to those engaged in missionary work.

One department of Delitzsch's literary labours remains still to be noticed. As remarked above, it was a guiding aim of his life to make the New Testament better known to Jews. This first bore fruit in the missionary periodical called *Saat auf Hoffnung*,—"Seed in hope,"—which was edited by himself from 1863, and to which he was a frequent contributor.

In 1870 it assumed a still more practical shape in an edition of the Epistle to the Romans in Hebrew, accompanied by a most interesting introduction, containing an account and criticism of existing translations of the New Testament into Hebrew, and valuable illustrations of the thought and phraseology of the apostle from Rabbinical sources. He did not, however, rest here. A series of *Talmudische Studien*, chiefly on linguistic points connected with the New Testament, which ultimately extended to seventeen papers, had already been begun by him in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche* (1854–77);[1] and in 1876–88 these were followed in the same periodical by another series of papers, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, supplementary to Lightfoot and Schoettgen, on the Hebrew equivalents of various New Testament expressions. These were, no doubt, "chips" from the great work on which he was at this time busily engaged; for the desire of his heart, a new Hebrew version of the entire New Testament, was now on the point of being realized, the British and Foreign Bible Society having entrusted him with the revision of the version published by them. This revision was completed in 1877. The improvements which it contained were very numerous; nevertheless, it was capable of more; and these, due partly to himself, partly derived from the criticisms and suggestions of other scholars (which Delitzsch always generously welcomed), were incorporated by him in the editions which followed (the 9th, in 1889). It was in consequence of some suggestions tendered by him for this purpose that the present writer first made the acquaintance of Professor Delitzsch, and began a literary correspondence with him, which was continued at intervals to the period of his last illness. An interesting account of Professor Delitzsch's labours in connection with this subject has been written by himself in English in a pamphlet called *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Leipzig 1883). In its successive editions Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament has enjoyed a very large circulation, partly among Christian scholars, on account of the exegetical interest attaching to it, and partly among Jews, for many of

[1] See the subjects and dates in *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, p. 35 f.

whom the primary documents of Christianity, set forth in their own language, have been found to possess a peculiar attractiveness. During the later years of his life, Delitzsch spent much time in the successive revisions of this work, and was unwearying in the effort to make it correspond more completely with the ideal which he had set himself.[1] At the time of his death he had nearly completed his preparations for a tenth edition, which was to include such extensive improvements as to entitle it to be termed, in a certain sense, a "new" translation.[2] The translation, even in the editions which have already appeared, shows great scholarship and accuracy, and every page evinces the care that has been bestowed upon it.

Such is the record, though even so not told quite fully,[3] of Professor Delitzsch's wonderfully busy literary life. It can afford no cause for surprise that one who knew him well, and who found him working whilst lying propped up in bed during his last illness, should have remarked that he had never known a man who made uniformly such a careful use of his time. His nature was a richly-gifted one; and he had learnt early how to apply to the best advantage the talents entrusted to his charge. And yet he was no mere student of books. He had a singularly warm and sympathetic disposition; he was in the habit of meeting his pupils informally

[1] See, most recently, his short papers in the *Expositor* for February, April, and October 1889; twelve others, written by him during his last illness, and published in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1889, Nos. 45–52, 1890, Nos. 1 and 2; and *Saat auf Hoffnung*, February 1890, pp. 71–74. The first of those in the *Expositor* is of importance as evidence of the friendly spirit in which Delitzsch and Salkinson, the author of another modern Hebrew version of the New Testament, which has sometimes been placed in rivalry with Delitzsch's, regarded personally each other's work. On the characteristics of these two Hebrew New Testaments, the writer may be permitted to refer to an article by himself in the *Expositor* for April 1886 (though it should be stated that some of the grammatical faults there pointed out in Salkinson's translation have since been corrected).

[2] See *Saat auf Hoffnung*, February 1890, pp. 67–70, 74.

[3] For some minor writings, as well as several other articles in periodicals, and his contributions to Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* (Daniel, Heiligkeit Gottes, Hiob, etc.; see the list in vol. xviii. p. 725 of the second edition), have, of necessity, been left unnoticed.

in both social and religious gatherings; and he loved to make, and succeeded in making, many friends. His personality was an impressive one, and exerted a wonderful charm upon all who came within reach of its influence. He loved England; and there are many both in this country and in America who still retain the vivid memory of kindnesses received from him in past years, while they were students at Leipzig, and who have heard with sorrow the tidings of his death. The present writer never had the privilege of meeting him personally, but he has received from him many most genial and friendly letters, besides experiencing in other ways tokens of his regard. The depth and reality of his convictions are attested by many passages of his writings. His personal religion was devout and sincere. Mission work, especially among the Jews, interested him warmly; he was much attracted by the movement among the Jews of South Russia in the direction of Christianity, headed by Joseph Rabinowitzsch, and published several *brochures* illustrating its principles and tendencies. Of his pamphlet, *Ernste Fragen an die Gebildeten jüdischer Religion*, more than 4000 copies were disposed of in three months. The anti-Semitic agitation which broke out in Germany a few years ago deeply vexed him; the injustice of the charges and insinuations brought against the Jews by a Roman Catholic writer in 1881 he exposed in a pamphlet, entitled, *Rohling's Talmudjude beleuchtet*, which was followed by other publications having a similar aim.

As a thinker and author, though he is apt to be less successful in his treatment of abstract questions, and sometimes does not sufficiently hold his imagination in check, Delitzsch is forcible, original, and suggestive. His literary style is altogether superior to what those who know it only through the medium of translations would suppose to be the case. His commentaries and critical writings are distinguished not less on account of the warm religious feeling which breathes in them than for the exact and comprehensive scholarship which they display. Thoroughness is the mark of all his works. His commentaries, from their exegetical completeness, take rank with the best that Germany has produced. He brings out of his abundantly furnished treasury things new and old. Among Christian scholars his knowledge of

Jewish literature was unsurpassed. Jewish views—though these, it is true, are often only of interest as curiosities—are noticed in his commentaries more fully than in those of any other modern scholar. In difficult and controverted passages, the interpretations adopted by different authorities, from the earliest times, are compactly stated. The successive editions of his commentaries invariably bear witness to the minute and conscientious labour bestowed upon them. It is not the least valuable of their characteristics that they incorporate, or contain references to, the latest notices or researches which have any important bearing upon the text. History, philology, criticism, travel, archaeology, are equally laid under contribution by the keen-eyed author. One never turns to any of his commentaries without finding in it the best information available at the time when it was written. His exegesis, if occasionally tinged with mysticism, is, as a rule, thoroughly sound and trustworthy, attention being paid both to the meaning and construction of individual words, and also to the connection of thought in a passage as a whole. The least satisfactory of his commentaries is that on the *Song of Songs*, the view taken by him of the poem as a whole obliging him in many cases to adopt strained interpretations of the text. Delitzsch appreciated scholarly feeling and insight in others, and acknowledges gracefully (in the Preface to the second edition of *Job*) his indebtedness to the exegetical acumen of that master of modern Hebraists, Ferdinand Hitzig. In the matter of etymologies, however, Delitzsch never entirely disowned the principles which he had imbibed from Fürst; and hence, even to the last, he sometimes advocated derivations and connections between words, which are dependent upon questionable philological theories, and cannot safely be accepted.

Critically, Delitzsch was open-minded; and with praiseworthy love of truth, when the facts were brought home to him, did not shrink from frankly admitting them, and modifying, as circumstances required, the theories by which he had previously been satisfied. As was remarked above, he had accepted from the beginning, at least in its main features, the critical analysis of Genesis; and in the earlier editions of his *Commentary on Isaiah* he had avowed that not all the arguments used by rationalists were themselves rationalistic. But

as late as 1872 he still taught that the Pentateuch, as we have it, was virtually a product of the Mosaic age. A closer study of the subject, however, which he was led to undertake by the appearance of Wellhausen's *History*, convinced him that this view was not tenable; and in the papers noticed above, written by him in 1880–1882 (the substance of which is stated in a condensed form in the Introduction to his *New Commentary on Genesis*), he embraced the critical view of the structure of the entire Hexateuch, treating Deuteronomy as being, in form, the work of a prophet of the age of Hezekiah, and allowing that the ceremonial law was not probably cast into its present shape until a later date still. While accepting these conclusions, however, he holds rightly that each of the main Pentateuchal codes embodies elements of much greater antiquity than itself, and rests ultimately upon a genuine Mosaic basis. The importance of this change of position on Delitzsch's part is twofold: it is, firstly, a significant indication of the cogency of the grounds upon which the critical view of the structure of the Old Testament rests; and, secondly, it is evidence of what some have been disposed to doubt, viz. that critical conclusions, properly limited and qualified, are perfectly consistent with a firm and sincere belief in the reality of the revelation contained in the Old Testament. In the matter of the authorship of the Psalms, though there are signs in his last edition that he no longer upheld so strenuously as before the authority of the titles, he did not make the concessions to criticism which might perhaps have been expected of him. In the case of the Book of Isaiah, the edition of 1889—which, by what was felt by both to be a high compliment, was dedicated conjointly to Professor Cheyne and the writer of this notice—is accommodated throughout to the view of the origin and structure of the book generally accepted by modern scholars.

Such is a sketch, only too inadequate and imperfect, of Franz Delitzsch's life and work. He has left a noble example of talents consecrated to the highest ends. May his devotion to learning, his keenness in the pursuit of truth, his earnestness of purpose, his warm and reverent Christian spirit, find many imitators!

S. R. DRIVER.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PROPHETICO-PREDICTIVE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the Canon of the Old Testament the prophetico-historical are followed by the prophetico-predictive books. Both together, under the name of נְבִיאִים, form the middle of the three divisions in the collection,—the first, in accordance with their position, being designated the "Former Prophets" (הַנְּבִיאִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים), while the second are named the "Later Prophets" (הַנְּבִיאִים הָאַחֲרוֹנִים). In the Masora this middle division is sometimes called אַשְׁלָמְתָּא, "tradition,"[1] because the Torah is regarded as the fundamental revelation of God, and post-Mosaic prophecy as tradition (קַבָּלָה, for which the Aramaic is אַשְׁלָמְתָּא, from אַשְׁלֵם, *tradere*) flowing from this original source in a continuous stream; the Former Prophets are then, under the title of אַשְׁלָמְתָּא קַדְמֵיתָא, distinguished from the Later Prophets, which are called אַשְׁלָמְתָּא תִנְיָנָא.

It is true that the Torah also is a prophetical work, and is cited as such in Ezra ix. 11; for Moses, the mediator of the revelation of law, is, as such, the prophet to whom no other was like, Deut. xxxiv. 10; but it was not becoming that the Pentateuch, which is separated from the Book of Joshua under the name of (ספר) התורה, should be included in the division of the Canon which is designated "the Prophets;" it is certainly the unique record of the fundamental revelation which has ever conditioned the existence and life of Israel as the nation pre-eminently associated with the history of re-

[1] Regarding this Masoretic title, see Johannes Delitzsch, *De Inspiratione Scripturae Sacrae*, 1872, p. 7 f.

demption, and from which, moreover, all prophecy in Israel has been derived. And this holds true, not merely of prophecy, but of all later writings. Not only the prophetic style of writing history, but also the non-prophetic,—*i.e.* the priestly, the political, the popular styles,—has its model in this Torah. The former follows the Jehovistico-Deuteronomic type, the latter the Elohistic.[1]

The opinion that the historical works found among the Hagiographa were placed there merely because of their later origin, but should properly have been ranged among the "Former Prophets,"[2] rests on a misconception concerning this variety in the style of writing history. Ezra,—whom we have good ground for regarding as the author of the great "Book

[1] With reference to the Pentateuchal criticism, we purposely remark here, in a conspicuous position, that the acknowledged Isaianic discourses present parallels to all the constituent portions of the Pentateuch. (1) The Jehovist: כליל התקדש חג, xxx. 29, cf. פסוח, xxxi. 5 ~ Ex. xii. 13, 23, 27 (only here in Jehovistic context is the name of the festival referred to the verb פסח); מצבה . . . ליהוה, xix. 19 ~ Gen. xxviii. 18, 22, xxxi. 13 (as, inasmuch as the law forbids the erection of a מצבה, not only as a means of heathen worship, Lev. xxvi. 1, but also absolutely, Deut. xvi. 22, the view which the prophet reveals appears to be shaped by a reference to the מצבה of Jacob at Bethel).—(2) The Law of the Two Tables: לֵרָאוֹת פני i. 12 ~ לֵרָאוֹת את־פני, Ex. xxxiv. 24 (also Deut. xxxi. 11).—(3) Deuteronomy, i. 2 ~ the beginning of the Song האזינו, Deut. xxxii. 1.—(4) Deuteronomy together with the Law of Holiness: i. 7, ארצכם שממה ~ Lev. xxvi. 33, עריכם שרפות אש; והיתה ארצכם שממה ~ Lev. xxvi. 31, 33, ועריכם יהיו חרבה; אדמתכם לנגדכם זרים אכלים אתה ~ Deut. xxviii. 33 (cf. 51; Lev. xxvi. 16); ושממה כמהפכת זרים ~ Deut. xxix. 22, כמהפכת סדם ועמרה (cf. the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in ver. 10 ff.). Add also xxxvi. 7, according to which Hezekiah abolished the high places, and centralized the worship in the Temple of Jerusalem: the restriction of worship to one place, accordingly, does not date from Josiah's time.—(5) The Elohist: iv. 5, וברא יהוה ~ Gen. i. 1 (though I would not adduce this parallel, if Wellhausen did not pronounce ברא to be the late production of theological abstraction, and the passage in Isaiah corrupt); i. 14, חדשיכם ~ Num. x. 10, xxviii. 11; מקרא, i. 13 (which occurs with the Elohist and elsewhere also, but not with the Jehovist), and עצרה in the same verse ~ עצרת, Num. xxix. 35 (and elsewhere also, but not with the Jehovist); קטרת in the same verse ~ Lev. ii. 2, ix. 16, v. 12, vi. 8, והקטיר הכהן (viz. the אזכרה). And is not the altar in heaven, vi. 6, the antitype of the מזבח הקטרת in Ex. xxx. 27, etc.?

[2] This view has been maintained, *e.g.*, by B. Anger, *Geschichte der messianischen Idee* (edited by Max Krenkel, 1873), p. 9.

of Kings" to which the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxiv. 27) refers under the title מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים, a collection bearing on the history of Israel, to which he had appended, as the concluding portion, the history of the time of the Restoration,—is nowhere called a "prophet" (נָבִיא), and, in fact, he was not one. The Chronicler also—who, besides the Books of Samuel and of Kings, both of which have been arbitrarily divided into two parts, had also before him that work of Ezra as his main source of authority, and thence produced the historical compendium lying before us, the conclusion of which was made up of the memorabilia of Ezra (now, however, in separate form as the Book of Ezra)—makes no claim to be a prophet. Nehemiah, too,—from whose memorabilia our Book of Nehemiah is an extract, arranged in the same fashion as the Book of Ezra,—was not a prophet, but a Tirshatha, *i.e.* a provincial governor under the king of Persia. The Book of Esther, however, through its relegation of the religious element to the background, is as far as possible removed from the prophetic style of writing history; from the latter, indeed, it differs as characteristically as the Feast of Purim, the Jewish Carnival, differs from the Passover, the Israelitish Christmas. But it must seem strange that the Book of Ruth stands among the Hagiographa. This little work so closely resembles in character the closing portion of the Book of Judges (chaps. xvii.–xxi.) that it might have been placed between Judges and Samuel, and probably did actually stand there originally; only for liturgical reasons has it been placed beside the so-called five Megilloth (festival rolls), which succeed one another in accordance with the festival calendar of the ecclesiastical year; for the Book of Canticles forms the lesson read on the eighth day of the Feast of Passover, Ruth is read on the second day of the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), Kinoth (Lamentations) on the ninth of the month Abib, Koheleth (Ecclesiastes) on the third day of the Feast of Tabernacles, while Esther is read in the Feast of Purim, which falls in the middle of Adar.

This is also the simplest answer to the question why the Lamentations of Jeremiah are not appended to the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies. The Psalms, however,—though David may be called a prophet (Acts ii. 30), and Asaph is named "the seer" (הַחֹזֶה),—stand first among the Hagio-

grapha, inasmuch as they do not belong to the literature of prophecy (נבואה), but of that of sacred lyric poetry (שיר יהוה). Their prophetic contents are entirely lyric in their origin, whereas the lyric contents of the Lamentations throughout presuppose the official position and public announcements of Jeremiah as a prophet. Among the canonical books of the prophets (נביאים) are found only the writings of those who, in virtue of special gifts and calling, were commissioned publicly—whether by word of mouth or by writing—to proclaim the word of God; and this they did freely, not being fettered, like the priests, by legal forms. For, though the name נָבִיא denotes one who announces, publishes, proclaims, *i.e.* (as we must further conceive of him) one who speaks as the organ (פה, "mouth," Ex. iv. 15 f.; Jer. xv. 19) of God; and though the earliest application of the term (see Gen. xx. 7; cf. xviii. 17–19; Ps. cv. 15), which is revived in the writings of the Chronicler, is far wider than the later; yet here, in designating the middle division of the Canon of the Old Testament, the word is certainly not so restricted as in Amos vii. 14, where it indicates one who, having gone through a school of the prophets, or at least having been educated through intercourse with prophets, had wholly devoted himself through life to prophetic teaching. It has, however, a specific sense that has been incorporated into the organism of the theocratic life: here it is the designation of one who comes forward, on the basis of a divine vocation and divine revelations, as a public teacher, and who thus professes not merely the gift of prediction, but also by preaching and writing exercises the office of a prophet,—an office which, at least on Ephraimitish soil, had further received a distinct and characteristic impress through the institution of the schools of the prophets. This explains the fact that the Book of Daniel could not find a place among the נביאים. For Daniel was not a prophet in this sense: he received and became the medium of divine revelations, but he was not a divinely commissioned public teacher like Nathan and Gad, Ezekiel and Zechariah. As remarked by Julius Africanus (in his letter to Origen concerning Susanna), not only did the way and manner in which the divine disclosures were made to him differ from the *ἐπίπνοια προφητική*, but he did not hold the office of a prophet, so that

the Talmud (*Megilla* 3*a*), speaking of the post-exile prophets in relation to him, says, "They stood above him, for they were prophets, but he was not a prophet" (אינהו עדיפי מיניה דאינהו נביאי ואיהו לא נביא).

It is thus because of a fundamental distinction between literary productions of a prophetic character properly so called, and those which are not prophetic in the same strict sense,—a distinction that holds alike in the domain of history and in that of prediction,—that all the books of historical and predictive content, which stand among the Hagiographa (כתובים, which the grandson of Sirach renders by the expressions *τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία* and *τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*), have been excluded from the middle division of the Old Testament Canon entitled נביאים. Distinction was made between the historical books from Joshua to Kings, and the predictive books from Isaiah to Malachi, as works of men who exercised the prophetical office, and thus as works of a prophetic character; and such books, on the other hand, as Chronicles and Daniel, which, though recognised as having been written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, were not written on the occasion of a call to make prophetic announcements through speech and writing, and did not thus originate from true prophetic inspiration. The two different styles of writing history are also really unmistakable. Each of them has its own peculiar history. The non-prophetic—considering its history and remains—we would call the national or annalistic. It is evidently quite possible that a prophetic historical work like the Books of Kings and an annalistic work like the Books of Chronicles, may have borrowed certain elements from the other historical style; but when once the distinguishing features of the two styles have been discerned, those elements which are foreign to the peculiar nature of each work, and which have merely been utilized for carrying out its design, nearly always admit of being made out with certainty.

The oldest type of non-prophetical historic composition is found in the priestly-Elohistic style of writing in the Pentateuch, as distinguished from the Jehovistic-Deuteronomic style. These two styles are continued in the Book of Joshua, and this, too, in such a way that, generally speaking, the latter appears in those portions which narrate the history of the

conquest, while the former occurs in those sections which describe the division and apportionment of the land. The Book of Judges, at the very beginning, which holds up the history of the judges as a mirror in which one may see and learn of God's dealing in salvation, bears the impress of a prophetic historical production; while the concluding portion, like the Book of Ruth, deals with Bethlehemitish stories, which point to the Davidic kingdom, the promised kingdom which formed the centre of prophecy. And though the main portion of the book is founded upon oral and even written forms of the stories regarding the judges, there are also introduced extracts from a more complete work, in which the prophetic pencil of a man like Samuel had combined into an organic whole the accounts of the judges, not merely down to the times of Samson, but even to the complete overthrow of the Philistine oppression. That the Books of Samuel are a prophetico-historical work is expressly attested by the Chronicler in a passage which refers to the main body of these books; in those pieces, however, which record the encounters with the four Philistine children of the giants, 2 Sam. xxi. 15 ff. (= 1 Chron. xx. 4 ff.), and those which tell of David's heroes (גִּבֹּרִים) who stood nearest to him, 1 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff. (= 1 Chron. xi. 11 ff.), they contain at least two remnants of national or popular historical composition, which delights in the repetition of the same words at the beginning and the end, after the manner of a refrain, and touches on the domain of an epic or national ode, reminding us, as Eisenlohr has fitly said, of the legend of Roland and Artus, and the Spanish Cid. More of such remains are found in the Chronicles, as the list of those who joined David during the time of persecution by Saul, 1 Chron. xii. 1–22, beginning with the words: "*Now these are they who came to David at Ziklag, while he was still hard pressed by Saul the son of Kish; and they belong to the heroes who are ready to help in war, armed with bows, with the right hand and the left using stones and arrows by means of the bow.*" Some of these pieces may have fallen into the hands of the later historians separately, and may have been incorporated without any change; but, so far as they are tabulated, the Chronicler leaves us in no doubt regarding their main source. After giving a census of the Levites from the age of thirty

years and upwards, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 2–24*a*, he adds in ver. 24*b* and other verses following, in a sketchy manner, that David, considering afterwards that the heavy work of former days had now ceased, reduced to twenty the age at which service should begin; for "*in the last words of David* (דִּבְרֵי דָוִיד הָאַחֲרוֹנִים) *the descendants of Levi are numbered from the age of twenty.*" He here refers to the last part of the history of David's life in the "book of the Kings of Israel" (סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) which lay before him; and we learn from 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, regarding the other work from which such lists had been transferred into this his leading source. There, after giving the list of the princes of Israel, he remarks concerning a general census that David had intended to make, "*Joab, the son of Zeruiah, began to count, but he did not finish; and there arose because of this an outburst of wrath upon Israel, and this numbering was not put into the numbering* (במספר, but read בספר, '*into the book*') *of the Chronicles* (דברי הימים) *of David.*" Hence the Annals or Chronicles of David contained such tables, which bore the character of national historic writing; and from these Annals they were transferred into the large Book of Kings lying before the Chronicler.

These official annals began with David. The kingship of Saul rose into little more than a military supremacy; and the kingdom, as reunited under him, did not develop beyond the first stages of a military constitution. Under David, however, king and people entered into a mutual relationship of the most extensive kind, and the thorough organization of the kingdom was necessarily followed by the multiplication of public servants of various kinds and degrees. We see David, as supreme head of the kingdom in all respects, even in matters of religion, acting on his official supremacy; and we meet with several entirely new offices instituted by him. Among these was the post of the מַזְכִּיר, *i.e.* "recorder," or, as the LXX. often designatively renders the word, ὑπομνηματόγραφος, or (as in 2 Sam. viii. 16) ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων (Jerome, in genuine Roman fashion, "a commentariis"). The Targums similarly render מְמַנָא עַל־דָּכְרָנַיָּא, "the officer over the memorabilia" (= על ספר דכרניא, over the annals, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8; cf. Ezra iv. 15; Esth. vi. 1). The מזכיר had to keep the national annals, and his office was different

from that of the סוֹפֵר, or chancellor. The סופר had to prepare the public documents; the מזכיר had to preserve them, and to incorporate them in the connected history of the nation. That it was David who instituted the office of national annalist in Israel is proved by the fact that references to the annals begin with the Chronicles (דברי הימים) of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, and are afterwards continued in the "Book of the Chronicles of Solomon" (ספר דברי שלמה, which is an abbreviation from ספר דברי הימים לשלמה), 1 Kings xi. 41. Thereafter, references to them are carried on in Judah to the end of Jehoiakim's reign, and in Israel to the end of the reign of Pekah. Under David, and also under Solomon, the office of national annalist was filled by Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud. The fact that, apart from the annals of David and those of Solomon, nothing but the annals of the kings of Judah and those of the kings of Israel are ever cited, is easily and simply explained. When we view the national annals as a whole, they naturally divide themselves into four parts: the first two, the annals of David and of Solomon, set forth the history of the still united kingdom; while the last two, the annals of the kings of Judah and of Israel, presented the history of the nation as divided. The original state archives doubtless perished in the flames when Jerusalem was burnt by the Chaldeans. Copies made from these documents, however, were preserved; and the histories of the reigns of David and Solomon in the historical books which have been handed down to us, particularly rich as they are in annalistic material, show that diligence in copying and distributing was specially directed to the annals of David and of Solomon, and that these probably were circulated separately, like single decades of Livy.

Richard Simon thought the *écrivains publics* were prophets, and in more recent times also the annals have occasionally been regarded as prophetic historical compositions. I. Appeal is made to the statements of the Chronicler regarding prophetic materials in the work which formed his main source, the great Book of Kings; and it is assumed that this great Book of Kings contained the combined annals of the kings of Judah and of Israel. But (*a*) the Chronicler cites his chief source under various designations, as a Book of the Kings, once

(2 Chron. xxxiii. 8) as דִּבְרֵי (*i.e. res gestae*, or *historiæ*) of the kings of Israel, but never as the annals of the kings of Judah or Israel; he even designates it once as מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים, *commentarius libri regum*, and thus, as an explanation and elaboration of our canonical Book of Kings, or—what we leave undecided—of an older Book of Kings altogether. (*b*) In this Midrash there were, of course, inserted numerous and extensive pieces of a prophetico-historical character, for the purpose of illustrating the history of the kings; but the Chronicler expressly states, on several occasions, that these were incorporated materials (2 Chron. xx. 34, xxxii. 32). Among the documents which were taken into the annals, there must also have been pieces of a prophetic character, and not merely those referring to priestly and Levitical matters, military affairs, and such like; but it would be the greatest literary blunder to imagine that such pieces as the histories of Elijah and Elisha, which are plainly of Ephraimitish and prophetic origin, have been taken from the annals, especially because Joram of Israel, during whose reign Elisha flourished, is the only monarch of the northern kingdom in whose case there is no reference to the annals. The character of the documents which were chiefly utilized in the annals, and incorporated into the connected history, may be perceived from an instance found in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, where the arrangement of the Levites into classes is referred to the "writing of David" (כְּתָב דָּוִיד) and the "writing of Solomon" (מִכְתַּב שְׁלֹמֹה), which passed for royal writings, either because they were drawn up by order of the king, and confirmed by him, or because records actually written by the king's own hand formed the basis of the sections in the annals (cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19). When we further bear in mind that the accounts given by the Chronicler of the arrangements made by David regarding the priests and the Levites, point to the annals as the original source, we have—at least in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4—a confirmation of the governmental and (so to speak) royal character of these annals.

II. A second reason for regarding the annals as prophetic historical works is the consideration that otherwise, especially in the kingdom of Israel, they could not have been written in

the theocratic spirit. But (*a*) the official or state origin of the work is implied in the very fact that they end just where the work of a prophetic historiographer would properly have begun. For, of references to the annals in our Book of Kings, there are fourteen (counting from Rehoboam and Jeroboam) in the history of the kings of Judah (references being wanting only in the cases of Ahaziah, Amaziah, and Jehoahaz), and seventeen in the history of the kings of Israel (the case of Joram being the only one in which no reference is given); in neither line do the annals come down to the last monarch in the two kingdoms, but only to Jehoiakim and Pekah, from which we must infer that the writing of the national annals ceased with the approaching fall of the two kingdoms. (*b*) When we look more closely at the thirty-one references, we find that sixteen of these merely state the rest of the acts of the king mentioned are written in the annals: 1 Kings xiv. 29; 2 Kings viii. 23, xii. 20, xv. 6, 36, xvi. 19, xxi. 25, xxiii. 28, xxiv. 5; 1 Kings xv. 31, xvi. 14; 2 Kings i. 18, xv. 11, 21, 26, 31. In the case of four Israelitish kings, it is merely stated further that their גְּבוּרָה (heroism, *i.e.* their brave conduct in war) is described in the annals, 1 Kings xvi. 5, 27; 2 Kings x. 34, xiii. 8. More definite statements, however, regarding what was to be read in the annals, are found in the case of Abijam, whose war with Jeroboam was there described, 1 Kings xv. 7; in the case of Asa, xv. 23, all whose bravery, and all that he did, and all the cities that he built, being there related; in the case of Jehoshaphat, xxii. 46, where reference is made to the heroic deeds that he performed, and the kind of wars that he carried on; in the case of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 20, where mention is made of all his heroism, and how he made the pool and the aqueduct, and brought the water into the city; in the case of Manasseh, xi. 17, all that he did, and the sin whereby he sinned; in the case of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiv. 19, what kind of wars he carried on, and how he ruled; in the case of Zimri, xvi. 20, his conspiracy that he formed; in the case of Ahab, xxii. 39, all that he did, and the ivory house that he constructed, and the cities that he built; in the case of Joash, 2 Kings xiii. 12, xiv. 15, his heroism, how he warred with Amaziah,

king of Judah; in the case of Jeroboam, 2 Kings xiv. 28, his bravery, how he warred, and how he recovered Damascus and Hamath, that belonged to Judah, for Israel; in the case of Shallum, xv. 15, his conspiracy which he formed. These references furnish plain proof that this annalistic history was not prophetico-pragmatical in its character. It recorded outward events, it had its roots in the popular mind and its sphere of action in the national life and institutions; compared with the prophetic history, it was more secular than sacred, more a history of the people than a history of redemption.

The numerous references of the Chronicler to historical writings by prophetic authors show the constant literary activity in the field of history which was displayed by the prophets generally, after the time of Samuel, with whom, properly speaking, begins the era of the prophets in Israel as a nation settled and constituted under the law (Acts iii. 24). That writer, at the close of the history of David, refers (1 Chron. xxix. 29) to the words of (דִּבְרֵי) Samuel the seer (הָרֹאֶה), of Nathan the prophet (הַנָּבִיא), and of Gad the seer (הַחֹזֶה); at the end of the history of Solomon (2 Chron. ix. 29) to the words of (דִּבְרֵי) the prophecy of (נְבוּאַת) Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of (חֲזוֹת) Jedi (or Jedo) the seer; in the case of Rehoboam (2 Chron. xii. 15), to the words of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer; in the case of Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 22), to the commentary of (מִדְרַשׁ) the prophet Iddo; in the case of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 24), to the words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which were included in the Book of the Kings of Israel; in the case of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22), to a complete history of that king, which was composed by Isaiah the son of Amoz; in the case of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32), to the vision of (חֲזוֹן) Isaiah, as an account that could be found in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel; in the case of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19), to the words of Hozai. There is certainly room for doubting whether, in these citations, דִּבְרֵי does not rather (as, for instance, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 27) denote the historical account of such and such a person. The following reasons, however, prove that, in the mind of the Chronicler, historical accounts written by the person named were meant. (*a*) From

2 Chron. xxvi. 22 we see how easy and natural it was for him to think of prophets as historians of particular epochs in the history of the kings. (*b*) In other places also, where דִּבְרֵי is combined with the name of a prophet (as in 2 Chron. xxix. 30, xxxiii. 18), the latter is the genitive of the subject or author, not of the object. (*c*) In the citations given above, בְּדִבְרֵי is used interchangeably with עַל־דִּבְרֵי, an expression which still more decidedly requires us to understand it as referring to authorship; and (*d*) this view is put beyond all doubt by the interchange of מִדְרַשׁ עִדּוֹ, in 2 Chron. xiii. 22, with דִּבְרֵי עִדּוֹ, in 2 Chron. xii. 15. That these accounts, however, which are named after prophets, were not lying before the Chronicler as separate writings along with his main source, is evident from the fact that, except in 2 Chron. xxiii. 18 f., he never refers to both together. They had been incorporated in "the commentary of the Book of Kings" (2 Chron. xxiv. 27) lying before him, where, along with the annalistic sources of the work, they could easily be distinguished as prophetic productions. And inasmuch as it is conceivable that the author of our canonical Books of Samuel and Kings should not have made use of these sources composed by prophetic authors, it is legitimate to ask whether it be still possible for critical analysis to discover these sources, either in whole or in part,—just as one may with certainty say that the list of officers used as a boundary-stone in 2 Sam. xx. 23–26, and the survey given in 1 Kings iv. 2–19 of Solomon's ministers and his court, together with the details as to the requirements of the royal kitchen (1 Kings v. 2 ff.), the number of stalls for the king's horses (1 Kings v. 6), and similar matters, have been derived from the annals.

This is not the place to enter more minutely into such an analysis. It is enough for us, through the references given in Chronicles, to have cast light on the restless activity of the prophets, from the time of Samuel onwards, engaged in writing history,—an activity which, even without the express references, is obvious from the many historical extracts in the Book of Kings from the writings of prophet-historians. Both authors draw, directly or indirectly, from annalistic and prophetic sources. But the Book of Kings and the Chronicles themselves also, taken as a whole—when we look at their authors,

and thus at the mode in which the historical materials are arranged and wrought into shape—represent two different styles of historical composition; for the Book of Kings is the work of a prophet, and is pervaded by the prophetic spirit, while the Book of Chronicles is the work of a priest, and bears a priestly character. The author of the Book of Kings has taken Deuteronomy and the prophetic literature as his models, whereas the Chronicler so closely imitates the old style of the דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, that his own is often undistinguishable from the style of the sources from which, directly or indirectly, his material was derived; the work, accordingly, is a strange mixture of very ancient and very modern phraseology. From the view of history which is inserted in 2 Kings xvii. 7 f., one may see the spirit and the purpose of the author in writing the book. Like the author of the Book of Judges, who wrote in a similar spirit (see Judg. ii. 11 ff.), he seeks to show, in his history of the kings, how both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, by despising the word of God borne to them by the prophets, and particularly through the great sin of idolatry, had fallen from one stage of inward and outward corruption to another till they reached the depth of misery in the Exile. Judah, however, with its Davidic government, was not without hope of rising again from the depths, if the hearts of the people were not closed against the prophetic preaching from their own past history. The Chronicler, on the other hand, permits his love for the monarchy and priesthood, which were chosen from the tribes of Judah and Levi, to be felt even in the annalistic surveys forming the preface to his work; and, starting at once with the sad end of Saul, wastes not a word on the course of suffering through which David reached the throne, but hastens on to the joyful beginning of his reign, which is pictured to us in a style at once popular, military, and priestly, as in the case of the annals. Then he sets before us—almost quite apart from the history of the northern kingdom—the history of Judah and Jerusalem under the rule of the Davidic family, and this with special fulness when he is able to praise the care of the monarch for the temple and its service, and his co-operation with the Levites and the priesthood. He displays a preference and partiality for the brighter portions of the history; whereas, in the case

of the author of the Book of Kings, the law of retribution, which prevails in the historical matter, demands at least equal prominence for the darker parts.

Both of them, nevertheless, equally afford us a deep insight into the laboratory of the two modes of writing history, and the historical works of both are rich in discourses by prophets, which deserve closer consideration, because, equally with the prophetico-historical writings from which citation is made, they are to be regarded as the preliminary and occasional exercises of the prophetic literature, properly so called, which afterwards assumed a more or less independent position, and to which the "Later Prophets" (נְבִיאִים אַחֲרֹנִים) belong. The Book of Kings contains the following utterances and discourses of prophets: (1) Abijah of Shiloh to Jeroboam, 1 Kings xi. 29–39; (2) Shemaiah to Rehoboam, xii. 22–24; (3) a man of God to the altar of Jeroboam, xiii. 1 f.; (4) Abijah to the wife of Jeroboam, xiv. 5–16; (5) Jehu the son of Hanani to Baasha, xvi. 1–4; (6) a prophet to Ahab, king of Israel, xx. 13 f., xxii. 28; (7) a pupil of the prophets to Ahab, xx. 35 ff.; (8) Elijah to Ahab, xxi. 17–26; (9) Micaiah the son of Imlah to the two kings, Ahab and Jehoshaphat, xxii. 14 ff.; (10) Elisha to Jehoram and Jehoshaphat, 2 Kings iii. 11 ff.; (11) a pupil of Elisha to Jehu, 2 Kings ix. 1–10; (12) a "burden" or message concerning the house of Ahab, ix. 25 f.; (13) Jehovah to Jehu, x. 30; (14) Jonah to Jeroboam II.,—indirectly,—xiv. 25–27; (15) a general message of the prophets, xvii. 13; (16) Isaiah's addresses to Hezekiah, chaps. xix. and xx.; (17) warning prophecy on account of Manasseh, xxi. 10–15; (18) Huldah to Josiah, xxii. 14 ff.; (19) message of warning from Jehovah concerning Judah, xxiii. 27. Of all these prophetic utterances and discourses, only Nos. 2, 9, and 18 are found again with the Chronicler (2 Chron. xi. 24, xviii., xxxiv.), partly because he relates merely the history of the kings of Judah, and partly because he aimed at supplementing our Book of Kings, which doubtless lay before him. The following prophetic utterances and addresses, not found in the Book of Kings, meet us in the Chronicles: (1) The words of Shemaiah in the war between Rehoboam and Shishak, 2 Chron. xii. 7, 8; (2) the words of Azariah the son of Obed before Asa, xv. 1–7; (3) Hanani to

Asa, xvi. 7–9; (4) Jahaziel the Asaphite in the assembling of the nation, xx. 14–17; (5) Eliezer the son of Dodavahu to Jehoshaphat, xx. 37; (6) the letter of Elijah to Jehoram, xxi. 12–15; (7) Zechariah the son of Jehoiada in the time of Joash, xxiv. 20; (8) a man of God to Amaziah, xxv. 7–9; (9) a prophet to Amaziah, xxv. 15, 16; (10) Oded to Pekah, xxviii. 9–11. To extend still more widely the sphere of our examination, we add (1) the address of the "messenger of Jehovah" in Bochim, Judg. ii. 1–5; (2) the address of a prophet to Israel, in Judg. vi. 8–10; (3) the address of a man of God to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27 ff.; (4) Jehovah's words to Samuel concerning the house of Eli, 1 Sam. iii. 11–14; (5) Samuel's words to Israel before the battle at Ebenezer, 1 Sam. vii. 3; (6) Samuel's words to Saul in Gilgal, 1 Sam. xiii. 13 f.; (7) Samuel to Saul after the victory over Amalek, 1 Sam. xv.; (8) Nathan to David in view of his intention to build the Temple, 2 Sam. vii.; (9) Nathan to David after his adultery, 2 Sam. xii.; (10) Gad to David after the numbering of the people, 2 Sam. xxiv.

After taking a general survey of these utterances and addresses, and comparing one with another, we are warranted in assuming that some have been preserved to us in their original form, such as (in the First Book of Samuel) the addresses of the man of God to Eli, and the words of Samuel to Saul after the victory over Amalek: this we infer from their peculiar character, their sublimity, and the difference between their style and that of the historian who gives them, as this is seen elsewhere in his writings. In other cases, at least the essential features have been preserved, as in the addresses of Nathan to David: this is proved by their echoes which reverberate in later history. Among the addresses handed down *verbatim* by the author of the Book of Kings may be reckoned those of Isaiah (2 Kings xix. 6 ff., 20 f., xx. 1, 5 f., 17 f.); the "burden" (מַשָּׂא) in 2 Kings ix. 25 f., of primitive and peculiar form, together with some other brief utterances of prophets. Possibly also the words of Huldah are given in all essential respects, for it is only in her mouth (2 Kings xxii. 19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27), in the mouth of Isaiah (2 Kings xxii. 19), and in the "burden" to which reference has just been made, that we find the prophetic

expression "declareth Jehovah" (נְאֻם יְהוָֹה), which likewise meets us in 1 Sam. ii. 30 with other tokens of its being original, and whose high antiquity is fully attested by the Davidic Psalms and 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 (cf. Gen. xxii. 16). In some of these utterances the historian does not at all concern himself about giving the original words; they are prophet-voices which sounded forth at one time or another, and whose leading tone he seeks to give, as in Judg. vi. 8–10; 2 Kings xvii. 13, xxi. 10–15. Reproductions of prophetic testimonies in such general form naturally bear the impress of the reproducing writer; thus, in the Books of Judges and Kings there is visible the Deuteronomic style of thought of their final editor. But we will go farther, and must affirm generally that the predictions in the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles bear marked traces of the narrator's own hand, and of the influence exercised by indirect sources. The discourses which are common to the Chronicles and the Book of Kings, are almost literally the same in both; the remainder, however, have quite a different look. The addresses in the Book of Kings almost always begin with, "Thus saith Jehovah" (כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָֹה), or, "Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel" (so also in Judg. vi. 8, and in 2 Kings xix. 20 before the addresses of Isaiah); and there is nothing that occurs in them more frequently than the phrase יַעַן אֲשֶׁר ("because that"), and Deuteronomic expressions like נָתַן בְּיַד, הֶחֱטִיא, הִכְעִיס, and others; to which may be added a liking for similes, introduced by כַּאֲשֶׁר ("as"), 1 Kings xiv. 10, 15; 2 Kings xxi. 13. The idea of God's "choice" of Jerusalem recurs in the same words in 1 Kings xi. 36; 2 Kings xxiii. 27; and the idea "that there may always remain a light to David" (נִיר לְדָוִד), 1 Kings xi. 36, is an exclusive peculiarity of the author among Old Testament writers. The words, "I have raised thee up from among the people, and set thee for a prince over my people Israel," occur not merely in the second address of Ahijah (1 Kings xiv. 17), but also slightly altered in the address of Jehu (xvi. 2). The words, "Him that dieth in the city shall the dogs eat, and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat," are found in substantially the same form in the second address of Ahijah (xiv. 11), in Jehu's address (xvi. 4), and in that of Elijah to

Ahab (xxi. 24). The threatenings, "I will destroy every man child, him that is shut up and him that is left at large in Israel, and will sweep behind the house of Jeroboam," is found, with slight variation, in the second address of Ahijah (xiv. 10), in the address of Elijah to Ahab (xxi. 21), and in the second address of Elijah to Jehu (2 Kings ix. 8); while it is clearly seen from 1 Kings xvi. 11 and 2 Kings xiv. 26, that the form of these threatenings is the style of the narrator. It is therefore undeniable that almost all these prophet-utterances, so far as a common impress is possible at all, are of similar type, and that the common bond which unites them is no other than the subjectivity of the Deuteronomic narrator. A similar conclusion must be drawn regarding the prophetic addresses in the Chronicles, which likewise so extensively bear the unmistakable traces of the Chronicler's own treatment, that Caspari, in his treatise on the Syro-Ephraimitish war (p. 53 ff.), acknowledges, even regarding what seems to be the most original of all the addresses (in 2 Chron. xv. 2–7), that it recalls the peculiar style of the Chronicler. In the case of the Chronicler, however, whose chief source of material must have resembled the spirit and style of his own,—an assumption which the Book of Ezra especially warrants us in making,—it is less easy to say how far he exercised a free hand than it is in the case of the author of the Book of Kings, who seems to have found the most of the addresses merely indicated in outline, and to have freely reproduced them from such sketches.

If these discourses had come down to us in their original form, we should possess in them an exceedingly important source of information for the history of the development of prophetic ideas and forms of expression. We should then know that Isaiah's favourite phrase, "for Jehovah hath spoken it" (כִּי יְהוָה דִּבֵּר), so far as we have information, was first employed by Ahijah (1 Kings xiv. 11); that Joel, when he prophesied "in Jerusalem shall be deliverance" (Joel iii. 5), had been preceded by Shemaiah (2 Chron. xii. 7); that Hosea, in iii. 4 (cf. v. 15), took up again the utterance of Azariah the son of Oded, "And many days shall Israel continue without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law; but when they turn in their distress" . . .

(2 Chron. xv. 3 f., where, as the parallel proves, the perfects in ver. 4 are to be understood in accordance with the prophetic context); that in Jer. xxxi. 16 we have an echo of an utterance by the same Zechariah, in the words, "for there *is* a reward to thy work;" that Hanani, in saying, "The eyes of Jehovah run to and fro throughout the whole earth" (2 Chron. xvi. 9), is the precursor of Zechariah (iv. 10); and there are other similar instances. But, considering the influence which the idiosyncrasies of the two historians exercised upon the discourses which they communicate (cf. for instance, 2 Chron. xv. 2 with 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. xii. 5 with xxiv. 20; also ver. 7 with 2 Chron. xxxiv. 21, and the parallel in 2 Kings xxii. 13; and 2 Chron. xv. 5, "In those times," with Dan. xi. 14); considering also the difficulty in finding out the original elements of these addresses (possibly, for instance, the idea that a light will remain to David, 1 Kings xv. 4, 2 Kings viii. 19, was really first expressed by Ahijah, 1 Kings xi. 36), one will be able to make of them for this purpose only a cautious and sparing use. It is doubtful whether such expressions as, "to put my name there," 1 Kings xi. 36, and "he shall root out Israel from this good land," 1 Kings xiv. 15, have received the Deuteronomic form (see Deut. xii. 5, 21, xiv. 24, xxix. 27) from the prophet or from the author of the Book of Kings (cf. 1 Kings ix. 3 and the parallel passages in 2 Chron. vii. 20, ix. 7; 2 Kings xxi. 7 f.). There remains, however, in the predictions of those older prophets, a sufficient amount of original matter for enabling us to see in them the prefigurations and predecessors of the later ones. Thus Shemaiah, with his threat against Rehoboam and its later modification (2 Chron. xii. 5–8), reminds us of Micah opposing Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 17 ff.). The position assumed by Hanani towards Asa, when he invoked the aid of Syria, is precisely the same as that of Isaiah in relation to Ahaz,—as there is also a close resemblance generally between both events. Like the man of God in Bethel, Hosea and Amos prophesied against the "high places of Aven" (Hos. x. 8), and the "altars of Bethel" (Amos iii. 14, ix. 1). When Amos, in consequence of the divine call (Amos vii. 15), leaves his home and betakes himself to Bethel, the chief seat of the Israelitish image-worship,

in order to prophesy against the idolatrous kingdom, is there not in this a repetition of the history of the prophet in 1 Kings xiii.? And when Hanani, in consequence of denouncing Asa, is thrown into prison, is this not a kind of prelude to the subsequent fate of Micaiah the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii.), and of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii.)? Moreover, Ahijah's symbolization and confirmation of what he predicted, by rending into twelve pieces a new garment (a symbol of the kingdom still undivided and strong), has its analogies in the history of the earlier prophets (1 Sam. xv. 26–29) as in that of the later (Jer. xxii.). It is only such signs (מוֹפְתִים) as that by which the prophet who came from Judah to Bethel confirmed his prophecy (1 Kings xiii. 3), that almost wholly disappear from the later history of the prophets, though even Isaiah does not disdain to offer King Ahaz a sign in verification of his prophetic testimony (Isa. vii. 11).

No essential difference exists between the prophecy of earlier and that of later times; in particular, we see it is the same spirit which from the first, and all through, unites the prophets of both kingdoms, notwithstanding the diversity of action which was necessitated by different circumstances. But differences do present themselves. The earlier prophets are exclusively occupied with the internal affairs of the kingdom, and do not as yet draw within their range the history of other nations in the world with which that of Israel was closely interwoven; their predictions are exclusively directed to the king and people of both kingdoms, and not yet to a foreign nation,—one of the neighbouring peoples, or what we might expect, the Egyptians and Syrians; the Messianic element still lies in a non-transparent chrysalis state; and the poetry of thought and language, which afterwards appeared as the result of prophetic inspiration, announces itself only in some striking figures of speech. As we have seen, it is perhaps scarcely possible to pronounce a decided opinion regarding the style of delivery of these older prophets; but, from a general impression of a sufficiently reliable kind, we may distinguish prophecy, down till about the time of King Joash, as the prophecy of overmastering action, from the later prophecy, which was that of convincing speech: as remarked by G. Baur, in the case of the older prophets it is

only as a confirmation of clear inward conviction that concern is shown about words,—the modest attendants of powerful external action. Just for this reason they could not very well produce prophetic writings in the highest sense of the word. But even from the time of Samuel, the prophets as a body had made it a part of the duties of their calling to treat the history of their time in a theocratic-pragmatic way. The cloistral, but by no means quietistic, retirement of the life in the schools of the prophets was specially favourable in the northern kingdom to this literary occupation, and secured for it unquestioned liberty. From 2 Chron. xx. 34, however, we perceive that prophets in Judah likewise occupied themselves with the writing of history; for the prophet Jehu belonged to Judah, and, as may be inferred from 2 Chron. xix. 1–3, lived in Jerusalem.

The literature of predictive writings, however, properly so called, had begun in the time of Jehoram king of Judah with the "vision" (חָזוֹן) of OBADIAH,—for we think we have proved elsewhere [1] that this pamphlet against Edom was occasioned by the calamity mentioned in 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17, to which also Joel and Amos refer. Obadiah was followed by JOEL, who had before him the prophecy of the former, introducing into the wider and fuller circle of his own publication, not only matter, but also expressions, found in the prophecy of Obadiah. Here again the prophetic literature, in the higher sense, shows how it grew out of the prophetico-historical literature; for Joel informs us of the result of the penitential worship which had been brought about through his appeal, in a historical passage (ii. 18, 19*a*) connecting the two parts of his writings. It is now the fashion to bring him down into post-exilic times, but this is one of the worst fruits of the forced consistency of Pentateuch-criticism: nothing is more certain than that he flourished during the first half of the reign of Joash the king of Judah.[2] Obadiah and Joel were contemporaries of Elisha.

[1] In the essay, "When did Obadiah Prophesy?" *Zeitschrift für das gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1851, p. 91 ff.

[2] See my essay, "Two certain Results regarding the Prophecy of Joel," in the same journal, 1851, p. 306 ff.; cf. *Le Prophète Joel* nach E. Le Savoureux, von Ant. J. Baumgartner, Paris 1888.

Elisha himself wrote nothing; but from the schools under his guidance there proceeded, not merely prophetic deeds, but also prophetic writings; and it is significant that the writings which bear the name of JONAH, whom an ancient Haggada describes as one of the "sons of the prophets" (בני הנביאים) of the school of Elisha, do not so much belong to the prophetic literature, in the higher sense, as rather to the prophetico-historical, and, in fact, to the historical writings by prophets. An approximation to the time when Jonah was sent to Nineveh may seem from 2 Kings xiv. 25—according to which Jonah the son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulun, had predicted the restoration of the kingdom of Israel to its promised extent—a prediction which was fulfilled in Jeroboam the son of Joash, the third of his house after Jehu, and which thus was issued in the beginning of the reign of Jeroboam II., if not even under Joash. The mission to Nineveh may belong to an earlier period than this prediction. A glance at the Book of AMOS, on the other hand, shows us that at the time when this prophet flourished, Assyria was about to arise again. The indication of time, "two years before the earthquake" (Amos i. 1), fixes nothing for us. But if Amos prophesied "in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, and of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel," then—assuming that, according to 2 Kings xiv. 23, Jeroboam II. had reigned forty-one years, from the fifteenth year of Amaziah, and was thus for fourteen years contemporary with Amaziah, and for twenty-seven years with Uzziah—his period of activity lay in the last twenty-seven years of Jeroboam's reign. When he appeared, the kingdom of Israel was still at the height of its power which had been secured through the efforts of Jeroboam, while the kingdom of Judah was yet in the low estate into which it had fallen under Amaziah; for both, he predicts a common fate to befall them at the hands of Assyria, which, though not mentioned, is nevertheless clearly meant. The beginning of the public ministry of HOSEA comes into contact, at most, with the close of the ministry of Amos. The symbolical portion (chaps. i.–iii.) with which his book begins takes us to the last five years of Jeroboam's reign, and the subsequent prophetic discourses are not out of accord with the statement in chap. i. 1 (which is

from a later hand), according to which this prophet continued to prophesy under Hezekiah, and thus till the fall of Samaria, in the sixth year of Hezekiah. After Hosea, the Ephraimitish Jeremiah, appeared ISAIAH, who according to chap. vi. was called in the last year of Uzziah, about twenty-five years after the death of Jeroboam II. His younger contemporary was MICAH, of Moresheth, who, according to chap. i. 1, did not appear till some time within the reign of Jotham, and whose book, according to the inscription "concerning Samaria and Jerusalem," must have been composed after the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign (with which also the narrative in Jer. xxvi. 17 ff. agrees), so that his ministry thus began and ended within the far longer ministry of Isaiah. The same remark holds good of NAHUM, the Elkoshite, whose "burden of Nineveh" closes the prophetic writings of the Assyrian period: he prophesied after the defeat of Sennacherib, when the power of Assyria was broken; but the yoke on Judah's neck (i. 13) was to be viewed as broken only if Assyria did not rise again. Nahum was followed by HABAKKUK, who, among the twelve minor prophets, was the last of the Isaianic type, and began to announce a new era of judgment,—the Chaldean. He prophesied before Zephaniah and Jeremiah,[1] during the reign of Josiah, and possibly even as early as Manasseh's time.

With ZEPHANIAH, then, begins the series of prophets of the type of Jeremiah, whom he resembles in following older prophets, and reproducing their materials and words in a kind of mosaic. JEREMIAH, according to the opening verse in his prophecy, was called in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign; hence he began his public ministry before Zephaniah,—for internal grounds[2] compel us to place the prophecies of the latter after the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign. Jeremiah's ministry in Judaea, and finally in Egypt, lasted more than eighty years. In his last prophetic discourse (chap. xliv.) he gives a pledge of the certain fulfilment of its threats, in the approaching fall of Pharaoh-Hophrah, who in the year 570 B.C. lost throne and life in the same place where his great-grandfather Psammetichus, a century before, had seized

[1] See my Commentary on these prophets, 1843.
[2] See my article on Zephaniah in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia*.

the Egyptian crown. Contemporaneously with Jeremiah, though without knowing him personally, so far as we are aware, EZEKIEL wrought in the same spirit among the exiles of Judah. According to chap. i. 1, 2, his call took place in the thirtieth year, *i.e.* of the era of Nabopolassar, which is nearly the fifth year after the captivity of Jehoiakim, 595 B.C. The latest date associated with his ministry (xxix. 17) is the twenty-seventh year of the captivity, which is the sixteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem,—the period between Nebuchadnezzar's raising of the siege of Tyre and his expedition against Egypt. We thus know of a ministry of twenty-two years on the part of this prophet, who, when called, may have already been older than the still very youthful Jeremiah. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are the two great prophets who spread their praying and protecting hands over Jerusalem as long as possible, and when the catastrophe was inevitable, saved it even in its fall. Their announcements, together with the prophetic sermon in Isa. chaps. xl.–lxvi., have bridged over the chasm of the exile, and laid the foundation of the restored national church of post-exilian times. This community was cheered and encouraged by HAGGAI, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, through his prediction of the glory in store for the temple, now rising anew from its ruins, and for the house of David, which was again coming to honour in Zerubbabel. Only two months later ZECHARIAH appeared: his last predictive discourse belongs to the third year of Darius Hystaspes, the year after the promulgation of the edict requiring the building of the temple to be continued. The predictions of the second portion of his book (chaps. ix.–xiv.) are thoroughly eschatological and apocalyptic, and make use of older circumstances and utterances of prophets as emblems of the final future. Prophecy was now silent for a considerable time, until the last prophet-voice of the Old Covenant was heard in MALACHI. His book accords with the state of things found by Nehemiah on the occasion of his second stay in Jerusalem under Darius Nothus; and it was his peculiar calling in connection with the history of redemption to predict the speedy advent of the messenger appointed to precede the coming of the Lord,—namely, Elijah the prophet,—and that the forerunner would

then be followed by the Lord Himself, as "the Angel of the Covenant" (מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית), the Messenger or Mediator of a New Covenant.

This survey shows that the arrangement of the "later prophets" in the Canon is not strictly chronological. The three "greater" prophets, who are so called because of the extent of their books of prophecy, stand together; and the twelve "minor" prophets, because of the smaller extent of their books of prophecy, are conjoined in a *μονόβιβλος*, as Melito calls it, which is named שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר, in the Masora תְּרֵיסַר (=תְּרֵי עֲסַר), in the Hellenistic dialect *οἱ δώδεκα* (Wisd. xlix. 10; Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 8; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10), but also *τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον* (the Book of the Twelve Prophets). Within this collection of the smaller prophetical books, chronological order is so far observed as that they fall into three groups, representing three periods of prophetic literature, viz. prophets of the Assyrian period (Hosea to Nahum), prophets of the Chaldean period (Habakkuk and Zephaniah), and prophets of the post-exilian period (Haggai to Malachi). There is, moreover, an evident desire to join, as far as possible, a prophet belonging to the kingdom of Israel with one belonging to the kingdom of Judah,—thus, Hosea with Joel, Amos with Obadiah, Jonah with Micah, Nahum with Habakkuk. Besides this, however, Hosea stands first, not so much because the opening word in his book (viz. תְּחִלַּת, "beginning") made this an appropriate one with which to begin the collection,—still less because (as is stated in *Bathra* 14*b*) of the four prophets, Hosea and Isaiah, Amos and Micah, he was the first to be called,—but (in the same way as, among the Pauline letters, the Epistle to the Romans is placed first) because his book is the largest; and this principle of arrangement becomes more prominent in the Septuagint, in which Hosea comes first with fourteen chapters, while Amos follows with nine, then Micah with seven, Joel with three, Obadiah with one; a new series next begins with Jonah. The reason why, in the Hebrew Canon, Joel immediately follows Hosea, may lie in the contrast between the complaint of Joel over the all-parching heat and the all-devouring swarms of insects on the one hand, and the illustrations from vegetable life—bright, fresh, and fragrant—at the close of Hosea on the other. Amos

then succeeds Joel, because, taking up again the announcement of judgment with which the latter concludes (Joel iv. 16), he opens his book with the words, "Jehovah will roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem." OBADIAH follows, on account of the mutual relation between Obad. 19 and Amos ix. 12. And JONAH comes after Obadiah, for the latter begins, "We have heard tidings from Jehovah, and a messenger is sent among the nations," and Jonah was such a messenger. Similar reasons of a more accidental character aided in the combination of a Judaic with an Israelitish prophet. The fact that Zephaniah follows Habakkuk is explained on such a ground, which happens also to accord with the chronological order; for a catchword in the prophecy of Zephaniah (i. 7), "Hold thy peace at the presence of the Lord God," is taken from Habakkuk (ii. 20). The post-exilian prophets (called in the Talmud הנביאים האחרנים, "the last prophets") then form the close, necessarily following in the order of time and in accordance with the contents of the books; for, like the transposition of Joel into the post-exilian period, the transposition of Malachi into the time before Ezra is one of the evil results of forced consistency in Pentateuchal criticism.[1]

We now return to the so-called Greater Prophets. These immediately follow the Book of Kings, which is now divided into two parts; and at the head, in the Hebrew as well as in the Alexandrian and Syriac Canon, stands ISAIAH. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,—such is the Masoretic arrangement,[2] in accordance with the chronological order of their appearance. In the manuscripts, particularly the German and French, an-

[1] From the fact that no trace of any reference to the Priest-code is found in Malachi, but rather, on the other hand, more reference to Deuteronomy,—for to him the Levite is identical with the priest (ii. 4–7), his proscribing of mixed marriages (ii. 11) rests on Deut. vii. 3 (but cf. also Ezra ix. 14), and his requirement of the tithe and the heave-offering (iii. 8–12) is stated in Deuteronomic language in Deut. xii. 6, xi. 17,—one must draw another inference than that false conclusion of Pentateuchal criticism.

[2] In *Ochla we-ochla*, indeed, the citations from Isaiah follow those from Jeremiah and Ezekiel; but when the Masora reckons Isa. xvii. 3, חֲצִי הַנְּבִיאִים, *i.e.* the middle verse of the division called the נְבִיאִים, it is understood that Isaiah is the first prophet following after the series from Joshua to Kings.

other arrangement is occasionally found,—Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah: this is the order laid down in the Baraitha (*i.e.* the collection of treatises not taken into the official Mishna) regarding the consecution of the Biblical books and their authors, and the regulating principle here was, as shown in the Gemara,[1] affinity of contents. Jeremiah follows the Book of Kings because his prophecies almost wholly relate to the Chaldean catastrophe, with which the Book of Kings concludes; and Isaiah follows Ezekiel, whose book ends with consolation, because the hortatory portion of Isaiah is consolation throughout.[2] In opposition to this Talmudic arrangement, —which Lagarde (*Symmicta*, p. 142) and others, following Eichhorn, erroneously regard as meant to be chronological, but which Cornill (*Jeremia und seine Zeit*, 1880) thinks was intended to express progressive estimation of the worth of the several works,—the order given in the Masora, for which better reasons can be assigned, and which is further attested by the earliest ecclesiastical writers (Melito, Origen, and Jerome), has justly maintained its superiority.

[1] The explanation is not a false one, but neither is it exhaustive. The Baraitha regards Jeremiah as the author not merely of the book containing his prophecies but also of the Book of Kings, so that "Kings" and "Jeremiah" inseparably cohere, forming the links uniting the "former prophets" with the "later prophets;" see Marx (Dalman), *Traditio Rabbinorum veterrima de librorum V. T. ordine atque origine*, 1884, pp. 34–37.

[2] It is precisely with reference to chaps. xl.–lxvi. that Isaiah is regarded as the prophet of comfort κατ' ἐξοχήν; so that according to *Berachoth* 57*b*, whoever sees Isaiah in a dream may look for consolation; and according to the Midrash on the Lamentations, all the ill that Jeremiah predicted was by Isaiah turned beforehand into good.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH,

ESPECIALLY THE FIRST PART, CHAPS. I.–XXXIX.

§ 1. *The Time of the Prophet.*

THE first requisite for an understanding and appreciation of the prophecies of Isaiah is the knowledge of his time, and of the periods during which he exercised his ministry. The *first* period embraces the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham. The starting-point is determined in accordance with the view taken of chap. vi.; but, in any case, Isaiah appeared about the end of Uzziah's reign, and thereafter laboured continuously through the sixteen years of Jotham's reign. The first twenty-seven years of the fifty-two during which Uzziah reigned run parallel with the last twenty-seven of the forty-one during which Jeroboam II. ruled. The kingdom of Israel, under Joash and his son Jeroboam II., and the kingdom of Judah, under Uzziah and his son Jotham, each passed through a season of outward splendour greater in height and duration than had ever been previously experienced. In proportion as the glory of the one kingdom faded, that of the other flourished; the bloom of the northern kingdom grew fainter as that of the south grew brighter and excelled the other. But outward splendour, in this case as in the former, carried within it the seeds of ruin and decay; for prosperity degenerated into luxury, and the worship of Jehovah stiffened into idolatry. It was during this last and longest season of prosperity in Judah that Isaiah appeared, called to the sad task

of vainly preaching repentance, and therefore also of announcing the judgment of hardening and devastation, of the ban and banishment. The *second* period of his ministry extends from the accession of Ahaz to that of Hezekiah. During these sixteen years three events occurred, all combining to bring on a new and momentous turn in the fate of Judah. In place of the worship of Jehovah, which had been conducted under Uzziah and Jotham with regularity and in external conformity to the law, open idol-worship of the most varied and abominable character commenced with the reign of Ahaz. Then were resumed and continued the hostilities already begun under Jotham's reign by Pekah the king of Israel, and Rezin the king of Damascene Syria: the Syro-Ephraimitish war threatened Jerusalem with the express purpose of destroying the Davidic kingdom. In this distress, Ahaz invoked the aid of Tiglath-Pileser the king of Assyria; he made flesh his arm, and thereby entangled the people of Jehovah with the kingdom of the world in a manner unknown before, so that they thenceforward completely lost their independence. The kingdom of the world is the Nimrodic form of the heathen state. Its characteristic feature is the constant endeavour to burst beyond its natural boundaries, not merely for purposes of self-defence or revenge, but for conquest, and to throw itself upon foreign nations like an avalanche, that it may become an ever-growing and world-embracing colossus. Assyria and Rome are the first and the last members of the world-kingdom that brought enslavement and oppression on Israel throughout her history. The times of Isaiah saw the approach of the calamity. Placed thus on the verge of this new and important change in history, and embracing the whole with his far-seeing eye, Isaiah is, so to speak, the universal prophet of Israel. The *third* period of his active ministry extends from the beginning to nearly the end of Hezekiah's reign. Under this king the nation rose almost in the same degree as it had fallen during the reign of Ahaz. He forsook the course of his idolatrous father, and restored the worship of Jehovah. The mass of the people, indeed, remained at heart unchanged, but Judah had once more an upright king who listened to the word of the prophets at his side,—two pillars of the state, men of might in prayer

(2 Chron. xxxii. 20). When it came therefore to a breaking off from the Assyrian domination, this was certainly an act of unbelief on the part of the nobles and the mass of the people, since they relied on help from Egypt,—an expectation which caused ruin to the northern kingdom in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign,—but, on the part of Hezekiah, an act of faith in Jehovah (2 Kings xviii. 7). When Sennacherib then, the son and successor of Sargon, was coming against Jerusalem, conquering the country and laying everything waste, while Egypt did not bring the help that had been promised, the carnal defiance of the magnates and the mass of the people brought its own punishment. But Jehovah averted the worst of the impending calamity; the flower of the Assyrian host was destroyed in a night, so that, as in the Syro-Ephraimitish war, now also there was no proper investment of Jerusalem; thus the faith of the king and of the better portion of the people received a reward for their quiet resting in the word of promise. There was still a power in the state that preserved it from ruin; and the coming doom, shown in chap. vi. to be inevitable, was yet once more delayed when the last annihilating blow was to have been expected. It was in this miraculous deliverance, which Isaiah predicted, and for which he prepared the way, that the public ministry of the prophet reached its culmination. Isaiah is the Amos of the kingdom of Judah; for, like the latter, he has the dreadful vocation to see and proclaim the fact that the time of forgiveness for Israel as a people and kingdom is gone for ever. But he was not likewise the Hosea of the kingdom of Judah, for the dreadful call to accompany the fatal course of his country with the knell of prophetic announcements was not assigned to Isaiah, but to Jeremiah. This is the Hosea of the southern kingdom; for to Isaiah was granted what was refused to his successor Jeremiah, once more to restrain, through the might of his prophetic power, arising from the deep and strong spirit of faith, the coming of the night, which threatened at the time of the Assyrian judgment to engulf his people. The Assyrian oppressions ceased, and, so far as Judah was concerned, were not to be renewed. The view beyond Assyria was clear, and prophecy was about to be concerned with the next world-kingdom, now cautiously

approaching. Beyond the noon-tide of his public ministry there remained the evening of life, which he cannot have idly spent, devoid of word or deed. But though he no longer took part in public affairs, he lived to the beginning of Manasseh's reign, when, according to credible tradition[1] to which allusion is made in Heb. xi. 37 ("they were sawn asunder"), he fell a sacrifice to the heathenism which had once more become predominant.

I have purposely refrained from assigning numbers which might indicate the length of reign of the four (or, including Manasseh, five) kings of Judah under whom Isaiah exercised his ministry. It is certainly difficult enough to make a thoroughly harmonious and consistent arrangement of the dates given in the Book of Kings and also in the Chronicles; but at present, after the monument literature of Babylonia and Assyria has also come forward as a witness, it is undeniably certain that the Biblical numbers assigned to the reigns of kings occasionally need correction, though in other respects they are proved to be true by indubitable Assyriological testimonies.

The founder of the received Biblical chronology was James Ussher (Usserius), in his *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1650–54,[2] a work at which he had laboured for sixty years. We give here a tabular view of his reckoning in that portion of the history of the kings under whom those prophets flourished who committed their prophecies to writing. The Biblical reckoning of this section rests on trustworthy tradition, but in a number of instances it is uncertain how

[1] According to the Talmudic treatise, *Jebamoth* 49*b*, it was found in a genealogical list of a Jerusalem family; and according to *Sanhedrin* 103*b* in a Targum on 2 Kings xxi. 16 (published by Assemani, *Catal. Vatic.* i. 452), it is amplified in a Jerusalem Targum which the *Codex Reuchlin* puts in the margin, lxvi. 1; and appears in simpler form (compared with the Targum) in the Apocryphal "Ascension of Isaiah" (edited in the Ethiopic text by Rich. Laurence in 1819, and by Aug. Dillmann in 1877; in Greek, from a MS. in the National Library at Paris, by O. von Gebhardt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, xxi. 330 ff.), to which Origen appeals. Regarding a Persian form of this "Ascension," or rather the kindred "Vision of Isaiah," see Spiegel, *Literatur der Parsen*, p. 128 ff.

[2] Gustav Baur also made Ussher's system the basis of his *Tabellen über die Geschichte des israel. Volkes*, 1848, except where Prideaux (on Ezra and Nehemiah) and Bunsen (on Egypt) offered something better.

the Scripture historian himself counted the beginning and the end of the reigns, and the mutual relation of these in both kingdoms. Alongside of Ussher's calculations, accordingly, I place, by way of example, those of my friend Aug. Köhler (in the appendix to his *Biblische Geschichte des A. T.*, 1884). The figures within parentheses beside the name of the king indicate the duration of his rule, and the large numbers give the year in which the monarch in question ascended the throne.

JUDAH.	Ussher.	Köhler.	ISRAEL.	Ussher.	Köhler.
	B.C.	B.C.		B.C.	B.C.
Athaliah (6), .	884	881	Jehu (28), .	884	881
Joash (40), .	878	875	Jehoahaz (17), .	856	853
Amaziah (29), .	839	836	Jehoash (16), .	839	838
Uzziah (52), .	810	807	Jeroboam II. (41),	825	822
			Zechariah ($\frac{1}{2}$), .	773	769
			Shallum ($\frac{1}{12}$), .	772	768
Jotham (16),			Menahem (10), .	772	768
Sole ruler, .	758	755	Pekahiah (2), .	761	758
Ahaz (16),	742	739	Pekah (20), .	759	756
Hezekiah (29), .	726	724	*Interregnum* .		736
Manasseh (55), .	698	695	Hoshea (9), .	730	727
Amon (2), . .	643	640	Fall of Samaria,	722	719
Josiah (31), .	641	638			

This table is merely intended to render the computation of the Books of Kings and Chronicles as objective as possible. Doubt remains especially as to the interregnum between Pekah and Hoshea; perhaps such a blank should be excluded, and the reign of Pekah made to extend to 727 B.C. No account is taken in the table of the Assyrian chronology: Köhler himself is of opinion that it helps us in several instances to the actually correct dates. He has already shown [1] that what is narrated in Isaiah, chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., occurred in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign; and, on the other hand, what we read in Isaiah, chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii., happened in his twenty-fourth year (701 B.C.).

The following durations of reigns are definitely fixed by the testimony of the Assyrian monuments:—

Shalmaneser II., ... 860–824 B.C.
Tiglath-Pileser II., ... 745–727 „

[1] In the *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1874, pp. 96–98.

Shalmaneser IV., ...	727–722 B.C.
Sargon, ...	722–705 „

The following names and dates are also given:—

Ahab (battle at Karkar between Aleppo and Hamath, against the kings of Damascus and Hamath, with their allies; unless, as Wellhausen and Kamphausen suppose, Ahab is erroneously named instead of his son, Joram), ...	854 B.C.
Jehu (tributary), ...	842 „
Azariah (*i.e.* Uzziah, in connection with Tiglath-Pileser II.), ...	740 „
Menahem (made tributary by Pul, *i.e.* Tiglath-Pileser II.[1]), ...	738 „
Pekah (dethroned by Tiglath-Pileser), .	734 „
Fall of Samaria, ...	722 „
Campaign of Sennacherib against Samaria,	701 „

See the thorough investigations of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2nd edition;[2] and the summaries of Friedrich Delitzsch, under the article, "Sanherib," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*, continued by Hauck, Band xii. (1884).

To these Assyrian synchronisms regard is shown, either entirely or in great measure, in the calculations of Wellhausen in his article on "The Chronology of the Book of Kings after the Division of the Kingdom," in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 607–640; cf. Kamphausen, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, iii. (1883) pp. 193–202, and in his work, *The Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*, 1883; and of Duncker in his *History of Antiquity*, 5th edition, 1878. Following S. R. Driver in his *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (1888, p. 13), we give here the estimates of these three writers, passing over the otherwise important article in *The Church Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1886, pp. 257–271, inasmuch as the author is unknown to us, and an anonymous authority is of no weight.

[1] His name was probably Pulu (Puru) before he rose to be ruler of the Babylono-Assyrian kingdom.

[2] Translated into English by the Rev. Professor Owen C. Whitehouse, London 1885–88, 2 vols.—Tr.

JUDAH.	Wellh.	Kamph.	Dunck.	ISRAEL.	Wellh.	Kamph.	Dunck.
	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.		B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
Athaliah (6), .	84?	843	843	Jehu (28), .	84?	843	843
Joash (40), .	83?	837	837	Jehoahaz (17), .	81?	815	815
Amaziah (29),	800	797	797	Jehoash (16), .	801	798	798
Uzziah (32), .	791	778	792	Jeroboam II. (41),	785	782	790
				Zechariah (½), .	746	741	749
				Shallum (1/12), .	745	741	749
Jotham (16), .	(750)	(751)		Menahem (10), .	744	741	748
Sole ruler, .	740	736	740	Pekahiah (2), .	wanting	738	738
Ahaz (16), .	735	735	734	Pekah (20), .	734	736	736
Hezekiah (29),	715	715	728	Hoshea (9), .	733	730	734
Manasseh (55),	686	686	697	Fall of Samaria,	722	722	722
Amon (2), .	641	641	642				
Josiah (31), .	639	639	640				

The figures do not give here the year of accession to the throne, but the complete first year of the reign of the monarch which followed his accession. Those of Duncker prefer, in seven places, instead of the Biblical figures, other numbers, which make Jeroboam II. to have come to the throne earlier than Uzziah, and Jotham earlier than Pekah,—an unfounded conjecture, as even Kamphausen thinks. A strange feature in Wellhausen's arrangement is the elimination of Pekahiah (but cf. his *Prolegomena*, p. 475). Kamphausen, in six instances, lengthens or shortens the numbers of the years indicating the duration of reigns (Amaziah, 19; Uzziah, 42; Ahaz, 20; Manasseh, 45; Menahem, 3; Pekah, 6); but, without claiming mathematical exactness for these corrections, he is rather on the whole convinced that, in the Biblical chronology of the period of the kings, we are on really historical ground. It may thus perhaps be necessary also to maintain, with W. Robertson Smith (*The Prophets in Israel*, pp. 413–419), that the year of Samaria's fall was not one of the last years of Ahaz, but one of the first of Hezekiah.

If we place the death of Uzziah in the year 740, and the defeat of Sennacherib before Jerusalem in the year 701, then Isaiah's public ministry embraced a period of forty years.

§ 2. *The Arrangement of the Collection.*

The collection of Isaiah's prophecies is, on the whole, chronologically arranged. The dates in vi. 1, vii. 1, xiv. 28, xx. 1, xxxvi. 1, are points in a continuous line. The three main divisions also form a chronological series; for chaps. i.–vi. set before us the ministry of Isaiah under Uzziah and Jotham; chaps. vii.–xxxix., his ministry under Ahaz and onwards to the last years of Hezekiah; while chaps. xl.–lxvi. —their authenticity being assumed—are in any case the latest productions of the prophet. In the middle division, likewise, the group in chaps. vii.–xii., belonging to the time of Ahaz, chronologically precedes the prophecies in chaps. xiii.–xxxix., belonging to the days of Hezekiah. In several instances, however, the chronological arrangement is set aside in favour of an arrangement according to the subject-matter. Thus the discourse in chap. i. is not the oldest, but is placed first as an introduction to all the rest; and the account of the prophet's consecration, given in chap. vi., which should stand at the beginning of the group which belongs to the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, is placed at the end, where it looks backwards and forwards, like a prediction in the process of being fulfilled. The Ahaz group, which follows in chaps. vii.–xii., is a whole moulded at one casting. But in the group belonging to Hezekiah's time (chaps. xiii.–xxxix.) the chronological order is again interrupted several times. The predictions against the nations, from xiv. 24 to chap. xxii., which belong to the Assyrian period, are introduced by a "burden" concerning Babylon, the city of the world-power (chaps. xiii.–xiv. 23), and closed by one concerning Tyre, the city of the world's commerce, which was to be destroyed by the Chaldeans (chap. xxiii.); while a shorter "burden" concerning Babylon, in chap. xxi. 1–10, divides the cycle into two halves, and a collection of prophecies regarding the nations converges in the great apocalyptic epilogue (chaps. xxiv.–xxvii.), like streams discharging themselves into a sea. Accordingly, the first portion of the Hezekiah group, of pre-eminently ethnic contents, is interwoven with Babylonian pieces which belong to divers points in the life of Isaiah. Another such piece is the great epilogue in chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., forming the last

echo of the second portion of the Hezekiah group. This second portion is mainly occupied with the fate of Judah, the judgment which the Assyrian world-power executes upon Judah, and the deliverance that awaits it (chaps. xxviii.–xxxiii.): these announcements are closed with a solemn declaration, in chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., of the judgment of God on the world of Israel's enemies on the one hand, and the redemption of Israel on the other. This Babylonian portion is followed by the historical section in chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix., which form the historical frame of Isaiah's predictions delivered near the time of the Assyrian catastrophe, and furnish us with the key for understanding not merely chaps. vii.–xxxv., but also chaps. xl.–lxvi.

If we take the Book of Isaiah, then, as a whole, in the form in which it lies before us, apart from critical analysis, it falls into two halves, chaps. i.–xxxix., and chaps. xl.–lxvi. The former subdivides into seven parts, the latter into three. The first half may be called the *Assyrian*, inasmuch as the point at which it aims and in which it terminates is the fall of Assyria; the second may be called the *Babylonian*, as its final object is the deliverance from Babylon. The first half is not purely Assyrian, however; but among the Assyrian portions are inserted Babylonian pieces, and generally such as apocalyptically break through the limited horizon of the former. The seven portions of the first half are the following: 1. *Prophecies on the growth of obduracy in the mass of the people* (chaps. ii.–vi.). 2. *The consolation of Immanuel in the Assyrian oppressions* (chaps. vii.–xii.). These two portions form a syzygy, ending with a psalm of the redeemed (chap. xii.), the last echo of the song at the Red Sea; and are separated by the consecration of the prophet (chap. vi.), which looks both backward and forward: the opening discourse (chap. i.), as a kind of prologue, forms the introduction to the whole. 3. *Prophecies of judgment and salvation of the heathen* (chaps. xiii.–xxiii.), chiefly belonging to the period of the judgment on Assyria, but enclosed and intersected by Babylonian pieces. A prophecy concerning Babylon (chap. xiii.–xiv. 23), the city of the world-power, forms its introduction; while a prophecy concerning Tyre (chap. xxiii.), the city of the world's commerce, which received its death-blow from the Chaldeans,

forms its conclusion; and a second prophecy concerning the desert by the sea, *i.e.* Babylon (chap. xxi. 1–10), forms the centre. 4. Then follows a great apocalyptic *prophecy concerning the judgment of the world and the last things* (chaps. xxiv.–xxvii.), affording a grand background to the cycle of prophecies concerning the nations, and with it forming a second syzygy. 5. A third syzygy begins with chaps. xxviii.–xxxiii.: this cycle of prophecy is historical, and treats of the revolt from Assyria and its results. 6. With it is combined a far-reaching eschatological prophecy on the *avenging and redemption of the Church* (chaps. xxxiv., xxxv.), in which we already hear, as in a prelude, the keynote of chaps. xl.–lxvi. 7. After these three syzygies we are carried back (by chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix.) in the first two historical accounts to the Assyrian period, while the other two show us, afar off, the entanglement with Babylon, which was then but about to begin. These four historical accounts, with the indications of their chronological order, are peculiarly arranged in such a way that half of them look backwards, half of them forwards; they thus also fasten together the two halves of the whole book. The prophecy in chap. xxxix. 5–7 stands between the two halves like a sign-post, bearing on its arm the inscription "Babylon" (בָּבֶל). Thither tends the further course of Israel's history; there is the prophet henceforward buried in spirit with his people; there (in chaps. xl.–lxvi.) does he proclaim to the mourners of Zion the approaching deliverance. The trilogical arrangement of this book of consolation may be regarded as proved ever since it was first observed and shown by Rückert in 1831. It falls into three sections, containing three times three addresses (chaps. xl.–xlviii., xlix.–lvii., lviii.–lxvi.), with a kind of refrain at the close.

§ 3. *The Critical Questions.*

The collection of Isaiah's prophecies is thus a united whole, whose several parts have been skilfully and significantly arranged. This arrangement is worthy of the prophet. Nevertheless, the present form of the work is not to be attributed to him, if (1) the prophecies in chaps. xiii.–xiv. 23,

xxi. 1–10, xxiii., xxiv.–xxvii., xxxiv. and xxxv. cannot have been composed by him; and (2) if the historical accounts in chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix., which we find again in 2 Kings xviii. 13 to xx. 19, are not records from Isaiah's pen. For if those prophecies be taken away, the beautiful whole, especially the book against the nations, tumbles to pieces into a confused *quodlibet;* and if chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix. were not directly composed by Isaiah, then neither can the arrangement of the whole be directly the work of Isaiah; for it is precisely chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix. which form the clasp binding the two halves of the collection together.

The critical treatment of Isaiah began in the following manner :—The commencement was made with the *second part.* Koppe first of all expressed doubt regarding the genuineness of chap. l.; then Döderlein expressed his decided suspicion as to the genuineness of the whole; and Justi, followed by Eichhorn, Paulus, and Bertholdt, raised the suspicion into confident assurance of spuriousness. The result thus attained could not possibly remain without reaction on the first part. Rosenmüller, who was always very dependent upon predecessors, was the first to deny the Isaian origin of the prophecy against Babylon, in chaps. xiii.–xiv. 23, though this is attested by the heading; Justi and Paulus undertook to find further reasons for the opinion. Greater advance was now made. Along with the prophecy against Babylon in chaps. xiii.–xiv. 23, the other, in chap. xxi. 1–10, was likewise condemned, and Rosenmüller could not but be astonished when Gesenius let the former fall, but left the latter standing. There still remained the prophecy against Tyre, in chap. xxiii., which, according as the announced destruction of Tyre was regarded as accomplished by the Assyrians or the Chaldeans, might either be left to Isaiah, or attributed to a later prophet unknown. Eichhorn, followed by Rosenmüller, decided that it was spurious; but Gesenius understood the Assyrians as the destroyers, and as the prediction consequently did not extend beyond the horizon of Isaiah, he defended its genuineness. Thus was the Babylonian series of prophecies set aside. The keen eyes of the critics, however, made still further discoveries. In chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., Eichhorn found plays on words that were unworthy of Isaiah, and Gesenius an allegorical

announcement of the fall of Babylon: both accordingly condemned these three chapters, and Ewald transposed them to the time of Cambyses. With chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., on account of their relation to the second part, the procedure was shorter. Rosenmüller at once pronounced them to be "a poem composed during the Babylonian exile, near its close." Such is the history of the origin of the criticism of Isaiah. Its first attempts were very juvenile. It was Gesenius, but especially Hitzig and Ewald, who first raised it to the eminence of a science.

If we take our stand on this eminence, then the Book of Isaiah is an anthology of prophetic discourses by different authors. I have never found anything inherently objectionable in the view that prophetic discourses by Isaiah and by other later prophets may have been blended and joined together in it on a definite plan. Even in that case the collection would be no play of chance, no production of arbitrary will. Those prophecies originating in post-Isaian times are, in thought and the expression of thought, more nearly akin to Isaiah than to any other prophet; they are really the homogeneous and simultaneous continuation of Isaian prophecy, the primary stream of which ramifies in them as in the branches of a river, and throughout retains its fertilizing power. These later prophets so closely resembled Isaiah in prophetic vision, that posterity might on that account well identify them with him. They belong more or less nearly to those pupils of his to whom he refers, when, in chap. viii. 16, he entreats the Lord, "Seal instruction among my disciples." We know of no other prophet belonging to the kingdom of Judah, like Isaiah, who was surrounded by a band of younger prophets, and, so to speak, formed a school. Viewed in this light, the Book of Isaiah is the work of his creative spirit and the band of followers. These later prophets are Isaian,—they are Isaiah's disciples; it is his spirit that continues to operate in them, like the spirit of Elijah in Elisha,—nay, we may say, like the spirit of Jesus in the apostles; for the words of Isaiah (viii. 18), "Behold, I and the children whom God hath given me," are employed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 13) as typical of Jesus Christ. In view of this fact, the whole book rightly bears the name of

Isaiah, inasmuch as he is, directly and indirectly, the author of all these prophetic discourses; his name is the correct common-denominator for this collection of prophecies, which, with all their diversity, yet form a unity; and the second half particularly (chaps. xl.–lxvi.) is the work of a pupil who surpasses the master, though he owes the master everything.

Such may possibly be the case. It seems to me even probable, and almost certain, that this may be so; but indubitably certain it is not, in my opinion, and I shall die without getting over this hesitancy. For very many difficulties arise, —this first of all, that not a single one of the canonical books of prophecy has a similar phenomenon to present, excepting only the Book of Zechariah, with chaps. ix.–xiv. of which the same is said to be the case as with Isaiah, chaps. xl.–lxvi., with this difference merely, that whereas the latter are ascribed to a prophet who lived during the exile, chaps. ix.–xiv. of Zechariah are attributed to one or two earlier prophets of pre-exile times. Stade has proved the post-exilian origin of Zechariah, chaps. ix.–xiv., also; and we may still continue to assume that it is the post-exilian—but, after chaps. i.–viii., much older—Zechariah himself who, in chaps. ix.–xiv., prophesies concerning the last days in figures borrowed from the past, and purposely makes use of older prophecies. No other book of prophecy besides occasions like doubts as to its unity of authorship. Even regarding the Book of Jeremiah, Hitzig allows that, though interpolated, it contains no spurious pieces. Something exceptional, however, may have happened to the Book of Isaiah. Yet it would certainly be a strange accident if there should have been preserved a quantity of precisely such prophecies as carry with them, in so eminent a degree, so singularly, and in so matchless a manner, Isaiah's style. Strange, again, it would be that history knows nothing whatever regarding this Isaian series of prophets. And strange is it, once more, that the very names of these prophets have suffered the common fate of being forgotten, even although, in time, they all stood nearer to the collector than did the old prophet whom they had taken as their model. Tradition, indeed, is anything but infallible, yet its testimony here is powerfully corroborated by the rela-

tion of Zephaniah and Jeremiah—the two most reproductive prophets—not merely to chaps. xl.–lxvi., but also to the undisputed portions of the first half. To all appearance they had before them these prophecies, making these their model, and taking out passages for incorporation in their own prophecies, thus forming a kind of mosaic,—a fact which has been thoroughly investigated by Caspari, but which none of the modern critics as yet has carefully considered, and ventured, with like citation of proofs, to disprove. Further, though the disputed prophecies contain much that cannot be adduced from the remaining prophecies,—material which Driver, in his *Isaiah* (1888), has carefully extracted and elucidated,—yet I am not convinced that the characteristically Isaian elements do not preponderate. And, thirdly, the type of the disputed prophecies, which, if genuine, belong to the latest period of the prophet, does not stand in sharp contrast to the type of the remainder,—rather do the confessedly genuine prophecies lead us in many ways to the others; the brighter form and the richer eschatological contents of the disputed prophecies find their preludes there. And if the unity of Isaian authorship is actually given up, how many later authors, along with the great anonymous writer of chaps. xl.–lxvi., have we to distinguish? To this query no one has yet given a satisfactory reply. Such are the considerations which, in the Isaian question, assuredly do not allow me to attain the assurance of mathematical certainty. Moreover, the influence of criticism on exegesis in the Book of Isaiah amounts to nothing. If any one casts reproach on this commentary as uncritical, he will at least be unable to charge it with misinterpretation. Nowhere will it be found that the exposition does violence to the text in favour of a false apologetic design.

When John Coleridge Patteson, the missionary bishop of Melanesia, undertook his last voyage of supervision among the islands,—a voyage which ended with his martyrdom on September 29, 1871,—he was studying, on board the schooner, the Book of Isaiah, with the help of this commentary, regarding which he wrote before on one occasion, "Delitzsch helps me much in Isaiah." His last letter speaks at the close about this commentary and Biblical criticism. Miss Ch. M. Yonge, in her biography, has not given this

passage.[1] But doubtless it expressed his deep and absorbing interest in the Divine word of prophecy, which at present almost completely disappears behind the tangled thorns of an overgrown criticism. Meanwhile, if we hold ourselves warranted, on the one hand, in objecting to that direction of criticism from which a naturalistic contemplation of the world demands foregone conclusions of a negative character,—on the other hand, we are certainly far from denying to criticism as such its well-founded rights.

§ 4. *Exposition in its Present State.*

When the Church, at the time of the Reformation, began to examine and sift its possessions that had been handed down by tradition, Biblical criticism also took its rise. At the same time, Scripture exposition on historico-grammatical principles, conscious of its task, endeavoured to reach the one true meaning of Scripture, and put an end to the legerdemain of the "manifold sense of Scripture" which had been developed in accordance with tedious examples; this advance was made under the influence exerted by the revival of classical studies, and by the help of increased knowledge of Hebrew derived from Jewish teachers. For Isaiah, however, the Reformation-period itself did not accomplish much.

Calvin's Commentaries answer the expectations with which one goes to consult them; on the other hand, *Luther's* Scholia are a second-hand and poor performance. The productions of *Grotius*, important enough in other fields, are in Isaiah, as throughout the prophets generally, of little consequence; he mixes up the sacred with the profane; and being unable to follow prophecy in its flight, he clips its wings. Aug. *Varenius*, of Rostock, one of the orthodox Lutherans, wrote a Commentary on Isaiah which is not to be despised even now; but, though learned in many ways, it is the confused production of an undisciplined mind. But Campegius *Vitringa* (who died in 1722 as professor of theology at Franequer), by his Commentary in two folio volumes, which appeared in 1714, threw all the works of his predecessors into the shade. It is he who originated the historical

[1] *Life of J. C. Patteson*, vol. ii. p. 379 (cf. 268), 5th edition (1875).

method of expounding the prophets, and in this he has given us his own work as a model;[1] but, though starting with the correct principle that it does not exhaust the meaning of the prophet's words, he nevertheless, in the allegorical explanation appended to the grammatico-historical, shows that he is not yet quite free from the Cocceian method, which, without considering the complex-apotelesmatic character of prophecy, reads in the prophets the most minute allusions to the history of the world and the Church. The shady sides of the commentary usually come before the reader first; but the more he uses it, the more highly does he learn to value it. There is deep research throughout,—nowhere a superabundance of dead and dry learning. The author's heart is present in his work. At times he pauses in the path of toilsome investigation, and gives vent to his thoughts in rapturous expressions. He sees and feels more deeply than Bishop *Lowth*, who keeps to the surface, alters the Masoretic text according to his taste,[2] and does not get beyond æsthetic admiration of the form.

The era of modern exegesis begins with that destructive theology of the latter half of the eighteenth century which pulled down but could not build. This destruction, however, was not unproductive of good: the denial of the divine and eternal in Scripture has helped us to recognise its human and temporal aspects, the charm of its poetry, and—what is of still greater consequence—the concrete reality of its history. *Rosenmüller's* Scholia (3 vols.; last edition, 1811–1820) are an industrious, clear, and elegant compilation, chiefly from Vitringa; the sobriety of judgment displayed in selecting, and the dignified earnestness—far removed from all frivolity—deserve our praise. The Commentary of *Gesenius* (in three parts, or with the translation, four parts, 1820–1821), which is more decidedly rationalistic, is also more independent in its exegesis, careful in its historical expositions, and especially distinguished for its pleasing and perspicuous style and the stores of learning gathered from all the literature on Isaiah, especially the new sources of grammatico-historical knowledge opened up since Vitringa's time. The Commentary

[1] See Diestel, *Geschichte des A. T. in der christlichen Kirche*, 436–438.

[2] Against him, Köhler wrote *Vindiciae textus Heb. Esaiae*, 1786.

of *Hitzig* (1833) remains his best work, eminent for its precision, acuteness, and originality of grammatical perception, its fine tact in discovering the train of thought, its pith and exactness in stating carefully considered results; but it is also disfigured by reckless and pseudo-critical assertions of an arbitrary character, and by a designedly profane style of thought that remains unaffected by the spirit of prophecy. The Commentary of *Hendewerk* (2 vols. 1838–1843) is in philological and historical exposition often very weak; the style is diffuse, and the eye of the disciple of Herbart is too dull to distinguish between Israelitish prophecy and heathen poetry, between the politics of Isaiah and those of Demosthenes. Nevertheless, the careful diligence and earnest endeavour to point out in Isaiah the germs of eternal verities, are unmistakeable. In the work of *Ewald* (translated into English; London 1875–1881) there is universally recognised his natural penetration, and the noble enthusiasm with which he throws himself into the contents of the prophetic books, in which he finds a perpetual present; and his endeavour to attain a deep apprehension is in some degree rewarded. But it is provoking to observe the self-sufficiency with which he ignores nearly all his predecessors, the dictatorial confidence of his criticism, the false and often nebulous pathos, and the complete identification of his opinions with truth itself. In setting forth the characteristics of the prophets, he is a master; his translations, on the other hand, are stiff, and hardly according to the taste of any one. *Umbreit's* Practical Commentary (2nd edition, 1846) is useful and stimulating; a profound æsthetic and religious conviction of the glorious character of the prophetic word reveals itself in highly poetic language, heaping one figure on another, and almost never descending to an ordinary level. The other extreme is the prose of *Knobel* (died 1863). The precision of this scholar, the third edition of whose Commentary on Isaiah (1861) was one of his last works, deserves the most grateful recognition for its excellence in philological as well as in archæological matters; but his almost affected commonness of style prevents him from seeing the depth of meaning, while his excessive desire to find historical realization everywhere conceals from him the poetry of the form. The Commentary of *Drechsler* was a real

advance in the exposition of Isaiah. It was edited by himself only as far as chap. xxvii., and then completed (2 vols. 1845–57) by me and by H. A. Hahn of Greifswald (who died in 1861), from his notes, though these afforded little that could be used in the exposition of chaps. xl.–xlvi. Since the time of Vitringa, this is comparatively the best Commentary on Isaiah, chaps. i.–xii.,[1] and especially on chaps. xiii.–xxvii. Its excellence does not lie in the exposition of details,—for this is inadequate, through the fragmentary and glossatorial style of its exegesis, and, though diligent and thorough, especially in a grammatical point of view, is not homogeneous or productive,—but in the spiritual and spirited conception of the whole, the profound perception of the character and the ideas of the prophet and of prophecy, the vigorous penetration into the inmost nature of the plan and contents of the whole. Meanwhile (1850, 2 vols.) there appeared the Commentary of Peter *Schegg*, which follows the Vulgate, and contains valuable remarks in connection with the history of translations, but also displays free and profound insight into the genesis and meaning of the prophecies; at the same time there also appeared the Commentary of Ernst *Meier*, the Tübingen orientalist, which did not get beyond the first half. If any one was specially called to advance the exegetical study of the Book of Isaiah, it was C. P. *Caspari* of Christiania; but of his Norwegian Commentary all that has appeared reaches only to the end of chap. vi.,[2] and its progress has been hindered not only by the exhaustive thoroughness of investigation at which he aimed, but also by the Grundtvig controversy, which involved him in very extensive studies in the field of Church history. Wealth of material for the following prophetic discourses is also afforded by his "Contributions to the Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, and to the history of Isaiah's time," which appeared (1848) as vol. ii. of our *Studies in Biblical*

[1] See the review by Franz Dietrich in *Reuters Repertorium*, vol. xlviii. pp. 1–25. In the same year, 1845, Schröring in Wismar began his *Studies in Isaiah*, three parts of which (1845, 1852, 1857) have appeared.

[2] *Commentar til de tolv förste Capitler of Propheten Jesaja*, Christiania 1867. Cf. also the treatise on the Seraphim in Isaiah in the Theological *Tidsskrift* for 1859, and the Essay on the position and meaning of Isaiah viii. in the History of the Kingdom of God, in the *Bibelske Afhandlinger*, 1884.

Theology; his "Programm" on the Syro-Ephraimitish war (published in 1849); and his treatise, not by any means obsolete, on "Jeremiah a witness to the genuineness of Isaiah, chap. xxxiv., and hence also to that of Isaiah, chaps. xl.–lxvi., chaps. xiii.–xiv. 23, and xxi. 1–10" (with an Excursus on the relation of Zephaniah to the disputed prophecies of Isaiah), which appeared in the *Zeitschrift f. d. ges. luth. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1843.

Among Jewish Commentaries, two must be mentioned; the work of M. L. *Malbim* (who died at Kiew 1879), which (published at Krotoschin 1849) especially deals in a concise style with the exact meaning of synonymous words and expressions; and the learned, subtle, and ever-stimulating work of Samuel David *Luzzatto*, of Padua (died 1865), part of which, from the beginning to chap. xxxviii., was published by himself under the title *Profeta Isaia volgarizzato e commentato ad uso degli Israeliti*, while the remainder was edited after his death from the materials he had left (Padua 1855–1866).

Of additional literature that has been published since the appearance of the second and third editions of this Commentary (1869, 1879), the following, arranged in chronological order, is worthy of notice:—

CHEYNE, T. K. (Oriel Professor at Oxford, and Canon of Colchester): The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged. An amended version, with historical and critical introductions and explanatory notes. London 1870.

There had previously been published, by the same writer, Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew text of Isaiah (London 1868): frequent reference was made to this work in the second edition of our Commentary.

SEINECKE, L. (Pastor at Hevensen, near Nordheim): Der Evangelist des Alten Testaments. Erklärung der Weissagung Jesaia's, Kap. xl.–lxvi. Leipzig 1870.

See the review by Ed. Riehm, in Studien u. Kritiken, 1872, pp. 553–578.

BIRKS, T. R.: Commentary on the Book of Isaiah. London 1871.

ספר ישעיה, Liber Jesaiae. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est edendi operis adjutor Fr. Delitzsch. Leipzig 1872.

Diestel, Ludwig (died at Tübingen, 1879): Der Prophet Jesaia, erklärt von Aug. Knobel (who died 1863); Aufl. 4. Leipzig 1872.

Riehm, Ed. (died at Halle, 1888): Das erste Buch Mose nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Dr. Mart. Luthers in rediviertem Text mit Vorbemerkungen und Erläuterungen, und einem die Berichtigungen des Jesaja enthaltenden Anhang im Auftrag der zur Revision der Uebersetzung des A. T. berufenen Conferenz herausgegeben. Halle 1873.

Stade, Bernhard (Professor in Giessen): De Isaiae vaticiniis Aethiopicis diatribe. Leipzig 1873.

See the notice by Aug. Dillmann in the Liter. Centralblatt, 1874, Nr. 9.

Strachey, Sir Edward: Jewish History and Politics in the time of Sargon and Sennacherib. An inquiry into the historical meaning and purpose of the prophecies of Isaiah. Second edition, revised. London 1874.

Weber, Ferd. (died at Polsingen, 1879): Der Profet Jesaja in Bibelstunden ausgelegt. 2 vols. Nördlingen 1875–76.

Klostermann, Aug. (Professor in Kiel): Jesaja, cap. xl.–lxvi. Eine Bitte um Hülfe in grosser Noth. In Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie, 1876; pp. 1–60.

Kohut, Alex. (Chief Rabbi in Fünfkirchen): Antiparsische Aussprüche im Deuterojesajas. In Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, 1879, pp. 709–722.

Neteler, B.: Das Buch Isaias aus dem Urtext übersetzt und mit Berücksichtigung seiner Gliederung und der auf seinen Inhalt sich beziehenden assyr. Inschriften erklärt. Münster 1876.

See the notice by W. Baudissin in the Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1876, Nr. 19.

REUSS, ED. (Professor in Strasburg): Les Prophètes (forming Part 2 of his work on the Scriptures), 2 vols., the former of which contains the translation and exposition of the old Isaiah portions, while the latter contains the decidedly later portions. Paris 1876.

The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters. I. Texts edited from printed books and MSS. by Ad. Neubauer. II. Translations by S. R. Driver and Ad. Neubauer. With an introduction to the translations by Prof. E. B. Pusey. Oxford and London 1876–77.

See the notice by Hermann Strack in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1877, Nr. 21.

LE HIR (formerly Professor in the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, Paris): Les trois grands prophètes, Isaïe, Jérémie, Ezéchiel; analyses et commentaires. Paris 1877.

See the notice by W. Baudissin in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1877, Nr. 11.

NÄGELSBACH, C. W. EDUARD (died at Gunzenhausen, 1880): Der Prophet Jesaja, theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet (Theil 14 des Lange'schen Bibelwerks). Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1877. [Translated into English, with additions, by Samuel T. Lowrie and Dunlop Moore. New York and Edinburgh 1878.]

See the notice in the Beilage zur Luth. Kirchenzeitung, Nr. 1, and that by Em. Kautsch in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1878, Nr. 25.

STRACK, HERM. (Professor in Berlin): Zur Textkritik des Jesaias. In Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie, 1877, pp. 17–52.

STUDER, G. L. (Professor in Berne): Beiträge zur Textkritik des Jesaja. In the Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie, 1877, pp. 706–730.

FEHR, Fredrik: Profeten Jesaja: Ett gammaltestamentligt Utkast. Upsala 1877.

DE LAGARDE, PAUL (Professor in Göttingen): Semitica. Aus dem 23. Bande der Abhandl. der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. in Göttingen. Göttingen 1878.

Pages 1–32 contain critical remarks on Isaiah, chaps. i.–xvii.: see the notice by Eberh. Nestle in the Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1878, Nr. 11.

LÖHR, FR. (Pastor in Zirchow a/Usedom): Zur Frage über die Echtheit von Jesaias 40–66. Drei Hefte. Berlin 1878–80.

See the notice in the Liter. Beilage der Luther. Kirchenzeitung, 1879, Nr. 17.

KÖSTLIN, FRIEDRICH: Jesaia und Jeremia. Ihr Leben und ihr Wirken aus ihren Schriften dargestellt. Berlin 1879.

BARTH, J. (Professor in Berlin): Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaia. Karlsruhe 1855.

SCHOLZ, ANTON (Professor in Würzburg): Die alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias. Würzburg 1880.

CHEYNE, T. K.: The Prophecies of Isaiah. A new translation, with commentary and appendices. 2 vols. London 1880–81. [Fifth edition, 1889.]

See my notice of the first edition in *The Academy*, 1880 (Ap. 10).

KNABENBAUER, A. (Jesuit priest): Erklärung des Propheten Jesaia. Freiburg i. B. 1881.

Distinguished for the very extensive use made of the older expository literature (certainly with no great profit), and for beneficial regard to the more modern.

GUTHE, HERM. (Professor in Leipzig): Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia. Leipzig 1885.

BREDENKAMP, C. J. (Professor in Greifswald): Der Prophet Jesaia erklärt. Drei Lieferungen. Erlangen 1886–7.

This author has also published *Vaticinium quod de Immanuele edidit Jesaias.* Erlangen 1880.

VON ORELLI, CONR. (Professor in Basle): Die Propheten Jesaja und Jeremia ausgelegt. Nördlingen 1887. [Translated in Clark's For. Theol. Lib., Edinburgh 1889.]

[DRIVER, S. R. (Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford University): Isaiah, his Life and Times. London 1888.]

[SAYCE, A. H.: The Life and Times of Isaiah. London 1889.]

[SMITH, GEORGE A.: The Book of Isaiah. 2 vols. London 1889–90.]

THE SUPERSCRIPTION OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

I. *The external title as handed down* is יְשַׁעְיָה. The LXX. always modifies the form of the prophet's name into *ΗΣΑΙΑΣ* (see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 111); on the other hand, it renders the name ישעיה in Ezra viii. 7, 19 by *'Ισαΐας* (but in other places in many other ways[1]), both paroxytone, inasmuch as *ας* in prosody is long; Lat. *Isaias* (*Esaias*), in Prudentius with accented *a* and short *i* (but, on the other hand, *Jeremīas*, because in this case the *e*, which is short in accordance with the Hebrew, is not suited for bearing the accent of the word). In the book itself, and throughout the Old Testament Scriptures, the prophet is called יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (in the Babylonian Codex, dating from the year 916, יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, according to the old style of writing); on the other hand, in the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the shorter form designates other persons. Though the shorter form of such names was in ancient times current along with the longer, it came to be exclusively used in more recent days; hence its employment as the usual title. The name is a compound word, signifying "Jahu (Jah) has wrought salvation,"—ישע being equivalent to הוֹשִׁיעַ (in הוֹשַׁעְיָה), as רחב in רְחַבְיָה is equivalent to הִרְחִיב—not "salvation of Jahu" (as explained, for instance, by Küper, with Caspari); for, as Köhler has shown, in the beginning of his Commentary on Zechariah, the number of the names of persons compounded of a substantive and יה is exceeded by

[1] 'Ησαΐας (or even 'Ησάϊας, following the analogy of 'Ησίοδος, 'Ησύχιος) is essentially a modification like 'Ισαΐας. There are some other proper names beginning with יְשׁ, but the LXX. renders none of these by Ησ or Ισ, like this one. In Ezra viii. 7, 19, ישעיה is modified into the form Ισαΐας, and in 1 Chron. iii. 21, Neh. xi. 7, into 'Ιεσίας,—a worse form.

that of those which are formed from the perfect of the Qal, and this, too, with the meaning of a derived conjugation, especially the Piël and Hiphil. Combined with יֵשַׁע, however, the name would probably take the form יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (like חִלְקִיָּה, מַלְכִּיָּה, צִדְקִיָּהוּ), and signify, "Jahu is my salvation;" hence יְשַׁעְיָה, like זְבַדְיָה, זְכַרְיָה, נְתַנְיָה, will be an exclamation of thankfulness to God made into the name of the child.[1] The prophet shows he is conscious that it was not by accident he bore this name; for הוֹשִׁיעַ, יֵשַׁע, and יְשׁוּעָה are among his favourite words,—nay, we may say, he lives and moves in the coming salvation: but יהוה is the God of salvation; this is the peculiar redemptive designation of God. The name indicates the Being who exists absolutely (*i.e.* eternally and independently), who bears witness to Himself (Ex. iii. 14), as freely and according to His own counsel determining His ways, ruling throughout the course of history, and fixing its form. This work of free grace has for its end that salvation which, beginning with Israel and working outwards, embraces and includes all mankind. The element יהו (יה) in the prophet's name has been shortened from the "tetragrammaton" יהוה by rejecting the second ה. From this abbreviation we see that the vowel *a* stood at the beginning of the divine name. According to Theodoret, it was pronounced *'Ιαβέ* by the Samaritans; this is also the pronunciation given in the Archontic list of the divine names found in Epiphanius. Jacob of Edessa, as we learn from an excursus to his Syriac translation of the *Λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι* of Severus of Antioch, was under the erroneous impression that the name in Hebrew was pronounced יהיה like אהיה; moreover, this ܝܗܝܗ, in the Codex Curzonianius of the Syro-Hexaplar Isaiah, is transcribed in Greek characters *ΙΕΗΕ* (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxii. 465 ff.). The testimony hereby borne to the conclusion of the word in ־ֶה is confirmed by the abbreviation into יְהוֹ, which, after the analogy of similar abbreviations, has come from יַהְוֶה, through an intermediate form יַהְוְ. The modified form *'Αϊά* (found in Theodoret) does not point to the divine name יהוה (which must have been represented by *'Ιαβά*), but יה; *'Ιαῶ* with its by-forms is יָהוּ, and *'Ιαωϊά* (in Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 656) is the

[1] See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, pp. 206–208.

condensed יְהוֹ יָה.[1] The pronunciation *Jehovah* (*Yehovah*) has arisen from a combination of the *Qeri* and *Kethib*, and did not become current till after the sixteenth century; Galatinus, about 1518, in his work *de arcanis catholicae veritatis*, was the first who remarked that the "tetragrammaton," read as it is pointed, sounds *Jehovah* (*Yehovah*); from that time people began to pronounce it so, but Genebrard, who died in 1597, in his Commentary on the Psalms, continues against Beza to oppose it as an intolerable innovation: *Impii vetustatis temeratores et nominis Dei ineffabilis profanatores atque adeo transformatores* JOVA *vel* JEHOVAH *legunt, vocabulo novo, barbaro, fictitio, irreligioso et Jovem gentilium redolente.*

II. *The title of the book, given by itself.* Ver. 1: "*The vision of Yeshayahu, son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziyahu, Jotham, Ahaz, Yehizkiyahu, kings of Judah.*" Isaiah is here called בֶּן־אָמוֹץ. The Jewish doctrine, known even to the early Fathers of the Church, that when a prophet's father is named, the latter also was a prophet (*Megilla* 15*a*), is unfounded. But there is at least some sense, though no historic basis, in an old tradition repeated in the Midrash (*Pesikta de-Rab Cahana* 117*b*) and the Talmuds (*Megilla* 10*b*, cf. *Sota* 10*b*), that Amoz was the brother of Amaziah, the father and predecessor of Uzziah, and that Isaiah was thus, like the Davidic kings, a descendant of Judah and Tamar. The nature and appearance of Isaiah make a thoroughly royal impression. He speaks to kings like a king. With majestic bearing he goes to meet the magnates of his people, and of the world-power beyond. In his style, he is among the prophets what Solomon was among the kings. In all circumstances and moods, he is master of his materials, a master of language, — simply magnificent, sublime without affectation, splendid though unadorned. But this regal character had its roots somewhere else than in blood. Only this much may be said with certainty, that Isaiah was born in Jerusalem. For the character of his prophecy betokens closest intimacy with the capital: according to *Chagiga* 13*b*, he stands in relation to Ezekiel as a native of the chief city to a native of the provinces; notwithstanding his exceeding manifold prophetic missions, we never

[1] Cf. Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i. 183 f.

find him outside of Jerusalem; here, too, as may be seen from chap. xxii. 1, and the style of his intercourse with king Hezekiah, he lived with his wife and children in the lower part of the city; here he carried on his ministry under the four kings named in ver. 1, who are enumerated without "vav copulative;" there is the same unconnected enumeration as in the titles of the Books of Hosea and Micah. There Hezekiah is called יְחִזְקִיָּה,—almost the same form as here,—but with the simple rejection of the toneless וּ. The Chronicler especially prefers the complete form,—full both at the beginning and the end,—though he also uses the rarer form חזקיהו. Roorda is of opinion that the Chronicler took this malformation from the three titles, where it is a copyist's error for יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ or יְחִזְקִיָּה; but it is also found in Jer. xv. 4 and 2 Kings xx. 10, where such an error in transcription could not possibly have taken place. Accordingly, it is not an irregular form; we must not, however, with Roorda, derive it from the Piël, but from the Qal of the verb ("strong is Jehovah"), with a connecting *i*, which occurs pretty frequently in proper names derived from verb-roots with a vowel in the middle, such as יְשִׂימִאֵל from שִׂים, 1 Chron. iv. 36.

Under the kings already mentioned Isaiah exercised his ministry, or, as it is expressed in ver. 1, saw the vision which he committed to writing in the book before us. Among the many Hebrew synonyms for seeing, חָזָה is the general expression regularly used for prophetic perception, whether the form in which the divine revelation was made to the prophet was a vision or an audible communication; in both cases he "sees" it,—distinguishing this divine message, in its supernatural objectivity, from his own conceptions and thoughts by means of the inner sense, which is designated by the term used to denote the noblest of the five external senses. The prophet accordingly is called חֹזֶה, "a seer" (at an earlier period in the language, רֹאֶה, 1 Sam. ix. 9), and prophecy is called חָזוֹן; the term נְבוּאָה, which is the cognate of נָבִיא, appears only in the latest period (thrice in Chronicles and Nehemiah). The noun חָזוֹן, indeed, is also applied to individual visions (cf. Jer. xxix. 7 with Job xx. 8, xxxiii. 15), like חִזָּיוֹן (const. חֶזְיוֹן), which is formed from חֲזִי by euphonic doubling, and is more frequently used in this sense; but here, in the title to the

Book of Isaiah, the abstract meaning passes over into the still more closely related collective, indicating the whole of what is seen, *i.e.* the contents of the vision. We may not conclude, therefore, that the first part of ver. 1 was originally the superscription merely of the first prophetic address, and that it was only through the addition of the latter part that it was changed into a general title for the whole book: Vitringa held this view, and perhaps it may even be correct, but with the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxxii. 32) this חזון ישעיהו appears as the general title of the collection.

Along with Judah, Jerusalem is further specially mentioned as the object of the vision. The "perpetual Qeri" to ירשלם (יְרוּשָׁלֵם) is יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, which is hardly to be regarded as a "broken dual," *i.e.* as formed through internal change of sound, but— like עֶפְרַיִן for עֶפְרוֹן, 2 Chron. xiii. 19, and the Aramaic שָׁמְרַיִן— a later form in which the diphthongal *ajim* or *aim* has been resolved from the original *ēm*, *ām*, *ān*. Cheyne finds in the particularizing, from Judah to Jerusalem, an indication of the fact that Isaiah was a city-prophet. But the object of the prophecies of the provincial prophet Micah is also (i. 1) marked by the mention of the capitals of both kingdoms. The advance from "Judah" to "Jerusalem" is a centralizing step; and if חזון is meant to indicate the totality of what was seen by Isaiah, this designation of the object of Isaiah's prophecies by "Judah and Jerusalem" is centralizing. For his vision extends far beyond Judah, not merely to the sister kingdom of Ephraim, but also to the Gentile nations. Within the widest circle of the nations of the world there lies the smaller one containing the peoples bordering on the Hebrews; and within this, again, there is the still smaller one of all Israel, including Samaria; within this, once more, there is the yet smaller circle of the kingdom of Judah; and all these circles include Jerusalem, because the whole history of the world, regarded in its inmost working and its final purpose, is the history of the Church of God, which has Jerusalem, the city of Jehovah's temple and the kingdom of promise, for its peculiar site. In this sense, the expression "concerning Judah and Jerusalem" is also suitable for the whole book, in which everything that the prophet sees is seen from Judah and Jerusalem, and for the sake of both, and in the interests

of both. It is more probable, however, that the latter part of ver. 1 is a more recent addition, so that the words from חזון to ירושלם thus formed the original superscription of the first address, and could only indirectly (like the names of the Books of the Pentateuch) be used as the designation of the whole book. For it is inadmissible, with Luzzatto, to take אֲשֶׁר as nominative instead of accusative (*qui* instead of *quam*, sc. *visionem*), in order to stamp the words "The Vision of Isaiah, son of Amoz," as the superscription of the first discourse, in chap. i.; the suggestion is contrary to the syntax, for חָזוֹן אֲשֶׁר חָזָה is the usual Hebrew construction of the verb with its own substantive (Ges. § 138. 1).

FIRST HALF OF THE COLLECTION OF PROPHECIES.

CHAPS. I.-XXXIX.

PART I.—PROPHECIES RELATING TO THE COURSE OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE ONWARDS TO HARDENING OF HEART, CHAPS. I.-VI.

OPENING DISCOURSE, REGARDING JEHOVAH'S WAY WITH HIS UNGRATEFUL AND REBELLIOUS PEOPLE, I. 2 FF.

THE prophet is standing on the fateful boundary-line between the two halves of the history of Israel. Neither by the riches of divine goodness which they experienced during the times of Uzziah and Jotham, which closely resembled those of David and Solomon, nor by the chastisements of the divine displeasure which inflicted wound upon wound, have the people allowed themselves to be brought to repentance and reflection; the divine means of training have been exhausted, and it only remains that Jehovah should let His people in their present condition be consumed in the fire, that a new people may be formed out of the gold which has stood the fiery test. At this period, so pregnant with storms, appear the prophets, like birds upon the sea, presaging the tempest, and more active than at any other epoch,—Amos in the days of Jeroboam, Micah in the reign of Jotham, but above all Isaiah, *the* prophet κατ' ἐξοχήν, standing midway between Moses and Christ.

Conscious of this his exalted position in the history of salvation, he begins his opening address in Deuteronomic fashion, like the grand Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii. This form has been shown by the investigations of Klostermann

(*Studien u. Krit.* 1871) to have passed current in Hezekiah's time, at latest, as a prophetic testimony reaching back to Moses, so that it may actually be regarded as such (see No. X. of my "Studies in Pentateuchal Criticism," in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 503 ff.). This song is the compendious programme and the common watchword of all prophecy, to which it stands in the same fundamental relation as the Decalogue to all other laws, and the Lord's Prayer to all other prayers. The lawgiver therein sets before the eyes of his people their whole history to the end of time. This history falls into four great periods: the creation and exaltation of Israel; the ingratitude and apostasy of Israel; the surrender of Israel into the hands of the heathen; lastly, the restoration of Israel,—sifted but not destroyed,—and the accord of all nations to praise Jehovah, who has revealed Himself in judgment and in mercy. This fourfold division is not merely preserved in every part of the history of Israel, but it forms the distinguishing mark of the history as a whole to its remotest end. Every age of Israel has thus in that song a mirror of its present condition and future destiny. This mirror the prophets held up before their contemporaries. Thus did Isaiah. He opens his prophetic address as Moses begins his Song. Moses begins (Deut. xxxi. 1): "Hear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth." In what sense he calls on heaven and earth he himself tells us in Deut. xxxi. 28 f. He foresees in spirit the future apostasy of Israel, and takes heaven and earth, which will endure beyond his earthly life now drawing to a close, as witnesses of what he has to say to his people with such a prospect. In like manner,—only with the interchange of the parallel verbs שמע and האזין,—Isaiah begins, "*Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for Jehovah speaks.*" The ground of the demand is put in a general way: they are to hear because Jehovah is speaking. But what Jehovah speaks substantially agrees with that address of Jehovah which is introduced in Deut. xxxii. 20 by the expression "And he said." What Jehovah, according to the statement there, will one day have to say in His wrath, He now says through the prophet, whose present corresponds to the future of the Song of Moses. For the time has now arrived when heaven and earth,—which always exist

and are always the same, which have continued through the past history of Israel in all places and at all times,—should fulfil the duty laid on them by the lawgiver to be witnesses; and this is just the special, true, and ultimate sense in which they are required, as they were by Moses, to hear. They were present and shared in the proceedings when Jehovah gave the Law to His people; the heavens, according to Deut. iv. 36, as the place from which the voice of God issued, and the earth as the place where His great fire appeared. They were solemnly admitted to the scene when Jehovah gave to His people the choice between a blessing and a curse, life and death (Deut. xxx. 19, iv. 26). They are now, therefore, to hear and bear witness regarding what Jehovah, their Creator and the God of Israel, has to say, and what complaints He has to make (ver. 2): "*Children have I brought up and exalted, but they have rebelled against Me.*" Though Israel is meant, Israel is not named, but the historical facts are generalized into a parable, in order that the astounding and appalling state of matters may be made more prominent. Israel is Jehovah's son (Ex. iv. 22 f.); all the members of the nation are His children (Deut. xiv. 1, xxxii. 20); He is the Father of Israel, whom He has begotten (Deut. xxxii. 6, 18). The existence of Israel as a nation, like that of other nations, is effected, indeed, by means of natural reproduction, not by spiritual regeneration; but the primary ground of Israel's origin is the supernaturally efficacious word of grace addressed to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 15 f.); and a series of wonderful dealings in grace has brought the growth and development of Israel to that point which it had attained at the Exodus from Egypt. It is in this sense that Jehovah has begotten Israel. This relation of Jehovah to Israel as His children has already, in Isaiah's time, a long time of grace behind it in the past,—the time of Israel's childhood in Egypt, the time of youth in the desert, the time of growing manhood from Joshua to Samuel; and now Joshua can say in the days of Isaiah, "I have brought up children, and exalted them." The opposite of גָּדוֹל is קָטֹן, that of רָם is שָׁפָל. The Piël גִּדֵּל signifies to "make great," and when applied to children (as here and in 2 Kings x. 6, etc.), to "bring up" in the sense of natural growth; and the Pilel רוֹמֵם,

which is used also in xxiii. 4, Ezek. xxxi. 4 (cf. the proper names in 1 Chron. xxv. 29–31), as the parallel to גִּדֵּל, signifies to "exalt" in the dignitative sense of raising to a high position, to which wise love of a father gradually advances a child. The two verses depict the condition of mature manhood and high honour which Israel had reached under the monarchy of David and Solomon, and which has again been enjoyed under Uzziah and Jotham. But how ungrateful were they towards God for what they owed to Him,—"but they have broken away from me!" Instead of an adversative particle (אֲבָל possibly), there is merely ו copulative, used energetically, as in vi. 7 (cf. וְהֵם, Hos. vii. 13). Two things that ought never to have been conjoined,—the gracious and filial relation of Israel to Jehovah, and Israel's base apostasy from Jehovah,—these, though utterly contradictory, were now actually combined. The verb פָּשַׁע, فسق (here with retracted tone,[1] from the presence of the following בִּי), in accordance with its radical idea, signifies to "break away, break loose" (Lat. *dirumpere*, as in *amicitiam dirumpere*),[2] and is followed by ב with the object forming the completion of the action; it means violently and determinedly to break connection with any one, and is here used of the inward severance from God, and renunciation of His claims, which forms the climax of חַטָּאת (Job xxxiv. 37), and of which the full outward manifestation is idolatry. From the time that Solomon, towards the end of his reign, gave himself up to idolatry, the worship of idols had never wholly ceased, even in public, down to the days of Isaiah. Two attempts had been made to put an end to it,—the reformation begun by Asa and completed by Jehoshaphat, and afterwards the one accomplished by Joash during the lifetime of the high priest Jehoiada, who had

[1] Only in the following cases is there no retraction of the tone: (1) When the syllable to which it would be retracted is a closed syllable; (2) When the former of the two logically connected words ends with a heavy suffix; (3) When the final syllable of this word is closed and accented, as in הֵקִים לוֹ.

[2] In Arabic, فسق originally had a purely sensuous meaning, and it is expressly remarked that it received an ethical sense only through Islam; it is the proper word for breaking the fruit by bursting open the husk.

preserved him and brought him up; the first, however, had not been able wholly to abolish idolatry altogether, and what had been removed by Joash returned with redoubled abominations as soon as Jehoiada was dead. Hence the expression, "they have broken away from me," which sums up the whole of Israel's ingratitude in the one culminating sin, applies to the entire history of the nation from the zenith of glory under David and Solomon down to the time of the prophet.

In ver. 3 Jehovah now complains of the apostasy with which His children have rewarded Him as inhuman,—nay, worse than that which would be shown by the brutes: "*An ox knoweth his owner, and an ass the crib of its master;— Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.*" A ploughing ox has a knowledge of its purchaser and owner (קָנָה), to whom it willingly submits; and an ass, the domestic animal of proverbial stupidity (in the East also; see *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xl. 266 f.), has a knowledge at least of the crib of its master (בְּעָלָיו, a plural of excellence, as in Exod. xxi. 29,—a degenerate species of the "extensive" plural, as distinguished from the "multiplicative" plural), *i.e.* it knows that it is its master who puts its fodder into the manger (אֵבוּס—from אָבַס, to fatten cattle—with ֵ instead of ֶ, like the forms אֵמֻן, אֵמוּן). No such knowledge has Israel,—neither direct, like instinct, nor indirect, acquired by reflection (הִתְבּוֹנֵן). The expressions לא ידע and לא התבונן cannot be taken here (as for example in lvi. 10; Ps. lxxxii. 5) in an objectless sense, and as indicating a state or condition,——as if the meaning were, "they are ignorant and inconsiderate," but the object is implied in what precedes, and the words mean "they know not, consider not what, on their side, corresponds to the owner and to the manger which the master fills,"—namely, that they are the children and the property of Jehovah, and their existence and prosperity solely depend on the grace of Jehovah (Jer. v. 24, cf. Hos. ii. 10). The parallel, with its many contrasts, like the similar one in Jer. viii. 7, where animals are again introduced, explains itself even through the employment of "Israel" and "my people." Those who, in knowledge and gratitude, are far surpassed and put to shame by the brutes, are not a nation like any other nation among men, but "Israel," descendants of Jacob, who

wrestled with and overcame the wrath of God, and by wrestling also obtained the blessing for himself and his posterity; they are "my people" too,—those whom Jehovah has chosen out of all peoples to be the people of His possession, and most especial care and direction. This people, bearing the honoured name—bestowed by God Himself—of one who was a hero of faith and prayer,—this favoured people of Jehovah lowered itself far beneath the level of the brutes. Such is the complaint poured out before heaven and earth by the noble speaker.

The piercing cry of complaint by the deeply-pained Father is at the same time the heaviest impeachment. But the cause of God is to the prophet the cause of a friend who feels the grief of his friend as he would feel his own (v. 1). Hence the complaint of God now changes into strong invective and threatening on the part of the prophet; and in conformity with the deep indignation by which he is moved, his discourse in verse 4 moves rapidly along like a lightning storm, giving forth flash upon flash. The address consists of seven members, not formally connected, but so arranged as to form a climax, and each is composed of but two or three words: "*Woe to the sinful nation, the guilt-laden people, the miserable race, the children acting corruptly! They have forsaken Jehovah, blasphemed the Holy One of Israel, turned away backwards!*" The distinction attempted between הוֹי and אוֹי, making the former to signify "Oh!" and the latter "Woe!" is untenable; for, with some doubtful exceptions, הוֹי also is an exclamation of pain, and here not so much a calling down of woe (*vae genti*, as Jerome renders it), as a lamentation (*vae gentem*), but one that is filled with wrath. The appellations of Israel which follow point to what the nation ought to be in accordance with the divine choice and determination, and express what, through its own choice and self-determination in opposition to God, it has become. (1.) According to the divine choice and determination, Israel should be a "holy nation," Ex. xix. 6, but it is a "sinful nation" (*gens peccatrix*, as the Vulgate correctly translates); for חֹטֵא here is not so much a participle as a participial adjective, signifying what is habitual,—the usual singular to the plural חַטָּאִים, *ἁμαρτωλοί*, the singular of which is not in common use, and occurs

only once (Amos ix. 8) in the feminine as an adjective. "Holy" and "sinful" are sharp contrasts, for קָדוֹשׁ signifies that which is separated from what is common, unclean, sinful, and superior to it. At the same time, the alliteration in גּוֹי הוֹי (with *Pasek*, to preserve the independence of the two words, whose sound is so similar) is intended to produce the impression that the nation as sinful is a nation of woe. (2.) In the Law, besides being called גּוֹי קָדוֹשׁ, Israel is called עַם יְהוָֹה (Num. xvii. 6), the people chosen and highly favoured by Jehovah; but it is עַם כֶּבֶד עָוֹן, a people heavy with iniquity. כֶּבֶד is the construct from כָּבֵד, "heavy," like עֲרַל from עָרֵל; the form כְּבַד is usually employed with the meaning of "clumsy" (Ex. iv. 10); and besides, the dissyllabic form sounds more rhythmically. Instead of employing the readiest descriptive expression, "a people of heavy iniquity," the property of the iniquity (the weight) is attributed to the people themselves upon whom it lies as a burden,—in accordance with the view that he who carries a heavy burden is himself so much the heavier (cf. *gravis oneribus* in Cicero). עָוֹן is always the word employed whenever sin is meant to be indicated as heavy and coarse (*e.g.* in xxxiii. 24; Gen. xv. 16, xix. 15), and when there is further included the idea of the guilt incurred by it. From being the people of Jehovah, they have become a people heavily laden with the guilt of sin. In this way the true nature of Israel has been crushed, and changed into its opposite. We translate גּוֹי by "nation," and עַם by "people," because the former (from גָּוָה) is the mass of individuals who have been joined together through one common descent, language, and country, whereas עַם (from עָמַם, عَمَّ, "to combine") is the people joined together by unity of government (cf. for instance Ps. cv. 13); hence we always read of the "people of Jehovah" (עַם יְהוָֹה), not the "nation of Jehovah" (גּוֹי יְהוָֹה); and גּוֹי, free from every slur, occurs only twice (Zeph. ii. 9; Ps. cvi. 5), with a suffix referring to Jehovah, but here it is used as in Mal. iii. 9. (3.) Israel elsewhere bears the honourable title of the seed of the patriarch (xli. 8, xlv. 19, cf. Gen. xxi. 12); in reality, however, it is a seed of evil-doers (xiv. 20, cf. xxxi. 2). The idea of a similar descent, contained in זֶרַע, goes back to that of a like

inherited nature (lxv. 23; Prov. xi. 21); and מְרֵעִים does not mean the fathers, but the contemporaries of the prophet (the genitive being intended to be taken attributively),—a race consisting of miscreants. The singular of the noun מְרֵעִים is מֵרַע, with the sharpening of מְרַע with Pathach, which is usual in ע״ע verbs with guttural radicals; מֵרָע (with Kamez in pause, ix. 16, which see) is a Hiphil participial noun. (4.) The children of Israel are, in virtue of the divine act, "children of Jehovah," Deut. xiv. 1; but through their own doings they are בָּנִים מַשְׁחִיתִים, "children acting corruptly;" what the Law had dreaded and predicted had thus come to pass: Deut. iv. 16, 25, xxxi. 29. In all these passages the Hiphil is found, and in the parallel passages of the grand song, Deut. xxxii. 5, the Piël שִׁחֵת, both of which conjugations contain within themselves the object of the action (Ges. § 53. 2): these verbs thus signify to do something destructive, to act in such a way that one becomes a cause of ruin to himself and others. That the degeneration of the children is meant to be regarded in relation to Jehovah, and not to their forefathers,—the opinion of Rosenmüller, who follows Vitringa,—is evident from the latter part of ver. 2, cf. xxx. 1, 9. After the four exclamatory clauses, there follow—making up the saddening seven—three declaratory clauses describing Israel's apostasy as complete. There is apostasy in disposition: "they have forsaken Jehovah." There is apostasy in words: "they blaspheme the Holy One of Israel." נִאֵץ (properly, "to sting," then "to mock, treat with contempt"), used of blasphemy, is an old Mosaic word; see Deut. xxxi. 20; Num. xiv. 11, 23, xvi. 30. "The Holy One of Israel" is a title designedly applied to God here; it is the keynote of Isaianic prophecy, and first sounded in this passage (see under vi. 3). To mock what is holy is in itself sinful; it is doubly a sin to mock God the Holy One; it is trebly a sin that Israel mocks God the Holy One, who has set Himself to be the Sanctifier of Israel, and who, as He is the holiness of Israel, so also, in conformity with His holiness, seeks to be sanctified by Israel (Lev. xix. 2, etc.). And lastly, their apostasy is also apostasy in their way of acting: "they have turned away backwards." In the Niphal נָזוֹר, which occurs only here, there is contained the

idea of deliberateness in their estrangement from God: the expression of this is still further intensified by employing אָחוֹר (which is added emphatically, instead of מֵאַחֲרָיו). Their conduct should be an imitation of Jehovah's; but they have turned the back to Him, and entered on the path chosen by themselves.

In ver. 5, which now follows, it is, first of all, doubtful regarding the meaning of עַל־מֶה (מֶה, as in Ps. x. 13, iv. 3, with ֶ even in cases where no guttural follows, after עַל, as after עַד, Ps. iv. 3; יַעַן, Hag. v. 9; and thrice לָמֶּה, 1 Sam. i. 8; see on Prov. xxxi. 2; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 143), whether it signifies "why," as the LXX., Targum, Syriac, Rashi, Kimchi, Hitzig, and now also Cheyne take it, or "on what," *i.e.* "on which part of the body" (Jerome, *Saadias*), a view for which Ewald, Knobel, and Schröring (in Part 2 of his *Jesaian. Studien*) decide. Reuss also translates, *où vous frappera-t-on encore?* Luzzatto considers the latter rendering insipid, especially because a member of the body that has already been smitten can be repeatedly struck again; but he thinks the meaning is that there is no judgment which had not already fallen on Israel, so that it is no longer far from utter ruin. Nevertheless, we decide with Caspari for the meaning "to what" (*i.e.* for what end)? For in all the other (fourteen) passages in which עַל־מה occurs, it has this meaning, once even along with הִכָּה, Num. xxii. 32 (cf. Prov. xvii. 26), and the people do not come to be viewed as a body till ver. 6, whereas the interrogative, "upon what," would require the reader or hearer to presuppose it even here. But in translating עַל־מֶה by "to what end," we do not understand it (as Malbim does, for instance) in the sense of *cui bono?* with the idea underlying the question, that it would certainly be fruitless, as all smiting hitherto has proved,—for this thought is not, as we should expect, directly expressed,—but after the analogy of questions with למה (Ezek. xviii. 31; Jer. xliv. 7; cf. the comment. on Eccles. v. 5, vii. 16 f.), *qua de causa?* with the underlying thought that this continual calling forth of divine chastisement is certainly a mad desire for one's own destruction. Accordingly, we render the first part of ver. 5: "*Why do you wish always to be smitten, increasing your rebellion?*" עוֹד (with *Tiphcha*, a stronger disjunctive than

Tebîr, cf. Ezek. xix. 9) belongs to תֻכּוּ; but תֻכּוּ without עוֹד would make it appear as if they had not yet been smitten for their apostasy hitherto. There are not two interrogative clauses on the same plane (as Luzzatto thinks), as if the meaning were, "Why do ye wish to be smitten afresh? Why do ye add revolt?" Nor is the second clause the answer to the first, to which it assigns the reason (as Nägelsbach thinks), "For what (for what purpose) should ye be smitten still more? Ye heap rebellion on rebellion;" but the second clause is subordinated to the first, an adverbial secondary clause more closely defining the main proposition, as in v. 11, xxx. 31, cf. Ps. lxii. 5 ("delighting in lies"), iv. 3 ("while ye love vain show"); also Ps. v. 10, xxvii. 27; see Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 341*b* [Eng. transl. pp. 240, 241]. The LXX. has *προστιθέντες ἀνομίαν*. סָרָה (a fem. partic. used as a noun, with neuter sense) is deviation from truth and rectitude; here, as pretty frequently elsewhere, it means disloyalty to Jehovah, who is the absolutely Good and absolute Goodness. It is difficult to decide whether כָּל־רֹאשׁ and כָּל־לֵבָב signify "every head," "every heart," or, as Ewald and others think, "the whole head," "the whole heart." כֹּל, followed by an indeterminate singular, sometimes signifies completeness, as in ix. 11, "with whole mouth;" Ezek. xxxvi. 5, "with joy of the whole heart;" 2 Kings xxiii. 3, "with whole heart and with whole soul;" also Ezek. xxix. 7, "the whole shoulder . . . the whole loins." More usually, however, כֹּל, with an indeterminate genitive of parts of the body, signifies "each," "every" (*quisque*, not *totus*), xv. 2, xlv. 23; Jer. xlviii. 37; Ezek. vii. 17 f., xxi. 12. It is thus most natural, syntactically, to translate the latter part of ver. 5, "every head is diseased, and every heart is sick;" this rendering is also most in accord with the circumstances, inasmuch as the words in the first part of the verse are not addressed to the people as a whole, but as a multitude made up of individuals. The לְ at the beginning of לָחֳלִי, indicates the state or condition into which a person or thing has come: "every head is in a diseased condition;" see Ewald, § 217*d*: *lâchŏli* (this, in spite of König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 106 f., is the pronunciation intended), without the article, as in 2 Chron. xvi. 18; cf. בְּעָנְיִ, 1 Sam. i. 11; the form with the article would need to be לַחֳלִי. What is meant

is disease arising from a wound caused by a blow (as in Jer. x. 19, v. 3). The prophet asks his fellow-countrymen why they are so mad as to continue calling forth the judgments of God, which have already fallen on them stroke upon stroke, through their heaping one apostasy on another. Are matters already so far gone with them that, among the many heads and hearts, there is no longer a head that has not fallen into a diseased condition, and no heart which is not thoroughly sick (דַּוָּי, an intensive form, from דָּוָה)? Head and heart are named as the noblest portions of the outer and the inner man: outwardly and inwardly, every individual of the nation has already been smitten by the wrath of God, so that they have enough, and might have been brought to bethink themselves.

Considering this utterly miserable condition of every individual of the nation, the view (in ver. 6) of the whole people as a miserably diseased body does not come on us unexpectedly: "*From the sole of the foot to the head, there is nothing sound in it,—scars, and weals, and festering wounds: they have not been pressed out, or bound up, nor has there been any softening with oil.*" In the body of the nation, to which (or to the people as a whole) reference is made by בּוֹ, "in it," —the address now passing into objective form,—there is nothing healthy (מְתֹם from תָּמַם, not, as in Judg. xx. 48, from מַת with the root מָתָה); it is covered with wounds of various kinds, inflicted at different times; and for the healing of these many and manifold wounds, which all together, close on one another, one on the other, cover the body of the nation, no kind of means has been employed. פֶּצַע (from פָּצַע, to cleave, tear open) is a wound made by tearing the flesh, as by a sword-stroke: this required binding up (Ezek. xxx. 21), that the gaping flesh might close again; חַבּוּרָה (from חָבַר=حبر, to be striped) is a swollen stripe or lump, such as is caused by the stroke of a whip or a blow of the fist; this required softening with oil, in order that the coagulated matter or the swelling might disperse; מַכָּה טְרִיָּה is the still fresh and bleeding wound, which needed pressing out to cleanse it, and thus facilitate healing. The three predicates, in relation to the ideas presented in the subjects, show an approximation to a chiasm. The predicates are plural in form, owing to the subjects being taken collectively; the expression לֹא רֻכְּכָה בַּשָּׁמֶן,

which, as regards its meaning, refers to חבורה, is accordingly to be understood as a neuter construction, and to be rendered, "nor has softening with oil been effected." Considering the Pual near it, זרו might also appear to be of the same conjugation, but actually is not, because, according to the accentuation (with two *Pashtas*, the first of which, as in תֹּהוּ, Gen. i. 2, marks the place of tone, so that the form here is to be pronounced *zóru*), it has the tone on the penult,—a fact for which (in spite of what Stade says, § 415) no reason could be perceived, if the form were from the verb זָרָה. For the assumption that the tone is retracted in order to prepare us for the heavy incidence of the tone in חֻבָּשׁוּ (Ewald, § 194*c*) is quite arbitrary; for, though the influence of the Pause sometimes reaches to the second last word, it does not extend to the third last. Moreover, according to the usage of the language, זָרָה signifies "to be dispersed," not "to be pressed out," whereas זור and זָרַר are commonly used in the sense of pressing together, and pressing out. Hence זרו (like בֹּשׁוּ) is either the Qal of a middle-vowel intransitive verb זור, or (more probably)—because the middle-vowel verb זרו in Ps. lviii. 4 has another meaning ("they are estranged;" cf. נָזֹרוּ above, in ver. 4)—the Qal of זָרַר (=زَرَّ, *constringere*), which is here inflected as an intransitive verb, and in a measure corresponding to the Arabic passive of the Qal زُرُّوا (Olsh. § 245. 1); cf. Job xxiv. 24, רֹמּוּ, and Gen. xlix. 23, the actively used רֹבּוּ. The surgical treatment, so highly necessary for the nation, is a figurative representation of the pastoral address of the prophet, which, though certainly published, was as if it had not been published, inasmuch as its salutary effect was conditioned by repentance on the part of the nation. The people despised God's offer of service like that of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 34). They did not like the radical cure of which the prophets made offer. The view of the body as diseased within and wholly lacerated without was thus all the more calculated to excite compassion. The prophet speaks of the existing condition of things. He says that it has already come to the worst with the people, and this is precisely the ground and the subject of his inculpatory complaints. Hence, when he passes in ver. 7 from figurative to literal

language (like ver. 23 after 22), it is to be perceived that he is there also speaking of what was then present.

The body thus internally and externally disorganized was, properly speaking, the people and the country in the frightful condition described in ver. 7, which begins in the most comprehensive manner, and closes in the same way: "*Your country —a waste! your cities—burned with fire! your arable land— before your eyes strangers are devouring it, and a desert like an overthrowing by strangers.*" Caspari (in his *Beiträge zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaia,* p. 204) has pointed out how nearly every word here corresponds to the threatenings of a curse in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. (xxix.). The designation given by the prophet to the foes who have devastated the country reduced its cities to ashes, and seized its harvest, is simply זָרִים, "strangers," or barbarians (cf. Festus: *hostis apud antiquos peregrinus dicebatur*), without mentioning their nationality. He abstracts from the historic definiteness of the present, in order the more impressively to show that it bears the character of the curse which was predetermined. The climactic expression for this is, that—as stated in the noun-clause at the end of ver. 7, which goes back to repeat what was previously said—there has been wrought a desolation, כְּמַהְפֵּכַת זָרִים, "like an overthrow of foreigners." This emphatic repetition of a catchword in a verse, seen here in the case of זָרִים, is a figure of speech (called *epanaphora*) common to the two halves of the collection: Ewald, Studer, Lagarde, and Cheyne, reading כְּמַהְפֵּכַת סְדֹם, mistake this peculiarity of Isaiah's writings. It is a question, however, whether, with Caspari, Knobel, and Nägelsbach, זָרִים is to be taken as a subjective genitive, in which case the clause would mean "like an overthrow such as barbarians usually cause;" or whether we should, with Hitzig, Luzzatto, and others, regard the word as an objective genitive, and render the expression, "like an overthrow such as is wont to befall barbarians." As מַהְפֵּכָה, in conformity with the primary passage in Deut. xxix. 22, in all other places where it occurs, designates the overthrow of Sodom, Gomorrah, etc. (xiii. 19; Amos iv. 11; Jer. l. 40), that was accomplished by God, and seeing that Isaiah also, as ver. 8 shows, has this catastrophe in his mind, we decide for the view that זָרִים, like רְשָׁעִים in Prov. xii. 7, is the objective

genitive: this view is further rendered more probable by the form of the noun, which points to a state or condition rather than an action (cf. מַזְוֵרָה, מַכְשֵׁלָה, מַשְׁמַמָּה); in this way also the כְּ, marking the comparison, becomes more significant. The prophet means to say that the desolation which has befallen the country of the people of God is like such complete ruin (*subversio*) as God sends on nations which stand outside of the covenant-relation (cf. Eph. ii. 14), and which, like the people of the Pentapolis, are utterly destroyed by Him, leaving no trace behind.

But, as declared in vers. 8, 9, there is merely similarity, not identity. Jerusalem is still preserved, but in how sad a condition! There is no doubt that in ver. 8 "the daughter of Zion" means Jerusalem. The genitive in the expression בַּת־צִיּוֹן is that of apposition, so that "daughter of Zion" is equivalent to "daughter Zion;" cf. בְּתוּלַת בַּת־צִיּוֹן, xxxvii. 22, where annexion comes in twice, instead of apposition (Ges. § 128. 2*d*). Zion itself is represented as a daughter, *i.e.* as a woman. Such is the name applied, first of all, to the townspeople dwelling round the fortress of Zion, to which the individual inhabitants of the city are related as children to their mother, inasmuch as the community sees its members from time to time coming into existence and growing up, and those who are thus born within her are, as it were, born of her and brought up by her; but, in the next instance, the name is also applied to the city itself, either including or excluding (cf. Jer. xlvi. 19, xlviii. 18; Zech. ii. 11) the inhabitants,—here, however, as shown in ver. 9, these are included. This is precisely the point of the first two comparisons. "*And the daughter of Zion is left remaining like a booth in a vineyard, like a night-hut in a cucumber-field.*" The vineyard and the cucumber field are considered by the prophet in their condition before the harvest (not *after*, as the Targums represent it), during which they need to be watched; hence the point of the comparison is this, that throughout the vineyard and the cucumber field not a single human being is to be seen, and that nothing but the booth and the night hut[1] show, nevertheless, that such a being has his abode here.

[1] The picture of "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers," in Thomson's *Land and the Book*, shows four poles covered above with boughs, and with,

So stands Jerusalem in the midst of a far-reaching desolation,—a sign, however, that the country was not wholly depopulated.

But what is the meaning of the third of the comparisons? Hitzig renders, "like a watch-tower;" Knobel, "like a guard-city;" Reuss (who, however, would rather expunge the words, which he considers a gloss), "comme un lieu de garde;" but though נְצוּרָה may mean a guard, a watch, עִיר cannot mean a tower. And for the rendering which most readily presents itself, "like a guarded city" (*i.e.* a city preserved from danger), the כְּ of comparison is unsuitable. Nor is it admissible to take the first two כְּ in the sense of *sicut*, and the third in the sense of *sic;* for this correlative כְּ is usual only in clauses indicating identity, not in those properly signifying comparison. Weir's conjecture, that the reading should be כְּעִיר פְּרוּצָה (Prov. xxv. 28; 2 Chron. xxxii. 5), is ingenious: this would make the clause mean "like a city (with walls) broken through,"—hence, defenceless; but there is no need for this conjecture. We translate, "like a blockaded city," deriving נְצוּרָה here, as in Prov. vii. 10, from נָצַר,—not, with Luzzatto, from צוּר, *Ni.* נָצוֹר, fem. נְצוּרָה (which is not in use, and, moreover, in this obscured feminine form, cannot be proved to exist; see Stade, § 78*a*), and after the LXX., with Strachey, rendering the words "like a besieged city." נָצַר signifies to observe with keen eye (cf. מַטָּרָה, and نظر, *observare*, with نطر, *custodire*), with good intention, or (as in Job vii. 20) with hostile design; it may thus, like the synonymous terms in 2 Sam. xi. 16, Jer. v. 6, be used of the investment of a city. Jerusalem was not actually blockaded when the prophet uttered his predictions, but it was just like a blockaded city, inasmuch as between such a town and the blockading enemy there is a desolate and uninhabited space, in the midst of which the city lies in silence and solitude, shut up within itself. The citizens do not venture forth; while the enemy, on account of the missiles of the citizens, do not hazard an approach into the near vicinity of the walls; in the suburbs

a floor for the watcher, raised somewhat above the ground: the whole thus forms a hut open on all sides. A fuller description is given by Wetzstein in our *Commentary on Job* (2nd edition), p. 348.

everything has been laid waste, partly by the citizens, that the enemy may not find anything useful,—partly by the enemy, who, for instance, fell the trees. Thus, in spite of all the joy that might be felt at the preservation of Jerusalem, the city wears a cheerless aspect; it looks as if it were in a state of blockade. That we must explain the passage in this way, with Caspari, is shown by Jer. iv. 16 f., where the actual storming of Jerusalem is predicted, and the enemy—probably with reference to this comparison by Isaiah (see Hitzig on the passage in Jeremiah)—are called נֹצְרִים.

For the present, Israel has still been spared the worst: the omnipotence of God has graciously prevented it. "*Unless Jehovah of Hosts had left us a little of what escaped, we should have become as Sodom, we should be like Gomorrah,*" ver. 9. שָׂרִיד (for which the LXX. and Rom. ix. 29, with a regard to vi. 13, has σπέρμα) is also in Deut. ii. 34, etc., what escapes by flight from defeat and destruction: and, according to the accents, כִּמְעַט is to be taken with שָׂרִיד, so that these two words will mean "an escaped remnant, which is nothing more than a trifle:" on this noun-use of מְעַט, cf. xvi. 14; 2 Chron. xii. 7; Prov. x. 20; Ps. cv. 12. Looking at Ps. lxxxi. 14 f., cf. Job xxxii. 32 (where the conditional clause is easily supplied), one might be inclined to place כִּמְעַט in the apodosis, and render it "we would almost . . .;" but considering the accentuation actually before us, the inference is more strictly logical. The designation יהוה צבאות occupies a strongly emphatic position in the front. It would have been all over with Israel long ago but for the compassion of God (cf. Hos. xi. 8); and because it is the omnipotence of God which set in motion the will of His compassion, He is called יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, "Jehovah (the God of) the heavenly hosts," —a title in which צְבָאוֹת is a governed genitive,—not, as Cheyne and Luzzatto think, in accordance with the analogy of אֱלֹהִים, an independent name of God.[1] The prophet says "us" and "we:" he is himself an inhabitant of Jerusalem; and even if he had not been such, he is, nevertheless, an Israelite:

[1] That צְבָאוֹת does not indicate the hosts of Israel (which was the view of R. José in *Shabuoth* 35*b*), but the powers of nature subject to God, I think I have shown in the essay, *Der Gottesname Jahve Zebaoth*, in the *Luther. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 217 ff.

he therefore associates himself with his nation, like Jeremiah in Lam. iii. 22. As he has come to experience the wrath of God along with them, so he now also celebrates the mighty compassion of God which he has experienced with them. But for this compassion, the people of God would have become like Sodom, from which only four human beings escaped: they would have been like Gomorrah, which was utterly annihilated.

The address of the prophet has now reached a resting-point. That it is here divided into two sections is shown even to the eye by the space left between vers. 9 and 10. The prophet pauses after he has declared that nothing but divine compassion for Israel has prevented the utter destruction it has well deserved. He hears in spirit the remonstrance of his audience. They would fain represent the accusations which he had just uttered as unfounded, by appealing to their exact observance of the divine law; but in opposition to this ground of self-vindication which the prophet has read out of the hearts of those impeached, he but proceeds to prove the divine arraignment, which he begins in vers. 10, 11: "*Hear the word of Jehovah, ye Sodom-judges! listen to the law of our God, O Gomorrah-nation! For what purpose is the multitude of your slain offerings to me? saith Jehovah. I am sated with burnt-offerings of rams, and the suet of fatted calves; and the blood of bullocks and lambs and he-goats, I do not like.*" The second attack in the prophet's address begins, like the first in ver. 2, with "hear ye!" and "listen!" The summons to hear is in this instance (just as in the case of Isaiah's contemporary, Micah,—chap. iii.) addressed to the קְצִינִים (from קָצָה, قَضَى, *decidere*, with the noun-ending ין ִ, see *Jeshurun*, p. 212 ff.), *i.e.* men with decisive authority, the rulers in the fullest sense, and to the people who are subject to them. It is of the mercy of God that Jerusalem still exists, for Jerusalem is *πνευματικῶς Σόδομα*, as is said regarding Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (xi. 8), with reference to this passage in Isaiah. According to Ezek. xvi. 49, pride, the lust of the flesh, and want of mercy were the chief sins of Sodom; and of these, the rulers of Jerusalem and the multitude subject to them and worthy of

them were not less guilty now. But they think they do not by any means stand in such disfavour with God, because outwardly they render satisfaction to the law. The prophet, therefore, summons them to hear the law of the God of Israel which he wishes to declare to them,—for the prophets were called to be the expounders of the law, and to announce what was truly the will and good pleasure of God; and what He requires is, not external acts of worship with no corresponding homage of heart, not ceremonial performances at all in the first instance, but freedom from sin and a course of life that flows from obedience to Him and loving sympathy with other men. "For what purpose is the multitude of your slain-offerings to me? saith Jehovah." The prophet purposely says יֹאמַר, not אָמַר, to indicate that what he declares is the constant language of God in opposition to the heartless show of reverence and the hypocritical ceremonial righteousness of Israel. The multitude of זְבָחִים, *i.e.* sacrifices of animals which they slaughtered, has no value in His eyes. As the whole worship is here examined in detail, זְבָחִים appears to denote the שְׁלָמִים, *i.e.* the "peace-offerings" or communion-offerings, with which a meal was associated, for Jehovah vouchsafed to the offerer a share in the enjoyment of what he offered. But it is better to take זְבָחִים as a general name for the bloody sacrifices, which are then divided into עוֹלוֹת and חֵלֶב; for they are partly whole-offerings, which are wholly (though piece by piece) laid on the altar and there consumed by fire, and partly those sacrifices of which only the pieces of fat were burned on the altar, viz. sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, and especially peace-offerings. Of the sacrificial animals mentioned, פָּרִים (bullocks) and מְרִיאִים (fatted calves) are species of בָּקָר (large cattle), while כְּבָשִׂים (lambs) and עַתּוּדִים (young he-goats as distinguished from שָׂעִיר, the older long-haired he-goat, the animal taken as a sin-offering) together with the אַיִל (ram; the usual whole-offering of the high priest, the tribe-prince, and the nation on all high feast-days) are species of צֹאן (smaller cattle). The blood of these sacrificial animals (such as, for example, the young bullocks, sheep, and he-goats) was, in accordance with the requirement of the law, dashed against the altar round about, in the case of the whole-offering, the peace-offering, and the trespass-offering; in the case

of the sin-offering, it was smeared on the horns of the altar, poured out at the foot of the altar, and in some instances sprinkled on the side of the altar or towards the vessels of the inner sanctuary. With such offerings Jehovah is sated, and no longer cares for them. (The two perfects here indicate what has long been and still is going on at present.)

What Jeremiah (vii. 22) says of sacrifices—that God never properly wished them—Isaiah now says, in ver. 12, regarding visits to the temple: "*When ye come to appear before my face, who hath asked this at your hand,—to tread my courts?*" לֵרָאוֹת is a contracted infinitive Niphal for לְהֵרָאוֹת, as in Ex. xxxiv. 24; Deut. xxxi. 11; cf. the similarly contracted Hiphil forms in iii. 8, xxiii. 11; on the other hand, לַעְשֵׂר in Deut. xxvi. 12 = לְעַשֵּׂר (cf. Neh. x. 39); as מַהְלְכִין, Dan. ii. 35, iv. 34 = מְהַלְּכִין. נִרְאָה פְּנֵי יְהוָה is the standing expression for the appearing of all male Israelites in the temple, in accordance with the law, at the three great feasts, but it also came to be used in speaking of visiting the temple generally (cf. Ps. xlii. 3, lxxxiv. 8). According to Ewald (§ 279*c*), פְּנֵי indicates the subject connected with the passive verb ("to be seen by the face of God"); but why is it not rather a local accusative with prepositional meaning, "before the face of" (as Nägelsbach thinks), seeing that it is used interchangeably with the prepositions לְ, אֶת, and אֶל? It is probable that לֵרָאוֹת has thus been pointed here and in Ex. xxxiv. 24, Deut. xxxi. 11, instead of לִרְאוֹת (like יֵרָאוּ, Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20, instead of יִרְאוּ), in order to avoid speaking of "seeing God,"—an expression which is so apt to be misunderstood as meaning a vision with the eye of sense (cf. Ex. xxiv. 11, LXX. ὤφθησαν); unquestionably, however, the Niphal perfect stands in xvi. 12; 1 Sam. i. 22; and also יֵרָאֶה (not יִרְאֶה) in Ex. xxiii. 17; moreover, the expression, "to see the face of God," *i.e.* of Him who reveals Himself in His sanctuary, is not opposed to the religious ideas of the Old Testament, Ps. xi. 7, xxvii. 4; and in the Mishna, appearing before God at the great feasts is called רְאִיָּה and רֵאָיוֹן (*Hagiga* i. 1; *Pêa* i. 1). Cheyne considers that the expression "to see the face of God" is a remnant of the old Semitic worship of God by means of sensible figures which has been transferred to the language of revealed religion: this is possible, but there is no proof that

such transition has actually occurred. Those whom Jehovah here addresses through His prophet certainly visit the temple diligently; but who has required this of their hand (*i.e.* asked this performance from them)? Jehovah certainly has not. "To tread my courts" stands in apposition with "this," which it more closely defines. Jehovah has not desired them to appear before Him; He has not asked for this lifeless and undevotional tramping thither (vii. 25, xxvi. 6; Ezek. xxvi. 11), this senseless *opus operatum*, which would better be left unperformed, as it merely desecrates the holy places, by wearing out the floors for no purpose.

Because they do not perform what Jehovah has commanded, as He has commanded it, He directly forbids them in ver. 13 to go on: "*Continue not to bring lying meat-offerings: abomination-incense is it to me.*" It is but rarely that מִנְחָה denotes an offering in general (Gen. iv. 3–5; 1 Sam. ii. 17, xxvi. 19); here, however, as throughout Malachi, the "meat-offering" (meal-offering) is meant, as is shown by the more specific term קְטֹרֶת following, which, without such an addition as is made in Ps. lxvi. 15, cannot be understood in the same way as the expression in the law, הִקְטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחָה (to consume in smoke upon the altar). The meat-offering of the people of Jerusalem is called מִנְחַת שָׁוְא (the second noun being derived from שָׁאָה=שׁוֹא, to be waste, desolate, and of like form with מָוֶת), as being a lifeless and hypocritical performance, having behind it nothing of the mental disposition which it appears to express (cf. Job xxxv. 13). In the second half of the verse the LXX., Jerome, Gesenius, Umbreit, Knobel, and Nägelsbach translate thus: "incense,—it is an abomination to me,"—the term "incense" being here used as the name of what was offered daily on the golden altar of the Holy Place (Ex. xxx. 8). But in no place where the prophets denounce heartless ceremonial worship is mention made of the offering of incense by the priests, and in any case it is more simple and natural to take קְטֹרֶת, not as a bare absolute case, but—what is quite allowable—in conformity with the *Darga* marking it, as a construct. The meat-offering is called "incense" because of the so-called "memorial" (אַזְכָּרָה), *i.e.* that portion of it which brought the grateful offerer in remembrance before God, and which the priest burned on the

altar,—an act which was called הִקְטִיר אַזְכָּרָתָהּ (see Lev. ii. 2; cf. Jer. xxxiii. 18); with this "memorial" also there was regularly combined incense, which was wholly—not merely in part—burned on the altar. The meat-offering, with its sweet odour, is merely the form in which gratitude for God's blessing, and earnest prayerful desire for this, manifest themselves; but in the case of these worshippers, there was only the form, without the inner spirit; the form with which they thought they have satisfied God is empty, and therefore an abomination to Him.

As little pleasure has God in their punctilious observance of the feasts: "*New moon and Sabbath, the calling of an assembly—I cannot bear iniquity and a festal crowd.*" The first object-ideas, which are logically governed by לֹא־אוּכַל (properly the imperf. Hophal, "I am unable," viz. to bear,—an ellipsis which must be supplied in the same way as in Ps. ci. 5; Jer. xliv. 23; Prov. xxx. 21), become absolute cases, inasmuch as לֹא־אוּכַל assumes another and a different object in the following אָוֶן וַעֲצָרָה. When three things are enumerated, the conjunction is readily dropped by the third, and stands only with the second: see also Deut. xxix. 22; Ps. xlv. 9; Job xlii. 9; Eccles. vii. 26. As to new moon and Sabbath (which, when joined with חֹדֶשׁ, always signifies the weekly Sabbath), and generally the convocation of assemblies of the whole community on the weekly Sabbath and high festivals, as required in Lev. xxiii.,—Jehovah cannot endure a festival associated with wickedness. עֲצָרָה (from עָצַר, to press, squeeze together) is synonymous with מִקְרָא, as shown by comparing Jonah i. 14 with 2 Kings x. 20, to which it is related in the same way as πανήγυρις to ἐκκλησία;[1] and אָוֶן (from אוּן, to breathe) is moral vileness, as the utter absence of all that has essence and value in God's sight. These two nouns are purposely placed together by the prophet. A closely packed festive gathering, and inward barrenness and emptiness on the part of those assembled,—this is a contradiction that God cannot endure.

[1] In the language of the law, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35) and the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Deut. xvi. 8) is called עֲצֶרֶת, not from עָצַר, *cohibere, claudere*, but *constipare* (cf. Jer. ix. 1).

In ver. 14 He gives still stronger expression to His aversion: "*Your new moons and your festal seasons my soul hates; they have become a burden to me; I am weary of bearing them.*" As the soul of man, viewed as the bond between his spiritual and his bodily life, is, though not the principle of his self-consciousness, yet the centre from which he draws the circle of this self-consciousness, in order to comprehend the sum-total of his whole being, and attach it to the thought of himself as a person; so—to take a designation from man who has been made in the image of God—the "soul" of God, as indicated by נַפְשִׁי, is the centre of His being, encircled and penetrated by self-consciousness: hence, whatever the soul of God hates (cf. Jer. xv. 1) or loves (xlii. 1), that He hates or loves in the inmost depths and in the whole extent of His being. (See *Bibl. Psychology*, p. 258 of Eng. transl.) Thus He hates each and all of the festivals that are kept in Jerusalem; the beginnings of the months and the מוֹעֲדִים ("appointed feasts,"—here, as in Ezra iii. 5, applied to all the feasts on which, or on the most solemn days of which, a "holy convocation" took place) during the course of the month. These have long been to Him, who bears them, a burden, לָטֹרַח (טֹרַח being synonymous with מַשָּׂא, Deut. i. 12), so that He can no longer endure them; His patience is tired of such religious service. נְשֹׂא (in Isaiah, found also in xviii. 3, for שְׂאֵת or שֵׂאת, and here for לָשֵׂאת) has for its object the festal celebrations mentioned. Like the great variety of offerings, this variety of sacred seasons (cf. Hos. ii. 13) presupposes the existence of a law of correspondingly large extent.

Their self-righteousness, inasmuch as it rested on sacrifice and observance of feasts, is now put to shame; in ver. 15 the last and innermost bulwark of the seemingly holy nation was destroyed: "*And when ye stretch out your hands, I hide mine eyes from you: even when you pray much, I do not hear,—your hands are full of blood.*" Even their prayer is an abomination to God. Prayer is something common to man; it is the interpreter of religious thought and feeling, coming as a mediator between God and men; it is spiritual sacrifice. The law does not command prayer; apart from Deut. xxvi., it contains no form of prayer: but prayer is so natural to man as such that there was no need of any precept for this fundamental

expression of our relation to God. Hence the prophet comes to prayer last of all, in order to reduce to its nonentity their self-righteousness, which is rotten even to this last foundation.

פָּרַשׂ (= ܦܪܰܣ, فرش) or Piël פֵּרֵשׂ כַּפַּיִם (used in xxv. 11 of swimming), here with *i* instead of *e* in a closed syllable, as in xxv. 1, lii. 12, etc., is the gesture of one in prayer, who spreads out his hands (the expression nowhere means "to break the hands" = wrestle), and stretches them, thus spread out, upwards to heaven or the Most Holy Place in the temple; moreover,—as if under a feeling of emptiness and need, and through the desire to receive God's gifts,—it is the inner surfaces of the hands, כַּפַּיִם (cf. *tendere palmas, e.g.* in Virgil's *Æneid*, xii. 196, *tenditque ad sidera palmas*), that are held up, though often enough יָדַיִם is interchanged with the word. If they stand before Him in this suppliant attitude, or lie upon the ground, Jehovah hides His eyes, *i.e.* His omniscience wants to know nothing of this; and though they pray ever so much and so long (גַּם כִּי, *etiamsi;* cf. the simple כִּי in Jer. xiv. 12), He is as if He were deaf to it all. We would now expect a כִּי to introduce the ground or reason; but the more excited the speaker is, so much the more brief and disconnected is his speech. The plural דָּמִים always denotes human blood shed, especially by force, and then also the bloody deed and blood-guiltiness itself; the plural points neither to the quantity nor to the separate drops, but is rather plural of the product, like חִטִּים, עֵצִים, etc. For the sake of emphasis the dreadful דָּמִים stands before its governing verb מָלֵאוּ, which points to many acts of murder committed, and deeds of violence resembling these. Blood did not indeed actually adhere to their hands stretched out in prayer; but before God, from whom no outward show conceals the true nature of things, they drip with blood, though washed ever so clean.

The protest of the people against the accusations of God has now been given negatively in vers. 11–15; their work-righteous worship, defiled through unrighteous deeds and even murder itself, Jehovah will not have. The divine arraignment is next proved positively also, in vers. 16, 17, where the true righteousness which the accused had not is opposed to the false righteousness of which they boast.

Overwhelming denunciation here changes into hortatory appeal, and already there is proclaimed the love that is concealed behind the wrath, and would gladly break through. There are eight exhortations. The first three refer to the removal of evil, the other five to the performance of what is good.

The first three verses run thus: ver. 16, "*Wash yourselves, purify yourselves; remove the evil of your deeds from before mine eyes; cease to do evil.*" This is not merely an advance from figurative language to the most literal, it is also an advance even on what has been already declared. The first exhortation requires first of all, and above all, purification from the sins that have been committed, through forgiveness sought and obtained. רַחֲצוּ is here used in the frequent middle sense, λούεσθαι; and הִזַּכּוּ, with the tone on the final syllable, is not the Niphal from זָכַךְ (for the 2nd pers. plural imperat. Niphal of verbs ע״ע usually and naturally has the tone on the penult., see lii. 11, xvii. 10), but the Hithpaël from זָכָה, for הִזְדַּכּוּ, with the same assimilation of the preformative ת as in the Hithpaël אֵרוֹמָם (= *errōmām*), xxxiii. 10. In conformity with the difference between the two synonyms (to wash one's self, to purify one's self), the former is to be referred to the great act of repentance on the part of one who returns to God, the latter to the daily repentance of one who is converted. The second exhortation requires that they shall place themselves in the light of God's countenance, and put away the evil of their deeds that cannot be endured by pure eyes (Hab. i. 13). They are to wrestle against and overcome the vicious disposition to which actual sin had grown, that it may at last wholly disappear. According to its root-idea, נֶגֶד (from נָגַד, نجد, to be elevated, opp. غار, to be depressed, sunk) signifies prominence (cf. Arab. *négd*, elevated country, visible from afar), conspicuousness, so that מִנֶּגֶד is thus properly equivalent to *e conspectu*, as נֶגֶד is *in conspectu*: regarding מַעֲלָל, see under iii. 4.

The five exhortations pointing to the practice of what is good, are in ver. 17: "*Learn to do good, take an interest in judgment, set the oppressor right, pronounce the sentence of the orphan, plead the cause of the widow.*" The first exhortation is the fundamental one: they are to learn to do good,—a

difficult art in which one does not become a master merely through good intentions. The inf. absol. הֵיטֵב is regarded as the accusative of the לִמְדוּ; and הָרֵעַ in ver. 16 (for which we might also have לְהָרֵעַ) similarly takes the place of the object: such employment of this infinitive as a noun is not very rare, see vii. 15 f., xlii. 54, lvii. 20; Jer. ix. 4. That this primary exhortation now branches out into four minor ones referring to the administration of justice, is accounted for by the fact that no other prophet directs so keen an eye upon affairs of state and judicial proceedings as Isaiah. In this respect he differs from his younger contemporary Micah, whose character is more generally ethical, while Isaiah's is largely political. Hence the exhortations: "apply yourselves to judgment,"—דָּרַשׁ signifying to devote one's self zealously and carefully to a thing; then: "bring the oppressor to the right way." So we must render the words; for חָמוֹץ (from חָמֵץ, to be sharp in taste, dazzling in appearance, violent or furious in disposition) cannot well mean him who is oppressed, injured in his rights, as most of the old translators have rendered it (LXX. *ἀδικούμενον*, Targ. דַּאֲנִיסִם, "who is oppressed"). The form קָטוֹל certainly may have a stative meaning closely connected with the passive, and marking a high degree (as shown by חָגוֹר, "provided with a girdle," in relation to חָגוּר, "girded;" plur. חֲגוֹרֵי, Ezek. xxxiii. 15); but more frequently it has an active sense, like חָסוֹן (see ver. 31), בָּגוֹד, Jer. iii. 7, 10; עָשׁוֹק, Jer. xxii. 3, and the Qamez is then unchangeable (hence fem. בָּגוֹדָה), after the manner of the Arabic form فاعول (*fâ'ûl*). Such is the meaning here; for the Piël אִשֵּׁר signifies neither to make happy nor to strengthen (Luzzatto renders *rianimate chi è oppresso*),—nor is the latter its meaning in the Talmud, where it rather signifies to confirm or ratify,—but either to pronounce a person happy or fortunate (the verb being in this case a denominative from אֶשֶׁר, אַשְׁרֵי, like *μακαρίζειν*), a meaning which is quite unsuitable here; or, as in iii. 2, ix. 15 (cf. Prov. xxiii. 19), to lead in the right way; or, to make any one keep the straight course. In this way, then, חָמוֹץ will have the intensified signification of חוֹמֵץ, Ps. lxxi. 4, *i.e.* it will mean a violent, regardless, heartless man; and אַשְּׁרוּ חָמוֹץ will signify, "show the violent man the way of righteousness:" the

expression does not point so much to punishment and rendering harmless, as to correction and improvement, Ps. lxxii. 4.[1] Next follow two exhortations referring to widows and orphans: these, with the stranger, are under very special protection, the objects of care by God and His law; see Ex. xxii. 21, cf. 20. "Pronounce the sentence of the orphan" (שָׁפַט, as in Deut. xxv. 1, is abbreviated from שָׁפַט מִשְׁפַּט פ׳); for, if no decision and verdict is pronounced in their case, this is the most outrageous unrighteousness, inasmuch as not even the form and appearance of justice are preserved. "Plead the cause of the widow," the imperative רִיב, with the accusative of a person (a construction which is further found only in li. 22), is a condensed expression for רִיב רִיב פ׳, to plead and maintain the cause of any one. Thus the reasonings adduced in self-defence by the hearts of the accused are refuted, both negatively and positively. They are thunderstruck and put to shame. The law announced in ver. 10 has been preached to them. The prophet has thrown aside the husks of their dead works, and revealed the moral kernel of the law in its universal application to all mankind.

Jehovah has been addressing His people in anger, but even in the exhortations of vers. 16, 17 His love had begun to move. This love, which seeks not the destruction of Israel, but their inward and outward salvation, now breaks forth in ver. 18: "*Come now, and let us reason together, saith Jehovah: if your sins come out like scarlet clothes, they shall become white like snow: if they be red like crimson, they shall come out like wool.*" Cheyne translates: "let us bring our dispute to an end," and thus interprets away the offer of free grace, but without giving any reason for the possibility of this rendering. Wellhausen also sets it aside by taking the latter part of ver. 18 as a question ("If . . . should they become white?"). But it is always a very precarious makeshift to regard such clauses as questions without any interrogatory sign, when there is no necessity for a resort to this expedient; the Hiphil הוֹכִיחַ certainly may signify to

[1] It is an instructive fact, throwing light on the meaning of the word, that in the Talmud (*Joma* 39*b*) a person who had usurped not merely his own inheritance but that of another, bore the nickname of בֶּן חִמְצָן through life.

"decide;" the Niphal נוֹכַח, however, does not mean to "bring a lawsuit to an end," but to carry on litigation with another, Job xxiii. 7 (in post-Biblical Hebrew, הִתְוַכַּח), syn. נִשְׁפַּט, xliii. 26. In this litigation it will be made clear that no kind of guilt lies on the side of Jehovah, but that the righteousness which Israel could vindicate for themselves is but a semblance of righteousness, and this seeming righteousness, properly regarded, is blood-stained unrighteousness. It is assumed that the investigation can have no other result than this; hence Israel is worthy of death. Jehovah, however, does not wish to deal with Israel in accordance with His retributive justice, but according to His free mercy and compassion (cf. the expression pointing to "grace alone" in xliii. 25, and further, Micah vii. 18 f.). He is willing to remit the punishment, and not merely to regard the sin as if it were not, but even to change it into its opposite. Sin of the brightest red dye is by His grace to become the purest white. On the two Hiphils indicating colour, see Gesen. § 53. 2, where the signification was formerly stated to be, to assume a colour, or rather to give out (or emit rays of) colour, —not *colorem accipere*, but *colorem dare*. שָׁנִי signifies clear or bright red (from שָׁנָה=سنا, to be bright, glisten), not δίβαφον (from שָׁנָה, to do twice, viz. to dye twice; for it is in the case of purple that the double dyeing can be proved, not in the case of crimson). שָׁנִים (cf. our remarks on Prov. xxxi. 21) are not materials which have been dyed twice, but those which have been dyed with שָׁנִי, "bright red." תּוֹלָע (here and in Lam. iv. 5), a worm = worm-dye, is the name of the same dye-stuff,—that of the crimson obtained from the coccus-insect of the *quercus coccifera* and other plants,—the *color coccineus*. In the middle books of the Pentateuch the colouring matter is called תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי; and where mention is made of wool dyed this colour, the expression used is שְׁנִי תוֹלַעַת (Lev. xiv.; Num. xix.): here and in Prov. xxxi. 21, שָׁנִים are scarlet clothes,—the plural from the singular which is used in the same sense in 2 Sam. i. 24, Jer. iv. 30, along with which תּוֹלָע (worm-dyed cloth) is employed.[1] Jerome has translated

[1] The later name, found only in the Chronicles, is כַּרְמִיל (from the Persian *kirm, kirim*), Rom. *carmin, carminio;* see my essay on red dye-stuffs

the term correctly; but Luther, in order to give it a more popular turn, has "rose-colour;" the red of the rose, indeed, represents all the shades of red from a pale red to a dull and almost dark red to a fiery red, but the rose is unsuitable in the present passage. The representation of the work of grace, which God promises, as a change from red to white, is founded on the symbolism of colours, quite as much as when, in the Apocalypse, the garments of the saints are said to be of a bright white (xix. 8), while the clothing of Babylon is purple and scarlet (xvii. 4). Red, and this of a scarlet hue (*i.e.* bright red, or yellowish red), is the colour of fire, of anger, and therefore also of sin: white is the colour of light, of grace, of righteousness and holiness. White and scarlet are correlated as light and fire. Fiery red is the colour of sin, as the selfish, greedy, passionate life, which goes out of itself in order to destroy: sin is called red, inasmuch as its nature consumes and destroys the man in whom it dwells, and when it breaks forth, also consumes other men. According to the Biblical view, sin and piety, anger and love or grace are mutually related as fire and light, hence as red and white, or also as black and white; for red is the colour of the fire that shines up out of the darkness and returns into it, while white, without any mixture of darkness, sets forth the pure, absolute triumph of light. What we read here in Isaiah is a deeply significant symbolical representation of the act of justification. Jehovah offers Himself to Israel for the performance of a forensic act, out of which, though the people have merited death on account of their sins, they are to go forth justified by grace. The righteousness, white as snow and wool, with which Israel goes forth, is a gift which, without being conditioned by the performance of a legal requirement, becomes theirs through pure compassion displayed towards them.

But after Israel has been completely restored to its former state through such an act of grace, the conduct of the people, of course, comes into consideration, not, however (as Cheyne thinks), as the condition on the fulfilment of which the pro-

in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft*, xvii. 676 ff., and the article "Colours in the Bible" in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia* (English translation, edited by Schaff, vol. i. p. 514 f.), also my "Iris: Studies in Colour and Talks about Flowers" (English translation, Edinburgh 1889).

mised change would take place, but as prospectively, its morally certain and necessary result. According as Israel accepts the proffered grace of God and afterwards acts in accordance therewith, Jehovah decides the future of Israel, vers. 19, 20: "*If ye will consent and hear, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye will refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.*" If they assent to the act of grace which God offers them, and accept this discharge from the guilt of sin, then certainly there again lies before the justified once more a blessing and a curse, in the same way as the law had already announced both (in connection with ver. 19*b*, compare Deut. xxviii. 33 f.; Lev. xxvi. 3 ff.; and on the threat of the avenging sword in 20*b*, see Lev. xxvi. 25). The promise speaks of eating, viz. the enjoyment of abundant domestic blessings, and thus points to settled and peaceful home-life; for here the subject of the purification from sin is not (as in Ps. li.) a person, but the nation. The opposite of this is the curse,—not of eating the sword (cf. Arab. *aṭ'ama es-sêfa*, to give any one the sword to eat, *i.e.* to kill him), as Aug. Müller (*Hebr. Syntax*, Eng. transl. § 47, Rem. *a*) thinks, rendering, "ye shall be made to devour the sword,"—but (as אֻכַּל elsewhere also is a simple passive, not a causative passive of the Qal), as shown in Gesen. § 121. 3, "ye shall be devoured by the sword." חֶרֶב is the accusative of manner, in the sense of the means (instrumental accusative), as in Ps. xvii. 13, 14; standing in this way, without genitive or adjective or suffix (as also, *e.g.*, in Ex. xxx. 20), this adverbial accusative is rare, and in this passage is a bold construction which the prophet allows himself to make for the sake of the paronomasia, instead of saying חֶרֶב תֹּאכַלְכֶם. In the conditional clauses, the two imperfects are followed by two perfects (cf. the mode of expression in Lev. xxvi. 21, which is more consonant with our Western usage), inasmuch as obeying and rebelling equally result from an act of the will: "if ye will consent, and, in consequence of this, hear . . . if ye will refuse, and show yourselves obstinate:" we have thus here true "consecutive perfects." אָבָה, which is elsewhere used fifty-two times with לֹא, or in a negative question (Job xxxix. 9), is used only here in a positive meaning,—perhaps to chime with טוּב; like תְּאֻכְּלוּ with תֹּאכֵלוּ.

The second half of the address begins with ver. 21, and like the first it opens with the lamentation of God over the apostasy of His people. To the Piska after ver. 20 corresponds a long pause in the mind of the speaker. Will Israel tread the saving path of forgiveness of sins, now offered them, and enter on a life of new obedience, and will it thus be possible for them to be brought back by this way? Some may perhaps return, but not all; hence the divine address becomes a mournful complaint. So peaceful a solution of the discord between Jehovah and His children is not to be hoped for; Jerusalem is far too deeply depraved. "*How is she become a harlot, the faithful citadel,—she that was full of judgment, and wherein righteousness used to lodge,—but now murderers!*" The keynote here sounded is that of an elegy. אֵיכָה (properly, "how thus?"—for אֵי gives an interrogative sense to demonstrative words), only seldom in the shortened form אֵיךְ, is an expression indicative at once of complaint and astonishment. This longer form, more like a sigh, is a word characteristic of the קִינָה or lamentation; thus, while the Lamentations of Jeremiah begin with אֵיכָה, and receive their usual designation (in Hebrew) from this word,—on the other hand, the shorter אֵיךְ, used in mocking complaints, is a word characteristic of the מָשָׁל or proverb, see xiv. 4, 12; Micah ii. 4. From this word, which gives the keynote, everything runs on softly, fully, evenly, and slowly, in the manner peculiar to an elegy. That such forms, moreover, as מְלֵאֲתִי for מְלֵאַת (on the so-called "Hirek compaginis," see the introduction to Ps. cxvi.), softened through lengthening, are adapted for elegiac productions, is at once evident from the first verse of the Lamentations, which begin with the elegiac keynote struck by Isaiah. Jerusalem was formerly קִרְיָה נֶאֱמָנָה, a faithful city, *i.e.* one that stedfastly adhered to the alliance of Jehovah with her (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 37). This alliance was a marriage-alliance; but she has broken it and has thereby become a זוֹנָה, "harlot,"—a prophetic view, the outlines of which have already been given in the Pentateuch, Israel's worship of idols being there called a whoring after them, *e.g.* in the law of the two tables, Ex. xxxiv. 16; Num. xiv. 33, etc. (in all, seven passages); cf. Ps. xvi. 4, lxxiii. 27. It is not merely gross outward idolatry, however,

that makes the Church of God a "harlot," but the defection of the heart, however this may at any time express itself; for which reason Jesus also could call the generation of His time γενεὰ μοιχαλίς, in spite of the strict worship of Jehovah carried on in Pharisaic spirit. For, as shown by the verse before us, the basis of that marriage-relation was justice and righteousness in the widest sense: מִשְׁפָּט, *i.e.* a realization of righteousness corresponding to the will of God as positively made known; and צֶדֶק, *i.e.* a righteous state of things regulated by that will, a righteous line of conduct in accordance with it (different from the more attributive צְדָקָה). Jerusalem was formerly full of such justice; and righteousness was not merely like a passing guest in the city, but she who came down from above had there fixed her permanent abode; there she used to tarry day and night, as if it were her home. When the prophet refers to former days, he has in his mind the times of David and Solomon, but especially those of Jehoshaphat, who (about one hundred and fifty years before Isaiah appeared) restored the administration of justice which had fallen into neglect since the latter years of Solomon and the days of Rehoboam and Abijah,—a point to which the reformation of Asa had not extended,—and who reorganized all in the spirit of the law. Those institutions of Jehoshaphat which fell into decay under his three godless successors may possibly have been re-established by the high priest Jehoiada under the rule of Joash; but even in the second half of the reign of Joash the administration of justice had already fallen once more into the fearful disorder in which—compared at least with the times of David and Solomon, and afterwards of Jehoshaphat—it still remained even in Isaiah's days. The whole point and weight of the complaint concentrate upon וְעַתָּה, "but now," which expresses the contrast. In correct codices and editions (*e.g.* Brescia 1494) מִשְׁפָּט has not *Zakeph*, but *Rebia*; and בָּהּ, which ought to have *Zakeph*, has *Tiphcha*, on account of the shortness of the succeeding clause. In this way the declaration regarding the former state of things is duly distinguished from that concerning the present. Formerly righteousness, now מְרַצְּחִים, "murderers," and that too (as distinguished from רֹצְחִים) by profession, who form a band, like King Ahab and his son Joram, 2 Kings vi. 32.

The contrast is as great as it could possibly be; for murder is the extreme opposite of righteousness, its grossest violation.

From the city generally, the complaint now turns to the rulers, and first of all is couched in figurative language, ver. 22: "*Thy silver has become dross, thy drink adulterated with water.*" This passage is the basis of other two in which like figurative language abounds, Jer. vi. 27 ff.; Ezek. xxii. 18–22. The silver represents the princes and lords, viewed with reference to the nobility of mind associated with their nobility of birth and rank; for silver—sterling silver—is a symbol of all that is noble and pure, and it is the purity of light which shows itself in it, as in the pure white of byssus and of the lily. The princes and lords formerly possessed the virtues which together are in Latin called *candor animi*,—the virtues of magnanimity, courtesy, impartiality, and freedom from the influence of bribes; now, this silver has become dross, such base metals as are separated or thrown aside (סִיג, pl. סִיגִים, סִגִים, סִגִּים, from סוּג, to withdraw; refuse removed in smelting, dross; cf. Prov. xxv. 4, xxvi. 23). In a second figure, the leading men of Jerusalem in former days are compared to סֹבֶא, "choice wine," such as drinkers like,—for this must have been the meaning of the word (from סָבָא, to carouse, Arab. سباء, to purchase wine for a carousal) in Isaiah's time (cf. also Nah. i. 10) among educated circles. This pure, strong, and costly wine is now adulterated with water (*castratum*, according to Pliny's expression in his *Natural History*; cf. *jugulare Falernum*, in Martial, i. 18), or weakened; *i.e.* through this addition, its strength and flavour are diminished. The present is but the dregs and the shadow of the past.

In ver. 23 the prophet explains himself; he repeats in plain language what has been already stated under a figure: "*Thy rulers are rebellious, and associates of thieves; every one loves a bribe, and hunts after payments; the orphan they judge not, and the cause of the widow has no access to them.*" The utter and contemptible meanness of the rulers (שָׂרִים) of the people is here depicted by the alliterating סוֹרְרִים in relation to God, "rebellious, stubborn," and by חַבְרֵי גַּנָּבִים in relation to men, "associates of thieves," in that they allow themselves to be bought over, by a present of part of the plunder, to connive at the theft, and to deal unjustly towards those who

were robbed. Such bribes are not merely willingly (אֹהֵב) accepted by them,—and that, too, by the whole body of the princes, *i.e.* every single one of them (כֻּלּוֹ with neuter suffix, synon. הַכֹּל, all),—but they even greedily go after them (רֹדֵף). It is not שָׁלוֹם ("peace") they hunt after (Ps. xxxiv. 15), but שַׁלְמֹנִים ("payments," recompense for their trouble; cf. שִׁלּוּם, Micah vii. 3); and thus not peace, but something to satisfy their avarice and partiality.

Such is the case of Jerusalem, which will hardly enter on the path of grace opened up to it in ver. 18; Jehovah will therefore employ another means of correction (ver. 24): "*Therefore, declaration of Jehovah, of Jehovah of Hosts, of the Strong One of Israel, Ah! I shall enjoy myself on mine adversaries, and will avenge myself on mine enemies.*" Salvation through judgment is still and ever the only means of improving and preserving the congregation that takes its name from Jerusalem. Therefore Jehovah seeks to satisfy the demands of His holiness, and to sift Jerusalem through judicial dealing. Such an accumulation of divine names as occurs here is nowhere else found in Isaiah; cf. xix. 4, iii. 1, x. 33, xvi. 3, 15. The irrevocable decree concerning the sifting judgment is sealed with three names which indicate the irresistible omnipotence of God. The title אֲבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל, "the Mighty One of Israel," is derived from Gen. xlix. 24, though the name of the nation is changed. In accordance with the deep and earnest pathos of the address, instead of אָמַר there is here used נְאֻם, from נָאַם, for which the form in the Mishna is נום; cognate is נָהַם, Arab. نأم, to speak softly, groan; نم, to whisper quietly. All these verbs indicate the emission of a dull and hollow groan; hence נְאוּם means that which is spoken significantly and secretly, solemnly and softly. The word occurs only in genitival connection with a following subject indicating the person who speaks, particularly in the expression נְאֻם יְהוָה; it always forms a noun-clause ("declaration of Jehovah," *i.e.* Jehovah speaks). It is first found in Gen. xxii. 16; in the writings of the prophets, it is found even so early as in Obadiah and Joel, most frequently in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, usually at the end of a sentence, or parenthetically in the middle of it,—rarely, as here and in

lvi. 8 (see our commentary on Ps. cx. 1), at the beginning. The utterance commences with הוֹי, the painfulness of pity commingling with the outburst of wrath that has been determined. Along with the Niphal נִקַּם מִן ("to avenge one's self on") there stands the allied Niphal נִחַם (properly, "to console one's self"), the latter with *ĕ*, the former (in accordance with the so-called Assyrian system of pointing) with *i* under the preformative, which is sometimes found elsewhere also, *e.g.* in Gen. xvi. 2, xxi. 24; Num. xxiii. 15; Ezek. xx. 36; 1 Sam. xii. 7. Jehovah is going to relieve Himself of His enemies by letting out on them the wrath that had hitherto burdened Him (Ezek. v. 13): thus does He now call the mass of the people in Jerusalem by their right name.

Ver. 25 declares wherein consists the revenge to which Jehovah has been inwardly constrained: "*And I will bring mine hand upon thee, and will smelt out thy dross as with alkali; and I will remove all thy pieces of lead.*" As long as God leaves any man's actions or sufferings alone, His hand is said to rest. הֵשִׁיב יָד followed by עַל signifies the turning of the hand which has hitherto been at rest, either for punishing (Amos i. 8; Jer. vi. 9; Ezek. xxxviii. 12; Ps. lxxxi. 15), or even, though but seldom, for saving (Zech. xiii. 17) the person mentioned. Here the reference is to dealing towards Jerusalem, in which punishment and salvation are combined—the punishment as the means, salvation as the end. Jehovah's intervention is compared to a smelting which will sweep away, not Jerusalem, but the ungodly who dwell there. These are compared to dross or drossy ore, and—inasmuch as lead is removed in all refinement of silver—to those commingled pieces of lead which Jehovah will speedily and thoroughly separate כַּבֹּר, "like the alkali,"—the abbreviated mode of comparison, instead of כְּבַבֹּר, "as with the alkali." בְּדִילִים (from בָּדַל, to separate) are the pieces of tin or lead (lead-glance)[1] containing the silver, which, inasmuch as

[1] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 24. 16) says that *plumbum nigrum* sometimes occurs alone, sometimes combined with silver: *ejus qui primus fluit in fornacibus liquor stannum appellatur.* What is here meant is the litharge which, in the process of obtaining silver from the lead-glance containing the precious metal, separates itself till it comes to be the so-called silver-glance. This dross, in the form of powder, is called בְּדִיל, and the pieces

all the baser metals are distinguished from the precious ones by the fact that they are combustible (oxidisable), are separated by smelting. Both בֹּר, *i.e.* potash (an alkali obtained from the ashes of wood and of land-plants generally), and נֶתֶר, *i.e.* natron or soda (which is either mineral, or obtained from plants), which dissolves in water (see on Prov. xxv. 20), were employed from the earliest times, when one wished to extract a metal from its ore, as a means of accelerating the process of smelting. The conjecture of a different reading, בכר (בַּכּוּר, "in the crucible"), is thus superfluous.

As the threat against Jerusalem, put in this allegorical form, does not refer to destruction, but to smelting, there is nothing strange in the fact that in ver. 26 it changes into pure promise, the meltingly soft, ardently mournful conclusion of the clauses in ־ָיִךְ, which is the keynote of the later songs of Zion, being continued: "*And I will restore thy judges as in the olden time, and thy counsellors as in the beginning; afterwards thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, a faithful citadel.*" Even the threatening itself was relatively a promise, in so far as what could stand the fire in Jerusalem would survive the judgment, the specific object of which was to bring back Jerusalem to the precious metal of its true nature. But after this has been accomplished, still more than this shall also come to pass. The imperishable kernel that remains becomes the centre to which all elements of excellence are attracted,—Jerusalem again receiving from Jehovah its judges and counsellors, whom, from the time that it became the city of David and the seat of the temple, it had possessed in the best days of the kingdom,—not, indeed, the same persons, but men of like excellence. The two time-limitations have the force of accusatives attached to the predicate: "as in the beginning," *i.e.* of the same character as they were before. הָרִאשֹׁנָה signifies, in a neuter sense, what is

בְּדִילִים; on the other hand, עֹפֶרֶת is the name of the solid lead which is obtained by melting down lead-glance which does not contain silver. But that בְּדִיל signifies lead (*plumbum nigrum*), Zech. iv. 10, as well as tin (*plumbum album*), Num. xxxi. 22, is accounted for in the same way as the homonymy of iron and basalt, oak and terebinth: the two metals are called by the same name on account of external resemblance and common properties,—softness, flexibility, colour, and specific gravity.

temporally or locally (lx. 9) the first; and the fact that, in כְּבָרִאשֹׁנָה, a second preposition follows כְּ, is not without example elsewhere, as Gen. xxxviii. 24; Lev. xxvi. 37; 1 Sam. xiv. 14 (also x. 27, if we read כְּמֵחֹדֶשׁ, which is suggested by the LXX.); cf. also כְּעַל, Ps. cxix. 14; Isa. lix. 18, lxiii. 7. Under such divinely commissioned leaders, Jerusalem will then become what it had been, and will be what it ought to be; and the names by which the city is called are the expression of the effect produced on the minds of others through the manifestation of its true nature and character (cf. Zech. viii. 3). With Isaiah the giving of a name is the perception and recognition of the real existence of what has come into outward manifestation. The second designation applied to Jerusalem is without the article: this term קִרְיָה, of such weighty and definite purport, is never used in Isaiah with the article, and, indeed, never occurs with it anywhere except in 1 Kings i. 41, 45.

Jehovah has thus announced the course irrevocably fixed, and leading to salvation, which He will pursue with Israel: this is the leading principle of God's dealings henceforth, the law of Israel's history. Its purport, briefly and tersely put, is thus expressed in ver. 27: "*Sion will be redeemed through judgment, and her returning ones through righteousness.*" מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה are in other places called divine gifts (xxxiii. 5, xxviii. 6), lines of conduct on the part of men that are well-pleasing to God (i. 21, xxxii. 16), royal and Messianic virtues (ix. 6, vi. 3–5, xvi. 5, xxxii. 1). Here, however, the idea is not this peculiarly human one (as Cheyne thinks), but, as shown by parallel passages like iv. 4, v. 16, xxviii. 17, it is to be referred to Jehovah, and the words are to be regarded as meaning God's justice and righteousness in their primarily judicial self-fulfilment. A judgment of God the Righteous One will be the means through which Zion,—so far as it has remained faithful to Jehovah,—and those who in the midst of the judgment return (שָׁבֶיהָ, instead of which Luther read שִׁבְיָהּ), will be redeemed. This judgment will fall upon sinners and sin, and will be the means of breaking that power which has restrained and impeded the nature and workings of Zion, as these were designed of God; it will further be the medium through which those who turn to Jehovah are incorporated

into His true Church. When God therefore reveals Himself in His punitive righteousness, He is working out a righteousness which is bestowed as a gift of grace on those who escape the former. The idea of "righteousness" (δικαιοσύνη) is here, as in Hos. ii. 21, on New Testament lines. In front, there is the fire of the law; behind, there is the light of the gospel. Behind the wrath is hidden love, as the ultimate motive-power, like the sun behind the thunder-clouds. Zion, as far as it is truly Zion and is becoming Zion, is redeemed; only the ungodly are destroyed, but these without mercy, as is added in ver. 28: "*But the destruction of the transgressors and sinners [shall be] together, and those who forsake Jehovah shall perish.*" In this way even the judicial aspect of the approaching act of redemption is expressed in a manner that can be understood by every one. The impassioned exclamatory clause in the first half of the verse is explained by the declamatory verb-clause of the second. פֹּשְׁעִים are those who in heart and in outward conduct have broken away from Jehovah; חַטָּאִים are those who spend their lives in open and prevailing sins; עֹזְבֵי יְהוָֹה are those who have become estranged from God in one or other of these ways.

Ver. 29, beginning with an explanatory כִּי, declares how God's judgment of destruction falls upon all these: "*For they shall be ashamed of the terebinths in which ye delighted, and ye must blush because of the gardens in which ye had pleasure.*" The terebinths and gardens (this second word with the article, as in Hab. iii. 8 first בנהרים, then בַּנְּהָרִים) are not referred to as objects of luxury (as Hitzig and Drechsler suppose), but as unlawful places of worship (see Deut. xvi. 21) and objects of worship: both of them are frequently mentioned by the prophets with this meaning, lvii. 5, lxv. 3, lxvi. 17. חָמַד and בָּחַר are the usual verbs employed in speaking of Gentile will-worship (ἐθελοθρησκεία), as in xliv. 9, xli. 24, lxvi. 3; and בּוֹשׁ מִן is the customary phrase for indicating the shame that comes over idolaters when the helplessness of their idols proves that they are nothing. Regarding בּוֹשׁ (to be disturbed, lose self-command) and חָפֵר (to be covered over, become covered with shame), see our commentary on Ps. xxxiv. 6, xxxv. 4; cf. Wünsche on *Hosea*, i. p. 54. The LXX. and other ancient versions incorrectly render אֵילִים by εἴδωλα, though the feeling

by which they were prompted is correct: the places of worship here (cf. Jer. xlviii. 13) stand for the idols (אֵלִים, for which the form אֵילִים is never written when *Dii* is the meaning). The abrupt transition from plain statement to direct address shows how excited the prophet is here at the close of the discourse.

In this animated strain he continues; and, led by the association of ideas, he makes terebinths and gardens the future figures of the idolaters themselves. Ver. 30: "*For ye shall be like a terebinth with withered leaves, and like a garden in which there is no water.*" Their prosperity is being destroyed, and they are thus like a terebinth נֹבֶלֶת עָלֶהָ. This last expression does not mean "withered its foliage," *i.e.* whose foliage is withered (for עָלֶה is masc.), but "which is withered in its foliage"[1] (genitival construction, as in xxx. 27; see Ewald's *Syntax*, § 288*c*); their sources of help are dried up, and thus they resemble a garden that has no water, and is therefore waste. The terebinth (turpentine-pistacia), a native of southern and eastern Palestine, casts its leaves (which are small, and resemble those of the walnut-tree) in the autumn. In this dry and parched condition, terebinth and garden, to which the idolaters are compared, are readily inflammable. There is but needed a spark to kindle, and then they are consumed in the flames.

Ver. 31, in a third figure, shows the quarter from which this kindling spark will come: "*And the wealthy one becomes tow, and his work a spark; and both shall burn together, and no one extinguishes them.*" The form פֹּעֲלוֹ primarily suggests a participial meaning, "he who prepares it;" but הֶחָסֹן would be an unusual epithet to apply to the idol. Besides, the figure, on this view, becomes distorted, for certainly the natural order is that the idol is what kindles or inflames, while man is the object to be kindled,—not the converse. Hence פָּעֳלוֹ here means "his work" (as in the LXX., Targum,

[1] The noun עָלֶה is a collective, and not till we come to Nehemiah do we find the plur. עָלִים, just as it is not till we reach the post-Biblical Hebrew that a plur. פֵּרוֹת is formed from the collective פְּרִי. We might have expected עָלָהּ instead of עָלֶהָ,—like שָׂדָהּ in 2 Kings viii. 3; but such nouns from verbs לה are mostly combined with the suffixes *ēhu*, *ēha* (*e.g.* מַרְאָהּ for מַרְאֶהָ, Lev. xiii. 4, xx. 25), the termination *ä*=*aj* having an influence on the choice of the suffix-form (Gesen. § 91, note 1*b*).

and Vulgate): the forms פָּעֳלוֹ and פֹּעֲלוֹ (cf. lii. 14; Jer. xxii. 13) are two equally possible modifications of the fundamental form פָּעְלוֹ (פָּעֳלוֹ). As ver. 29 referred to the worship of idols, פֹּעַל does not here mean work in the general ethical sense (as Gesenius thinks, *Thes.*), but the idol, as something made (cf. ii. 8, xxxvii. 19, etc.). The wealthy idolater, who out of the abundance of his possessions (חֹסֶן, xxxiii. 6) could afford gold and silver for making idols, will become tow (Talm. נערת של פשתן, "refuse of flax," from נער, to shake out, viz. in the swingling and combing; and, on the other hand, חֹסֶן is the Talmudic word for flax that is still uncombed and undressed), and the idol will be the spark that sets this mass of fibres on fire, so that both will burn without any possibility of being saved (regarding בָּעַר, see the remarks on iv. 4).[1] For the fire of judgment that consumes sinners does not need to come from without: sin carries within itself the fire of wrath. But the idol is the *corpus delicti*,—the sin of the idolater, as it were, set forth and embodied in visible form.

The time when this first prophetic discourse was composed is a difficult problem. Caspari, in his *Contributions*, has thoroughly examined all possible dates, and has finally decided in favour of the view that it belongs to the time of Uzziah, on the ground that vers. 7–9 do not relate to an actual, but merely to an ideal present. But this view is, and must continue to be, arbitrary. Every unprejudiced reader will receive from vers. 7–9 the impression that what is there depicted is something actually present. Moreover, during the period of Isaiah's ministry the land of Judah was actually laid waste on two occasions, on both of which Jerusalem was spared only through the miraculous protection of Jehovah,—once during the reign of Ahaz, in the year of the Syro-Ephraimitish war; and the second time during Hezekiah's reign, when the Assyrian host laid waste the country, only to be finally dashed to pieces at Jerusalem. Gesenius, Maurer, Movers, Knobel, Driver, and

[1] This חוסן is an old Hebrew word preserved in the Mishna (*Shabbath* ii. 1). Rabbi Joseph there explains it, with reference to the present passage, כיתנא דדייק ולא נפין, flax which has been broken, but not yet combed; and it seems to be assumed there that Isaiah, when he calls the idolater החסן, alludes to חֹסֶן: "As the נעורת proceeds from the חוסן, so will the idolatrous חסן become נעורת."—(Dr. H. Ehrentreu.)

others decide in favour of the year when the Syro-Ephraimitish war took place; while Hitzig, Umbreit, Drechsler, Luzzatto, and Küper hold that the time was that of the Assyrian oppression. Whichever view we may take, there ever remains, as the test of its admissibility, the difficult question, How has this prophecy come to stand at the beginning of the book, if it belongs to the times of Uzziah and Jotham? This question we shall endeavour to answer when we reach chap. vi.

The path of General Judgment, showing the course of Israel from False to True Glory, Chaps. II.–IV.

The limits of this discourse cannot be mistaken. From the beginning of chap. ii. to the end of chap. iv. a complete circle is formed. After frequent changes between exhortation, reproach, and threatening, the prophet reaches the object of the promise with which he began. On the other hand, chap. v. commences with a wholly new subject, forming an independent discourse, though connected with that which precedes by the superscription in ii. 1: "*The word which Isaiah the son of Amos saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.*" Chaps. ii.–v. may possibly have already existed under this heading before the whole collection was formed: this superscription was then taken over into the entire work, in order to call attention to the transition from the prologue to the body of the book. What the prophet utters concerning Judah and Jerusalem he calls "the word which he saw." When men speak one to another, the words are not seen, but heard; but when God speaks with the prophet, this is done in a supersensuous manner, and the prophet sees it in this way,—for though the spirit of man has neither eyes nor ears, yet when enabled to perceive the supersensuous, it is altogether eye.

The way in which Isaiah begins this second discourse is without a parallel; there is no other prophetic address whatever that commences with וְהָיָה (for Ezek. xxxviii. 10 is not a beginning, but a continuation). It is easy to tell the reason, however. This "consecutive preterite" receives the meaning of a future only from the context; whereas וַיְהִי (with which historical books and sections very commonly begin) shows its character by its very form. It is further to be noted that the copu-

lative meaning of the ו in the "consecutive imperfect" retains less of its living force than in the "consecutive perfect." The prophet accordingly begins with "and;" and that היה is meant to bear a future sense is to be made out, not from what precedes, but from what follows. This, however, is not the only strange thing here; for there is, further, no other case in which a prophetic address—especially one like this, which runs through all the phases of prophetic discourse (exhortation, reproof, threatening, promise)—begins with a promise. We are in a condition, however, to see clearly the reason of this remarkable phenomenon; for vers. 2–4 are not at all the words of Isaiah himself, but the words of another, taken out of their connection. "Every one of the prophets," says the *Pesikta de-Rab Cahana* 125*b*, "follows the precedent set him by those who have gone before (נביא מפי נביא); but thou, O Isaiah, dost prophesy under the direct influence of the divine majesty" (מפי הגבורה). This is a grand testimony to the originality of Isaiah, yet it does not exclude his falling back on his predecessors. For we also find the words of vers. 2–4, in a slightly different form, in Micah iv. 1–4; and whether Isaiah took the words of this prediction from Micah, or whether both prophets derived them from a common source, in any case they are not Isaiah's originally.[1] Nor was it at all intended that they should

[1] The statement in Jer. xxvi. 18, that Micah uttered the threatening recorded in Micah iii. 12 (the counterpart of which is the promise in Micah iv. 1–4 and Isa. ii. 2–4) during the reign of Hezekiah, seems to militate against the idea that Isaiah borrowed from Micah. Independently of each other, Ewald (*Prophets of the Old Testament*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. pp. 27, 314) and Hitzig (*Commentary on Isaiah and Micah; Studien und Kritiken* for 1829, 2) have conjectured that both Micah and Isaiah repeat what was first uttered by a third and earlier prophet, whom Hitzig further supposes to have been Joel; Cheyne also (1868) thinks this probable. The passage in question has actually many points in common with the Book of Joel, such as the picture given of the reforging of the אתים and מזמרות (iv. 10), the combinations of רב and עצום, of גפן and תאנה (cf. with Micah iv. 4). In Micah, however, it forms the obverse side of the threat of judgment that preceded; ver. 3 also reminds us of Micah's style (see the remarks on that verse); and the statement in Jer. xxvi. 18 is quite compatible with the supposition that Isaiah borrowed these words of promise from Micah (see the closing remarks on chaps. i.–vi.). Cf. Caspari on *Micah*, p. 444 ff.

seem to be his. Isaiah has not fused them into the general current of his own address, as prophets are elsewhere wont to do with the predictions of their predecessors. He does not reproduce them, but, as we are meant to observe, from the abrupt beginning, he quotes them. This certainly does not seem to agree with the heading, according to which the succeeding declarations are the word of Jehovah which Isaiah saw; but there is no real disagreement. It is just the spirit of prophecy which here brings into Isaiah's remembrance a prophetic utterance already recorded, and makes it the starting-point of the series of thoughts which follow. The borrowed promise is not by any means cited for its own sake, but serves merely as a basis for the following exhortation and threat of judgment, through which, after the borrowed introduction, Isaiah's discourse aspires to a conclusion of its own.

The subject-matter of the borrowed words of prophecy is the future glory of Israel. Ver. 2: "*And it comes to pass at the end of the days, the mountain of the house of Jehovah will be established on the top of the mountains, and exalted over hills, and all nations stream unto it.*" The expression "the last days," or "end of the days" (אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים), which does not occur anywhere else in Isaiah, may either, in contrast with the time of commencement, signify the time of the end, or, in contrast with the present, the time that follows (as in Deut. xxxi. 29; Jer. xxiii. 20); according to preponderating usage, however, this expression is applied to the future that forms the close of history. Whether we render it by *ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις* or (as in 1 Tim. iv. 1) by *ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς*, the idea it presents is eschatological, but this in relation to the horizon of the speaker. This horizon is very varied; and the history of prophecy is just the history of its gradual extension and completion. In the blessing of Jacob, Gen. xlix., the occupation of the land of Canaan stands in the foreground of the "last days," and regulates the perspective; but here, in Isaiah, "the last days" mean the time of the end in the most simple and literal sense. The prophet predicts that the mountain on which the temple was built will one day visibly tower above all the heights of the earth, and be enthroned like a king over his subjects. At present, the south-eastern hill on which the temple is built is sur-

passed in height by the south-western hill; and the basaltic mountains of Bashan, rising in bold peaks and columns, look down with scorn and contempt on the little limestone-hill which Jehovah has chosen (Ps. lxviii. 16 f.),—a wrong relation which the last times will remove, by making the outward correspond to the inward, the appearance to the reality and intrinsic worth. That such is the prophet's meaning is confirmed by Ezek. xl. 2, where the temple-mount appears gigantic to the prophet, and by Zech. xiv. 10 (parallels, which Cheyne also compares), according to which all Jerusalem will one day, as the actual centre and apex (cf. Ezek. v. 5), tower above the country round about, which shall have become a plain. If this be the meaning of the passage, there still remains doubt regarding the sense attaching to בְּרֹאשׁ. Is it meant that Moriah will come to stand "upon the top" of the mountains surrounding it (בְּרֹאשׁ being rendered as in Ps. lxxxii. 16), or that it will stand "at the head" of them (the expression being used as in 1 Kings xxi. 9, 12; Amos vi. 7; Jer. xxxi. 7)? The former is the view of Hofmann (in his *Weissag. und Erfüllung*, ii. 217): his opinion is, not that the mountains will be piled up, one on the top of the other, with the temple-mount over all (as it is said in *Pesikta de-Rab Cahana* 144*b*, that God will bring together Sinai, Tabor, and Carmel, and erect the temple-building upon the top of them), but that Zion will seem to float on the summit of the other mountains: this is also the explanation given by Ewald. But inasmuch as the expression נָכוֹן, "established," is not favourable to this mode of getting rid of a wonderful phenomenon, and because בְּרֹאשׁ, in the sense of "at the head," occurs still more frequently than with the meaning "on the top," what is meant is the exaltation of Zion by means of lifting, yet this in such a way that the physical and visible elevation is but a means to the dignitative and moral, and easily changes from the literal sense to the ideal. Raised to a position towering over everything besides, the mountain chosen of God becomes the place of meeting and the centre of unity for all nations. It is the temple of Jehovah which now, visible to the nations from afar, exercises such magnetic powers of attraction, and with such results (cf. lvi. 7; Jer. iii. 17; Zech. viii. 20 ff.). Now, it is but a single nation, Israel,

that makes pilgrimages to the temple-mount on great festivals, —then it will be otherwise.

Ver. 3: "*And peoples in multitudes go and say, Come and let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the house of the God of Jacob: let Him instruct us out of His ways, and we will walk in His paths.*" This is their watchword for the starting, this is their song on the way that they go (cf. Zech. viii. 21 f., ii. 15). What urges them is the desire of salvation. Desire for salvation expresses itself in the name they give to the goal of their journey: they call Zion (=Mount Moriah, 2 Chron. iii. 1) the "mountain of Jehovah;" they call the temple built on it "the house of the God of Jacob;" "Israel," as the name of the people of God, has by frequent use become common, so they employ the more refined name "Jacob,"—the name dear to Micah, of whose style (see iv. 11, 13, v. 6 f.) we are further reminded by the expression "many nations." Desire of salvation shows itself in the object of their journey; they wish Jehovah to teach them "out of His ways" (מִדְּרָכָיו) —rich material for instruction with which they would like to be gradually intrusted (מִן is here used in a partitive sense, —"out of the fulness of this material for instruction," cf. xlvii. 13, and the somewhat different מִן in Ps. xciv. 12): "the ways of Jehovah" are those in which He Himself walks and in which He conducts men, the revealed ordinances of His government and His will. Desire of salvation also shows itself in their resolution to set out: they not merely wish to learn, but they have made glad resolve to act in accordance with what they have learned: "so will we walk in His paths," —the cohortative, as frequently is the case (*e.g.* Gen. xxvii. 4), being used as the expression of the subjective purpose, or the subjective inference.

Here end the words of the multitude of the heathen who are going up to Zion; but the prophet, at the end of ver. 3 further adds the reason and motive of this holy pilgrimage of the nations: "*For from Zion will a law go forth, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem.*" Zion[1] was originally the name of the south-eastern hill (not, as is now acknowledged, of the south-western hill which was erroneously considered

[1] On the meaning of the word, see Wetstein in my *Commentary on Genesis*, 4th edition (English translation, Edinburgh 1889).

Zion) on which, at several successive stages of descent, were built the temple, the palace of Solomon, and the city of David;[1] then it came to be specially applied to the height on which the temple stood, and by synecdoche to the whole of Jerusalem, the true centre of which is the sanctuary. The greatest emphasis is laid on the expressions "out of Zion" and "out of Jerusalem," which indicate a feeling of triumph, and remind us of John iv. 22, *ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν*. From Zion-Jerusalem will go forth תּוֹרָה, *i.e.* instruction regarding the questions which man has to ask at God; and "the word of Jehovah" is that by which the world was created and by which it is spiritually transformed. Hence, what makes the nations truly prosperous comes from Zion-Jerusalem. Thither assemble the nations, thence they carry away a blessing with them to their homes, and thus Zion-Jerusalem becomes the source of all-embracing good; for, from the time that Jehovah chose Zion, the sanctity of Sinai (according to Ps. lxviii. 18) was transferred to Zion; and what was begun at Sinai for Israel is completed from Zion for all the world. This was fulfilled at that Feast of Pentecost when the first-fruits of the Church of Christ proclaimed the law of Zion, *i.e.* the gospel, in all the languages of the world. It is fulfilled, as Theodoret here remarks, in the fact that the word of the gospel, beginning at Jerusalem *οἷον ἀπό τινος πηγῆς*, ran through the whole inhabited world (cf. Luke xxiv. 47, *ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ*).

All these fulfilments, however, were but preludes to an end still to be expected, and forming their completion. For there is no fulfilment yet of what is predicted in ver. 4: "*And He will judge between the nations, and pronounce judgment to many nations; and they forge their swords into coulters, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation lifts not up the sword against nation, neither do they learn war any more.*" When the nations thus betake themselves as pupils to the God of revelation and to the word He has revealed, He becomes among them the supreme judicial tribunal. When dispute arises, it is no longer decided by force of arms, but by the word of God, to which they all bow with willing

[1] See Klaiber in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iii. 201.

submission. רַבִּים, used in this way by itself (without the parallel עֲצֻמִים, found in Micah iv. 3), signifies "many," not "great." When this power of the peace-producing word of God is in active exercise (Zech. ix. 10), there is no longer need for iron weapons: these are re-forged into tools for works of peace,—into אִתִּים (instead of which we find אֵתִים in 1 Sam. xiii. 21, from אָתַת, to break), "coulters" which pre-prepare the furrows while the ploughshare turns them up, and into מַזְמֵרוֹת, "pruning-hooks" or "bills," with which the vine is pruned, in order to increase its fruit-bearing power. Neither is there any more need for military exercises, for there is no need in learning what can no longer be applied: it is useless, and men turn from it in disgust. There is peace; yet not an armed peace, but a full, true, and God-sent peace. The true humanity that was overwhelmed and choked by sin now gains the mastery, and the world observes its Sabbath. What is set forth in Ps. xlvi. 9 f., Hos. ii. 20, was seen more fully by Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah, is a moral postulate laid down in Scripture, the goal of the history of redemption, the predicted counsel of God.

Isaiah comes before his contemporaries with this older prophecy regarding the noble and world-embracing calling of the people of Jehovah; he holds it up to them like a mirror, and exclaims (ver. 5): "*O house of Jacob, come! and let us walk in the light of Jehovah!*" This exhortation is formed under the influence of the context from which vers. 2–4 are taken (as may be seen from Micah iv. 5), and of the cited words themselves; Micah prefers יַעֲקֹב to יִשְׂרָאֵל, though the former name is not unusual in Isaiah (see viii. 17, x. 20 f., xxix. 23), and in chaps. xl.–lxvi. comes into prominence. With the words "O house of Jacob" he turns to his own nation, for whom, because Jehovah has shown Himself graciously present among them, so glorious a future is in store; and he calls on them to walk in the light of such a God, unto whom, in the end of the days, all nations shall come in crowds. The summons, "Come, and let us walk," is the echo of the summons, "Come, and let us go up," in ver. 3; and Hitzig quite correctly remarks, "Like Paul in Rom. xi. 14, Isaiah seeks to rouse his fellow-countrymen to a noble jealousy by pointing to the example of the heathen."

"The light of Jehovah" (an expression in which there is a not unintentional reference to וְיֹרֵנוּ in ver. 3; cf. Prov. vi. 23) is the knowledge of Him that has been revealed. It is now high time to walk in the light of Jehovah, *i.e.* to turn this knowledge to regulate daily life; and the exhortation to this is highly necessary for Israel just now, when the nation, because it did the contrary, had been given over to a perverse mind.

This sad thought, which the prophet is constrained to make the basis of his warning cry, comes from him in ver. 6, in the form of a prayer breathing sighs: "*For Thou hast rejected Thy people, the house of Jacob; because they have been filled from the East, and are sorcerers like the Philistines, and with the children of foreigners they go hand in hand.*" Once more we have twice כִּי, in immediate succession; the first gives the reason for the warning cry, the second introduces the justification of this reason. The address is directed to Jehovah, not to the people. Of early commentators, Saadia and Gecatilia (cf. also Rashi), and among modern writers, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, and Luzzatto take the first words to mean, "Thou hast given up thy nationality" (עַמְּךָ being taken for מַעֲשֵׂה עַמְּךָ). But עַם signifies "people," not "nationality;" and this interpretation would not have been thought of if the sudden introduction of the address to God had not been considered strange. But in ii. 9, ix. 2, etc., the prophecy also assumes the form of a prayer; moreover, the combination of נָטַשׁ with עַם as an object, recalls such passages as Ps. xciv. 14; 1 Sam. xii. 22. Jehovah has cast away His people from Him (*i.e.* rejected them), and left them to themselves (נָטַשׁ); the perfect is not a prophetic one (as Cheyne thinks), but speaks of what has actually occurred, as is shown by the various symptoms pointed out: (1) They are full from the East (מִקֶּדֶם: here מִן indicates the source from which the filling comes, Ezek. xxxii. 6; Jer. li. 34; and see my commentary on Eccles. i. 8), *i.e.* full of Oriental manners and fashions, particularly idolatrous usages. קֶדֶם is the name given to Arabia down to the peninsula of Sinai, together with the Aramean countries adjacent to the Euphrates. Under Uzziah and Jotham, whose dominion extended as far as Elath, the seaport of the Elanitic Gulf, the influence of the south-western

Orient predominated; but under Ahaz and Hezekiah, on account of their relations to Assyria, Syria, and Babylon, that of the north-east was predominant. The conjectural reading מִקֶּסֶם (suggested by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*) or מִקְסָם (supported by Ewald and Böttcher) would remove the name of the extensive region from which Judah's disposition to imitate received its impulse and material; but perhaps Isaiah wrote קסם מקדם ("full(y) of sorcery from the East"). (2) They are עֹנְנִים (a form which is interchanged with the more complete מְעֹנְנִים, Deut. xviii. 14, etc., from the Poël עֹנֵן, Lev. xix. 26; 2 Kings xxi. 6), not "Tagewähler," as Luther renders it—for the form is opposed to the derivation from עוֹנָה, "time" (see *Sanhedrin* 65*b*; and cf. Rashi on Lev. xix. 26), but those who observe the clouds for signs of the future (a rendering which Aben-Ezra also very properly prefers), or —more in accordance with the meaning of the Poël—those who bring clouds and storms[1] like the Philistines (who were subdued by Uzziah, and afterwards by Hezekiah), among whom

[1] There is no ground for the explanation "concealing" (*i.e.* practising secret arts); for the meaning "to cover" is arbitrarily transferred to the verb ענן from the roots גָּנַן and כָּנַן (see on Ps. lxxx. 16) with which it is said to be allied. But as a denominative from עָנָן ("a cloud," as meeting the eye), עוֹנֵן might mean "he gathered auguries from the clouds." Or—if we take עֹנֵן as synonymous with עַנֵּן, Gen. ix. 14 (for, in the Targums, עַנֵּן and מְעַנֵּן interchange with the Hebrew עוֹנֵן and מְעוֹנֵן, apoc. עוֹנֵן)—it means "to cause a storm;" we would then have the rendering "storm-raisers," *tempestarii*, *νεφοδιῶκται*. (On storm-raising through incantations, especially among the Turanian nations by means of the "rain-stone," see Bernstein's edit. of Kirsch's *Syriac Chrestomathy*, p. 111, line 9 ff.; Wüstenfeld's edit. of *Kazwînî*, i. p. 221, line 10 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte der goldenen Horde in Kiptschak*, pp. 206 f., 435–438.) The derivation of עֹנֵן from עַיִן in the sense of the Arab. *'âna* (imperf. *ja'înu*),—as it were "to ogle," in modern Greek *ὀμματίζειν*, *oculo maligno petere et fascinare* (see the Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxxi. 539),—though in itself philologically possible, founders on the Targumic עַנֵּן (to practise sorcery), which cannot possibly be traced to עַיִן. From a purely philological standpoint, however, another explanation still remains possible. From the idea of "coming to meet," *'âna* obtains the transitive sense of holding back, preventing, restraining (as it were *contrarier*), especially to rein in the horse with the bridle (*'inân*), in application to sexual relations.

sorcery was practised by incorporated guilds (1 Sam. vi. 2), while a famous oracle of Beel-Zebûb existed at Ekron (2 Kings i. 2). "And with the children of foreigners they make themselves familiar;" such is the rendering we must give this expression, following Gesenius, Knobel, and Nägelsbach: סָפַק with כַּפַּיִם signifies to clap hands (Job xxvii. 23); the Hiphil is used only here with בְּ in the sense of striking hands with a person. On the other hand, the LXX. and Syriac render the expression in accordance with the idea of abundance or fulness elsewhere presented in ספק (or שׂפק); but whether it be translated "in the children of foreigners they find satisfaction," or "with the children of foreigners they provide themselves abundantly," the rendering is equally opposed to the usage of the language, which nowhere points to this construction with בְּ. But the Hiph. הִסְפִּיק may be compared with the Arab. صفق, IV., to give the hand (as a token of agreement and approval); it is here combined with בְּ after the analogy of פָּגַע בְּ, *foedus pangere cum aliquo.* Jerome, following Symmachus, here translates *pueris alienis adhaeserunt;* but יַלְדֵי נָכְרִים is equivalent to בְּנֵי נֵכָר (lx. 10, lxi. 5), only with stronger emphasis on the unsanctified birth, the heathenism inherited from their mother's womb. The prophet means to say it is with born heathens that the people of Jehovah make themselves common,—make common cause in the ordinary business of life.

He now goes on, in vers. 7, 8, to describe how, in consequence of this, the land of the people of Jehovah is crammed full of objects of luxury, self-trust, and estrangement from God: "*And their land is filled with silver and gold, and there is no end to their treasures; and their land is filled with horses, and there is no end to their chariots. And their land is filled with idols; to the work of their hands they bow down in worship, to that which their own fingers have made.*" The glory of Solomon's days, which revived under Uzziah's reign of fifty-two years, and was maintained during Jotham's reign of sixteen years, carried within it the curse of the law; for the law regarding the king, in Deut. xvii. 14 ff., forbids both the multiplying of horses and the multiplying of gold and silver. Standing armies and stores of national treasures, like everything that lends support to carnal self-trust, are opposed to the spirit of the theocracy. Nevertheless Judea is immeasur-

ably full of those things which entice to apostasy (קֶצֶן, from קְצַן, according to Abulwalîd and others, like בָּכָה, הֶגֶה; cf. קְצוּ), and not only so, but also of things that openly show it; אֱלִילִים are "idols" (in the Pentateuch only found in Lev. xix. 4, xxvi. 1; in the singular אֱלִיל, "empty, worthless," Assyr. *ulâlu*, from אָלַל, to be weak, decaying, null;[1] not, as Heidenheim thinks, from אֵל, "a false god;" nor, as Movers supposes, a diminutive, meaning a little god, a small image of a god). The condition of the country is thus at variance not merely with the law regarding the king, but also with the decalogue. The existing splendour is the most offensive caricature of what had been promised; for the nation whose God will one day become the desire and salvation of all nations had exchanged Him for the idols of the nations, and vied with them in the appropriation of heathen religion and practice.

This was a condition of affairs ripe for judgment, and from which the prophet can at once proceed to the proclamation of the judgment, ver. 9: "*Thus, then, men are bowed down, and masters brought low; and forgive them—nay, this thou shalt not!*" The moods of the verbs mark the judgment as one that arises through an inward necessity from the worldly and ungodly glory of the present; this use of the verb-forms frequently occurs, as in ix. 7 ff. It is a judgment through which small and great, *i.e.* people of all classes, are brought down from their false eminence. וַיִּשַּׁח, as in xxix. 4 (cf. Eccles. xii. 4), might be the imperfect Niphal (cf. יִגַּל, יִסַּד, יִפֹּל), and Gesenius regards it as such; it is probably, however, the intransitive imperfect Qal (Stade, § 490*a*), for שָׁחַח, שַׁח, שָׁחָה hardly ever have formed a Niphal; the Qal in itself signifies to be bowed down, depressed, as שָׁפֵל signifies to be humble and to be humbled. אָדָם and אִישׁ are not mere interchangeable terms, without any essential difference (as Nägelsbach thinks), but differ as in v. 15; Ps. xlix. 3 (cf. iv. 3; Isa. liii. 3); Prov. viii. 4, and as in Attic Greek ἄνθρωπος differs from ἀνήρ,—ordinary human beings who disappear in the crowd, and men who rise out of it,[2]—all (Rev. vi. 15) are

[1] See Friedrich Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 133.

[2] In the Arabic of Syria, אדם is strangely used in the latter sense; "people of importance" are called *awâdim*, or *nâs awâdim* (Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxii. 154).

thrown down to the ground by the judgment, and that without mercy. The prophet expresses the conviction (אַל being used as in 2 Kings vi. 27) that God can and will no longer take away their sin (this noun being the object we must regard as following the verb תִּשָּׂא, Ps. xxxii. 1; נשׂא is applied to God, and signifies to forgive, as in Hos. i. 6).

No other course is now left open for them but to follow the sarcastic command of the prophet in ver. 10: "*Creep into the rock, and bury thyself in the dust, before the dread look of Jehovah, and before the glory of His majesty!*" The forms בּוֹא and הִטָּמֵן are imperatives; the inf. constr. of the Niphal is sometimes indeed used instead of the infin. absolute (Num. xv. 31; 1 Kings xv. 39), but there is no instance of the latter form being employed as an imperative. The nation that was supposed to be a glorious one shall and must creep away and hide itself ignominiously, when the glory of God which it had rejected, but which alone is true glory, is judicially manifested. It must conceal itself in holes of the rocks as if from a host of foes (Judg. vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 11), and bury themselves with their faces in the sand, as from the deadly simoom of the desert, that they may but avoid the necessity of enduring this intolerable sight. When Jehovah reveals Himself thus in the fiery glance of judgment, there follows the result summed up in ver. 11: "*The haughty looks of the people are brought low, and the pride of the lords is bowed down, and Jehovah, He alone, stands exalted in that day.*" The result of the judicial process is expressed in perfects; נִשְׂגַּב is the 3rd pers. of the preterite, not the participle: "Jehovah is exalted," *i.e.* shows Himself exalted; while the haughty demeanour of the people is abased (שָׁפֵל is a verb, not an adjective, in agreement, by attraction, with the genitive, instead of its governing word; see also 2 Sam. i. 21; Lev. xiii. 9; Ps. cxl. 10, *Kethib*; Dan. iii. 19, *Kethib*), and the pride of the lords is bowed down (שַׁח = שָׁחַח, Job ix. 13). Here ends the first strophe of the proclamation of judgment, appended to the borrowed prophetic passage in vers. 2–4. The second strophe extends as far as ver. 17, where ver. 11 is repeated as the conclusion.

Looking at the expression, "on that day," we ask ourselves, what kind of day is this? To this question the prophet

replies in the second strophe, first of all in ver. 12: "*For Jehovah of Hosts has a day over everything, towering and high, and over everything lofty, and it becomes low.*" יוֹם לַיהוָה, "Jehovah has a day" (xxii. 5, xxxiv. 8), which even now forms part of what He has freely and independently determined and appointed beforehand (lxiii. 4, xxxvii. 26; cf. xxii. 11), the secret of which he makes known to the prophets, who, from the time of Obadiah and Joel, announce this day, in terms ever the same, like a watchword. But when the time appointed for this day arrives, it passes into the history of time,—a day for the judgment of the world, which, through the omnipotence by which Jehovah rules over the highest as well as the lowest spheres of all creation, passes upon all worldly glory. With כָּל־נִשָּׂא the accent used is *Tiphcha* (Luzzatto, Baer); but certainly *Athnach* would be more suitable, as in Lev. xiii. 18. As the future is spoken of, the perfect וְשָׁפֵל acquires the force of a future (*pret. consec.*), "and it shall be brought low (or, sink down)."

The prophet now enumerates all the high things on which this day falls, arranging them together two by two, and combining them in pairs by a double correlative וְ. The day of Jehovah falls, as the first two pairs declare, on everything lofty in nature (vers. 13, 14): "*As upon all cedars of Lebanon, the lofty and exalted, so upon all the oaks of Bashan; as upon all mountains, the lofty ones, so upon all hills, the exalted ones.*" But why upon all this majestic beauty of nature? Has this language a merely figurative meaning? Knobel understands it figuratively, and regards it as referring to the grand buildings of Uzziah and Jotham, for the erection of which like timber had been brought from Lebanon and Bashan, on the western slope of which the old shady oaks (*sindiân* and *ballût*) still continue to grow luxuriantly. But that trees may mean the houses built of them cannot be proved from ix. 9, where the reference is not to houses made of sycamore and cedar wood, but to the trunks of such trees; nor again from Nah. ii. 4, where הַבְּרוֹשִׁים mean the fir lances which are brandished about in eager desire for the fight. As little can mountains and hills mean the castles and fortresses upon them, especially because ver. 15 expressly refers to these, in literal terms. In order to understand the prophet, we must bear in mind what sacred

Scripture assumes throughout, that all nature is joined with man to form one common history; that man and the whole world of nature are inseparably connected as centre and circumference; that this circumference likewise is under the influence of the sin which proceeds from man, as well as under the wrath and the grace which proceed from God to man; that the judgments of God, as proved by the history of nations, bring a share of suffering to the subject creation, and that this participation of the lower creation in the corruption and the glory of man will come into special prominence at the close of this world's history, as it did at the beginning; and lastly, the world in its present form, in order to become an object of the unmixed good pleasure of God, stands as much in need of a regeneration (παλιγγενεσία) as the corporeal part of man himself. In accordance with this fundamental view of the Scriptures, therefore, we cannot wonder that, when the judgment of God goes forth upon Israel, it extends to the land of Israel, and, along with the false glory of the nation, overthrows everything glorious in surrounding nature which had been forced to minister to the national pride and love of display, and to which the national sin adhered in many ways. What the prophet predicts was already actually beginning to be fulfilled in the military inroads of the Assyrians. The cedar forest of Lebanon was being unsparingly shorn: the hills and vales of the country were trodden down and laid waste, and, during the period of the world's history beginning with Tiglath-Pileser, the holy land was being reduced to a shadow of its former predicted beauty.

From what is lofty in nature, transition is now made in vers. 15, 16 to what is exalted in the world of men,—the fortresses, commercial structures, and the works of art that minister to the lust of the eye: "*As upon every high tower, so upon every precipitous wall. As upon all ships of Tarshish, so upon all works of curiosity.*" By erecting lofty and precipitous, *i.e.* difficult of ascent (בָּצוּר), fortifications for defence and offence in war, Uzziah and Jotham particularly desired to render service to Jerusalem and the country generally. The chronicler (2 Chron., chap. xxvi.) states that Uzziah built fortified towers over the corner-gate, the valley-gate, and the southern point of the cheese-makers' ravine, and strengthened

these places (till that time, possibly, the weakest positions in Jerusalem); also that he built towers in the wilderness (perhaps in the wilderness extending from Beersheba to Gaza, for increasing the safety of the country, and its vast flocks that were pastured in the שְׁפֵלָה, *i.e.* the western portion of Southern Palestine). The Books of Kings (2 Kings xv. 32 f.) and Chronicles relate of Jotham that he built the upper gate of the temple; and the Chronicles, moreover, record (2 Chron. xxvii.) that he still further fortified the Ophel, *i.e.* the southern spur of the temple-mount; that he founded cities in the hill-country of Judah, and erected strongholds and towers in the forests (for watching and repelling hostile attacks). Hezekiah also distinguished himself by such building enterprises (2 Chron. xxxii. 27–30). But the mention of ships of Tarshish points to the times of Uzziah and Jotham (as Ps. xlviii. 8 points to the time of Jehoshaphat), for the seaport of Elath, which, according to 2 Kings xiv. 22, was recovered by Uzziah, was once more lost to the kingdom of Judah under Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 6). From this Elath (Ailath), Jewish ships, following in the wake of the Phenicians, used to sail through the Red Sea and round the coast of Africa, landing at the harbour of Tartessus, the ancient Phenician emporium of the maritime district abounding in silver and watered by the Baetis (*i.e.* the Guadalquivir), which was itself also called *Τάρτησσος*: they returned through the Pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar, so called after the landing of Tarik in 711: Gibraltar = *Gebel-Târik*). The expression אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ was primarily applied to these vessels sailing to Tarshish, then probably to merchant-ships generally.[1] The following expression שְׂכִיּוֹת הַחֶמְדָּה is taken in too restricted a sense if we confine it, with the LXX., to the ships, or, with Gesenius, understand it as meaning beautiful flags. Jerome has correctly rendered the

[1] Jerome, on the verse we are now considering (where the LXX. renders *ἐπὶ πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης*), gives it as a Jewish opinion that תרשיש is the proper Hebrew name for the sea, while ים was originally derived from the Syriac; and in conformity with this, Luther says that the Hebrew has two words for indicating the sea, ים and תרשיש, the latter being used specially to indicate the ocean. Perhaps this view is meant to reconcile 2 Chron. ix. 21, xx. 36 with 1 Kings ix. 26 ff. (Kamphausen in *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1876, p. 170.)

clause *et super omne quod visu pulchrum est.* שְׂכִיָּה, from שָׂכָה, to see, behold (see my commentaries on Job xxxviii. 36 and Gen. iii. 6), is sight in a quite general sense (*θέα*); while חֶמְדָּה is used here in something of the same way as in Ezek. xxvi. 12, but without the need of understanding it, as in that passage, to mean splendid buildings, with the additional idea of watching, or outlook, in accordance with the Targumic סָכוּת = מצפה (Ewald, Cheyne); the proper place for mentioning these would rather have been after ver. 15, before the ships of Tarshish. What is meant, therefore, is every kind of works of art, made of stone or metal, and painted (מַשְׂכִּית, *θέαμα*, display; cf. Lev. xxvi. 1; Ezek. viii. 12), which delight the beholder by their imposing and tasteful appearance.

Ver. 17 now concludes the second strophe of the announcement of judgment appended to the earlier prophetic passage: "*And the pride of the people is bowed down, and the haughtiness of the lords brought low; and Jehovah, He alone, stands exalted on that day.*" This refrain-verse only slightly differs from ver. 11. The subjects of the verbs in ver. 17*a* have been transposed. It is almost a rule to put the predicate at the beginning of the sentence in the masculine (וְשַׁח, but וְשָׁחָה in Ps. xliv. 26), though the subject following is a feminine noun, when this denotes a thing or things (see Gesenius, § 145. 7, *a*).

The refrain-verse of the two following strophes (in vers. 19–21) is based on the closing portion of ver. 10, and runs out into the concluding words לַעֲרֹץ הָאָרֶץ. The announcement of judgment now turns to the idols, which were mentioned before (in vers. 7, 8), but last in order, as the root of evil, among the things with which the land abounds. In a brief verse, consisting of one member and but three words, their future is declared (ver. 18) as if with a swift lightning-flash: "and the idols pass utterly away." The combination of the plural nominative with the verb in the singular is intended to signify that the idols, one and all, are a "mass of nonentity" which will be reduced to annihilation: they will disappear כָּלִיל, *i.e.* either they will utterly perish, or (seeing that כָּלִיל is not elsewhere used adverbially) they will all perish (Judg. xx. 40, a passage which shows that one might

also say וְכָלִיל הָאֱלִילִים),—their images, their worship, even their names and their memory, Zech. xii. 2.

In ver. 19 is declared what the idolaters will do when Jehovah has so thoroughly deprived their idols of all divinity, by rising from His heavenly throne, while His glory revealed in heaven returns to earth and manifests itself as a judicial fire: "*And they will creep into caves of rocks, and into cellars of earth, before the dreadful look of Jehovah, and before the glory of His majesty, when He rises to put the earth in terror.*" מְעָרָה (from עור, to go down deep, to be sunk down) is a cave naturally formed, and מְחִלָּה (from חָלַל, to bore through, or bore out) is an artificial excavation underground: in this way, apparently,—to judge from the added genitives,—we must distinguish between the two synonyms. לַעֲרֹץ הָאָרֶץ is a significant paronomasia which admits of being easily rendered in Latin: *ut terreat terram.* The judgment thus falls on the earth without limitation,—on men, its inhabitants, and on all nature, intimately associated with human history, — a whole in which sin, and therefore wrath, has gained the mastery.

The fourth strophe begins with ver. 20: "*On that day will man cast away his idols of gold and idols of silver which they made for him to worship, to the moles and to the bats.*" The traditional text separates לַחְפֹּר פֵּרוֹת into two words, without giving us to understand what they are intended to signify.[1] The division was due to the fact that in early times pluriliterals were misunderstood, and regarded as compound words; cf. lxi. 1; Hos. iv. 18; Jer. xlvi. 20. The word as uttered by the prophet was certainly לַחֲפַרְפֵּרוֹת (see Ewald, § 157*c*); and חֲפַרְפֵּרָה (a form similar to שְׁפַרְפָּרָא, the dawn) would appear

[1] Abulwalîd, Parchon, and others regard the double word as the singular of a noun which signifies a bird (perhaps a woodpecker), as an animal that pecks fruits (פֵּרוֹת). Kimchi prefers to take לַחְפֹּר as an infinitive (cf. Josh. ii. 2), signifying "to dig holes," comparing the Talmudic פִּיר, a pit or hole, a grave. No one renders the expression "into the mouse-hole," because פֵּרָה, mouse = فَارَة, more exactly فَأْرَة (from *fa'ara*, to dig, dig up), is not a Hebrew word, and was taken from the Arabic only at a late period (hence the Hebraeo-Arabic פֵּירָה, a mouse-trap). The name of the mole in Arabic is فار اعمى, *i.e.* the blind mouse (rat).

to be the mole, and to have received the name as an animal that digs and throws up the soil with its shovel-like forefeet, Lat. *talpa* (as translated by Jerome and explained by Rashi). Against this view, Gesenius and Knobel make the objection that the mole does not live in houses; but it actually burrows underneath the floors of houses, barns, etc., forming its holes beneath them. And are we obliged to think that the shamed idolaters throw their idols into lumber-rooms, instead of rather hiding them outside, thrusting them into holes and crevices? Along with the mole is named "the bat," עֲטַלֵּף (the sound of which is but accidentally similar to *talpa*): this name, since the time of Bochart and Schultens, has been regarded as a compound of עטל = עלטה and עָף (cf. *νυκτερίς*, *vespertilio*, Ital. *nottola*, etc.).[1] Moreover, the mole, the shrew-mouse, and the bat are regarded by ancient and modern naturalists as closely related. The bat is among birds what the mole is among smaller predatory animals. Even in the LXX. we find לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת conjoined with these two words: Malbim and Luzzatto likewise make this connection,—as if the idolaters would descend to the most absurd forms of animal-worship. The accentuation, however, which does not make the division of the verse at עָשׂוּ־לוֹ starts from a correct understanding of the meaning: the idol-worshippers, convinced by God's judicial manifestation that their idols are nonentities, and furious over their unfortunate deception, will throw away with imprecations their gold and silver images which artist hands

[1] The Semitic arrangement of the words would certainly be עָף עטל, as the bat is in Arabic called not merely *waṭwâṭ*, but also *ṭêr el-lêl:* the order עטל עף is like that of the Persian name of the bat, شَبَّر = شب پر (*i.e.* night-flyer), Journal of the Germ. Oriental Soc. xxxii. 241. Fleischer says that "Fürst's طلف, *occultare*—put in this general way—is a fiction. The probable etymology, as correctly explained in Freytag, is غَطَلَ, غَطِلَ, applied to the heavens, and night. From this comes غَطَلَّس, one in the dark, *tenebrio*, *i.e.* wolf; and this form resembles עֲטַלֵּף, alike in its quinqueliteral form and in its general etymological meaning. See *Bericht der kön. sachs. Ges. der Wiss.* Band i. 1846 and 1847, pp. 430, 431."

made to their order, and thrust them like smuggled goods in bat-holes and mole-heaps to hide them from the eyes of the Judge, that, after casting away the useless burden that would condemn them, they may then betake themselves to flight.

Ver. 21: "*To creep into the hollows of the stone-blocks, and into the clefts of the rocks, before the dreadful look of Jehovah and before the glory of His majesty, when He arises to put the earth in terror.*" Instead of במערות, in ver. 19, there is here found בִּנְקִרוֹת, "into the hollows" (from נָקַר, to dig a hole); and instead of במחלות עפר, there is here בִּסְעִפֵי הַסְּלָעִים, "into the crevices of the rocks" (סֶלַע, a rock, properly a cleft, like *rupes*, from *rumpere*). Thus ends the fourth strophe of this "*dies irae dies illa*," appended to the quotation from the earlier prophet.

Now follows a closing *nota bene* in ver. 22: "*O then, let man go, in whose nose is a breath; for at what is he to be valued?*" The LXX. leaves this verse wholly untranslated: was it not to be found in their copy of the Hebrew? Cheyne regards it as a marginal note, dating from post-exilic times, which breaks the connection; but it is the moralizing conclusion drawn from what precedes, and the basis of the proclamation of judgment (introduced by כִּי) which follows with the opening of the next chapter. Instead of בַּמֶּה, Jerome (like *Berachoth* 14*a*) read בָּמָה, giving the strange rendering, *excelsus reputatus est ipse;* and it appears that Luther also allowed himself to be misled by this. If we look both backwards and forwards, we cannot possibly miss the proper meaning of this verse, which must be regarded as not only giving the result of what precedes, but as forming the transition to what follows. What has gone before is the prediction of utter ruin to everything of which men are proud, and of which they boast; and in the beginning of the following chapter the same prediction is resumed, with more special reference to the Jewish state from which Jehovah is taking away every support, so that it is falling into a state of collapse. Accordingly, ver. 22 exhorts to renunciation of trust in man and all that is human, as in Ps. cviii. 8 f., cxlvi. 3; Jer. xvii. 5. The view taken is as general as in a gnome or apothegm. The ethical dative לָכֶם is in this case also the dative of advantage: out of regard for yourselves, for the sake of your own salvation, do cease from

man, *i.e.* from trust in him, in whose nose (*in cujus naso*, as in Job xxvii. 3; on the other hand, in Gen. ii. 7 is found the equivalent בְּאַפָּיו, *in nares ejus*) is a breath, a breath of life, which God has given him, and can take from him again as soon as He pleases (Job xxxiv. 14; Ps. civ. 29). Upon the breath which goes out and in through his nose depends his earthly existence, which, once lost, is gone for ever (Job vii. 7). On this breath, therefore, there also depends all the trust that is placed on man—how weak a foundation! Under these conditions, and in view of this transitoriness, the worth of man as a basis of trust is as nothing. This idea is here expressed in interrogatory form: "At (*or* for) what is he reckoned (*or* to be reckoned)?" The passive partic. נֶחְשָׁב combines with the idea of actuality (*aestimatus*) that of necessity (*aestimandus*) and that of possibility, or what is fit and becoming (*aestimabilis*). The ב is here that of price or value, corresponding to the Latin genitive (*quanti*) or ablative (*quanto*),—a species of the instrumental ב, the price being represented as the means of exchange or purchase: hence the meaning is, "At what is he reckoned?" not, "With what is he compared?"—an idea which would be expressed by אֶת (liii. 11; cf. μετά in Luke xxii. 37) or עִם (Ps. lxxxviii. 5). There is here used בַּמֶּה, not בְּמָה, because this looser form is usually found only when a relative clause follows (*eo quod*, see Eccles. iii. 22), and not בָּמָּה; because the long final vowel in this case is employed only when the succeeding word begins with א, or when במה stands in pause (as in 1 Kings xxii. 21); under all other circumstances בַּמֶּה is used. The question thus introduced cannot be answered with a positive fixing of value; the worth of man, considered in himself, and apart from God, is as nothing.[1]

At this porism a pause is made in the announcement of judgment, but only for the purpose of gathering new strength. In four strophes, concluding in the same way, the prophet has proclaimed the divine judgment on every exalted thing in the world that has fallen from communion with God, just as

[1] In a fragment of Aeschylus preserved in Plutarch, *De Exil.*, Tantalus is represented as saying of himself: "My courage, which formerly reached to heaven, now sinks to earth, and cries to me, Learn not to esteem too highly what is of man."

Amos begins his book with a round of judgments, forming seven strophes which begin in the same way, and bursting forth like seven thunder-peals upon the nations on the stage of history; the seventh stroke falls on Judah, on whom, as on its proper object, the storm of judgment remains. Similarly with Isaiah here, the universal proclamation of judgment concentrates itself more especially on Judah and Jerusalem. The current of discourse now bursts the banks confining it in strophic form,—though otherwise it flows with freedom,—and the exhortation in ii. 22 not to trust in man, which rests on what has gone before, becomes the stepping-stone from the universal proclamation of judgment to the more special one in iii. 1, while the prophet assigns a new reason for the exhortation: "*For, behold, the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, removes from Jerusalem and from Judah support and means of support, every support of bread, and every support of water.*" That the announcement of judgment here begins anew is evident even from the name of God, הָאָדוֹן יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, with which Isaiah everywhere (i. 24, x. 16, 33, xix. 4) introduces the judicial dealings of God. Trust in man was the great sin especially prevailing in the times of Uzziah and Jotham. The national glory at that time carried within it the wrath of Jehovah, which began to break out even in the days of Ahaz, and during Hezekiah's reign was merely restrained, not changed. This outburst of wrath Isaiah here proclaims, describing how Jehovah is throwing down the Jewish State into ruins by removing from it the supports of its existence and the pillars of its fabric. In מַשְׁעֵן וּמַשְׁעֵנָה the full idea is placed in the foreground; the two nouns, which are but one and the same word in different forms, and these determined by the gender (cf. Micah ii. 4; Nah. ii. 11; Zeph. i. 15, ii. 1; Ezek. xxi. 3; Ewald, § 172*b*), serve to generalize the notion: *fulcra omne genus* (*omnigena*). Both are "instrumental" forms, and signify that which is used in giving support, whereas מִשְׁעָן means what supports: hence the three perhaps correspond to the Latin *fulcrum*, *fultura*, *fulcimen*. Of the various means of support, bread and water are first named, not in a figurative sense, but as the two absolutely indispensable conditions, and the basis of human life. Life is supported by bread and water (שָׁעַן being synonymous with סָעַד, Ps. civ. 15, etc.); it goes, as it

were, on the crutch of bread, and "to break the staff of bread" (Lev. xxvi. 26; Ezek. iv. 16, v. 16, xiv. 13; Ps. cv. 16) is thus equivalent to physical destruction. The fall of the Jewish State accordingly begins with the withdrawal from it by Jehovah of all support afforded by bread and water, all stores of both. And this was actually fulfilled; for, both in the Chaldean and in the Roman periods, Jerusalem perished under dreadful famines such as were threatened in Lev. xxvi. and especially Deut. xxviii.,—both chapters filled with curses to follow the commission of sin; on both occasions, the inhabitants were reduced to such extremity that women devoured their own children (Lam. ii. 20; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 3. 3, 4). No real objection, therefore, can be made against the opening of the enumeration with "every support of bread, and every support of water." Nevertheless these words are regarded by Hitzig, Knobel, Meier, Cheyne, and Reuss as a gloss. We grant that the transition from these words to what follows ("hero and man of war") shows a certain abruptness and want of homogeneity, and that this fact, of course, arouses suspicion; on the other hand, if they be omitted, we regretfully miss the arrangement of ver. 1 into two members (cf. xxv. 6).

Vers. 2 and 3 continue the enumeration of the supports which Jehovah takes away: "*Heroes and men of war, judges, and prophets, and soothsayers, and elders: captains of fifty, and highly respected men, and counsellors, and masters in art, and those skilled in muttering.*" As the State, under Uzziah and Jotham, had become a military one, the prophet in both verses begins with the mention of military officers: גִּבּוֹר is a commander who has already proved himself brave; אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה is the common soldier who is armed, and had been well trained (see Ezek. xxxix. 20); שַׂר חֲמִשִּׁים is the leader of a company consisting of fifty warriors (see 2 Kings i. 9, etc.; similar officers were also found in the Assyrian army). Moreover, the leading members of the State are mixed together, so that the picture here given presents great variety of colour: שׁוֹפֵט is the officer appointed by the government to administer justice and carry out the law; זָקֵן is the oldest member of his family, and the senator appointed by the city corporations; יוֹעֵץ is the counsellor standing nearest the king; נְשׂוּא פָנִים (properly,

one whose face (*i.e.* personal appearance) is accepted—*i.e.* one who is beloved and respected: Saad. *wágîh*, from *wágh*, the face, appearance) is a person held in esteem, not merely in virtue of his office, but also on account of his wealth, age, benevolence, etc.; חֲכַם חֲרָשִׁים is in the LXX. rendered σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων, and very well explained by Jerome as *in artibus mechanicis exercitatus easque callide tractans.* In the Chaldean captivities, skilled artisans especially were carried away (2 Kings xxiv. 14 ff.; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2); hence there can be no doubt that חֲרָשִׁים, from the sing. חֶרֶשׁ (different from חָרָשִׁים, workmen, the singular of which is חָרָשׁ, for חָרָשׁ,—though in 1 Chron. iv. 14, cf. Neh. xi. 35, we find the vocalization חֲרָשִׁים in this personal sense also, from חֶרֶשׁ, following the analogy of the form חָכָם), is intended to mean mechanical arts (not "magical arts," as Gesenius, Hitzig, and Meier affirm), and the חֲכַם חֲרָשִׁים therefore does not signify, as Ewald formerly rendered the expression, a sorcerer or wizard. The masters of the black art are introduced under the designation נְבוֹן לָחַשׁ: לַחַשׁ is the whisper, the muttering of magical formulas. Moreover, the master of the black art further comes before us under the name קֹסֵם, a term which (from the radical idea of making fast—as seen in קס; קשׁ,—swearing, conjuring), together with נָבִיא, the false prophet of Jehovah whose predictions are also merely קֶסֶם (Micah iii. 11; Ezek. xxii. 28), signifies a soothsayer that cherishes heathen superstition: the word is found as early as in Deut. xviii. 10, 14. After bread and water, these are the supports of the State. They are here intermingled thus, without any attempt at arrangement, because the mighty and magnificent State, properly regarded, is but a heterogeneous mixture of Judaism and heathenism, and the godless glory will become a mass of utter confusion when the wrath of Jehovah bursts forth.

Deprived of its proper foundation and torn from its grooves, the kingdom of Judah falls a prey to the most audacious despotism, as shown in ver. 4: "*And I give them boys as princes, and childish caprices shall rule over them.*" The revived glory of Solomon is thus anew followed, as before, by Rehoboam-times. The king is not expressly mentioned,—intentionally so: he has sunk to the mere shadow of a king; it is not he who rules, but the party of aristocrats around

him, who move him about like a puppet as they choose, treating him like one of themselves. Now, if it is in itself generally a misfortune when the king of a country is a lad (נַעַר, Eccles. x. 16), it is doubly so when the princes or magnates surrounding and advising him are also youths (נְעָרִים) or youngsters, in the bad sense of the term: this produces a government of תַּעֲלוּלִים. None of the nouns of this form has a personal meaning. According to the root-idea of the verb-stem, it is possible that the word may be explained (with Ewald, § 167*b*) as signifying "childishness," and this as being equivalent to "little children" (the abstract being used for the concrete, like τὰ παιδικά). But there is no need for supposing that תעלולים stands for עוללים (or מעוללים; see under ver. 12); or, what is comparatively more admissible, that it is an adverbial accusative (the opinion of Cheyne, who translates the passage, "and with wilfulness shall they rule over them"); for יִמְשְׁלוּ does not necessarily require a personal subject (cf. Ps. xix. 14, ciii. 19). The form תעלולים (which occurs only in the plural, and is formed like תַּחֲנוּנִים) takes its meaning from the reflexive הִתְעַלֵּל, which signifies to meddle with, make sport of, give vent to one's caprice; hence this noun signifies "vexations, annoyances" (lxvi. 4). Jerome, who translates the word by *effeminati*, appears to have been thinking of הִתְעַלֵּל in an obscene sense; better is the rendering of the LXX. which gives ἐμπαῖκται, though ἐμπαίγματα would be more exact; here, in association with נערים, it denotes outbursts of youthful caprice, which, whether in joke or in earnest, do injury to others. It is not law and righteousness that will rule, but the very opposite of righteousness,—a course of conduct which treats the subjects as the helpless plaything, at one time of their lust (Judg. xix. 25), at another of their cruelty. Varying humour, utterly unregulated and unrestrained, rules supreme.

Then the people become like the government: passions are let loose, and all restraints of modesty are burst asunder. Ver. 5: "*And the people oppress one another, one this and another that; the boy breaks out furiously upon the old man, and the despised upon the honoured.*" As shown by the clause describing the mutual relation of the persons, נִגַּשׂ is a Niphal with reciprocal meaning (cf. נִלְחָם, xix. 2); this verb, followed

by ב, signifies to treat as a tyrant or taskmaster (see ix. 3). The meanest selfishness then stifles all nobler motives; one becomes a tyrant over another, and rude insolence takes the place of reverence, which, by the law of nature, as well as the Torah (Lev. xix. 32) and custom, is due to the aged and superiors from boys and those in the humbler ranks. נִקְלֶה (from קָלָה, which is synonymous with הֵקַל, viii. 23, xxiii. 9; cf. xvi. 14; the root of which is קל, to be light, small) means one who belongs to the lowest stratum of society (1 Sam. xviii. 23), and is the opposite of נִכְבָּד (from כָּבֵד, to be difficult, weighty): the LXX. well renders *ὁ ἄτιμος πρὸς τὸν ἔντιμον*. When there is this disregard of the distinctions due to age and rank, the State in a short time becomes a wild and waste scene of confusion.

At last, there is no longer any authority bearing rule; even the desire to govern dies out, for despotism is followed by mob-rule, and this by anarchy in the most literal sense; distress becomes so great that he who has a coat (cloak), so as to be still able in some degree to clothe himself respectably, is besought to undertake the government. Vers. 6, 7: "*When a man shall lay hold of his brother in his father's house* [*and say*], '*Thou hast a cloak; thou shalt be our ruler, and take this ruin under thy hand,*' *he will cry out on that day, saying,* '*I do not want to be a surgeon, when there is in my house neither bread nor cloak; ye cannot make me ruler of the people.*'" The population will have become so lean and dispirited through hunger, that, with a little energy, it would be possible to decide, within the narrow circle of a family, who is to be ruler, and to carry out the decision. The father's house is the place where (בית being here the local accusative) one brother meets the other; and one breaks out into the following words of urgent entreaty, which are here introduced without לֵאמֹר (cf. xiv. 8, 16, also xxii. 16, xxxiii. 14). לְכָה is a rare mode of writing לְךָ, found also in Gen. xxvii. 37; תִּהְיֶה indicates the assumption, without any ceremony, that he will agree to what is expected. In Zeph. i. 3, מַכְשֵׁלָה means that through which one comes to ruin; here it means the thing itself that has been overthrown, and this because כָּשַׁל (not merely to stumble, trip, slip, but actually to tumble over after being thrown off the equilibrium by a

thrust from the outside) is not used of buildings that fall into ruin, and with a reference to the prosopopeia which follows in ver. 8. He who has the advantage over many, or all others, of still being able to clothe himself respectably (even though it were merely with a blouse) is to become supreme ruler or dictator (cf. קָצִין, Judg. xi. 6), and the State, now lying in a wretched state of ruin, is to be under his hand (*i.e.* his dominion, his protection and care: 2 Kings viii. 20; Gen. xli. 35; cf. xvi. 9, where, instead of the more usual singular יד, the plural is found). With ver. 7 begins the apodosis to the protasis introduced by כִּי as a particle of time. The answer given by the brother to the urgent request of those who make the appeal is introduced by the words, "he will raise (viz. his voice; see xxiv. 14) on that day, saying:" it is stated in this circumstantial manner because it is a solemn protest. He does not like to be חֹבֵשׁ, *i.e.* a binder (viz. of the broken arms and legs and ribs of the ruined State, xxx. 26, i. 6, lxi. 1). It is implied in the form אֶהְיֶה that he does not like it, because he is conscious of his inability. He has no confidence in himself, and the assumption that he has a coat is false; not merely has he no coat at home in his house (in view of which we must remember that the conversation is carried on in his father's house), but he has no bread; hence what is expected from him, almost naked and starving as he is, becomes impossible. "When the purple of the ruler," says the Midrash on Esth. iii. 6, "is offered for sale at the market, then woe to the buyer and the seller alike!"

This deep and tragic misery, as the prophet proceeds to show in vers. 8–12, is righteous retribution. Ver. 8: "*For Jerusalem is overthrown and Judah is fallen, because their tongue and their doings are against Jehovah, to defy the eyes of His glory.*" The name of the city of Jerusalem is regularly (Gesen. § 122. 3*a*) treated as feminine, the name of the people of Judah as masculine; names of nations appear as feminines only when there is a blending of the two ideas, the country and the people (as, for instance, Job i. 15). The two preterites כָּשְׁלָה and נָפָל express the general fact which will prove the occasion of such scenes of misery as have just been described. The second clause (a substantive one), on the other hand, beginning with כִּי, assigns already

present sin, not sin still future, as the reason of the coming judgment. אֶל is employed to indicate hostile direction, as in ii. 4; Gen. iv. 8; Num. xxxii. 14; Josh. x. 6. The capital and the country are in word and deed against Jehovah לַמְרוֹת עֵנֵי כְבוֹדוֹ. Here עֵנֵי = עֵינֵי and לַמְרוֹת (as in Ps. lxxviii. 17) is the syncopated Hiphil inf. for לְהַמְרוֹת (cf. the syncopated forms in xxiii. 11, i. 12). The Qal מָרָה, which is likewise pretty often construed with the accusative, means to reject in a contumacious manner, and the Hiphil הִמְרָה to treat contumaciously, — properly, to oppose strenuously, *ἀντιτείνειν*, *obniti:* the root is מר, مر, *stringere*, and this is connected with מַר, the name of anything bitter, as being astringent, though there is no warrant for the rendering in the LXX. of מָרָה, הִמְרָה, הֵמַר, Ex. xxiii. 21, by *παραπικραίνειν*. The לְ is a somewhat shortened expression for לְמַעַן, Amos ii. 7; Jer. vii. 18, xxxii. 29. But what does the prophet mean by "the eyes of His glory"? The construction is certainly just the same as is "the arm of His holiness" (lii. 10), and a reference to the divine attributes is thus intended. The glory of God is that eternal manifestation of His holy nature in its splendour which man pictures to himself anthropomorphically, because he cannot conceive of anything more sublime than the human form. It is in this glorious form that Jehovah looks upon His people. In this is mirrored His condescending yet jealous love, His holy love which breaks forth into wrath against all who requite His love with hate.

But Israel, instead of living in the consciousness of being a constant and favoured object of these majestic and earnestly admonishing eyes, is studiously defying them in word and deed, not even hiding its sin through fear of them, but exposing it to view all unabashed. Ver. 9: "*The appearance of their faces testifies against them,* and *their sin they declare like Sodom, without concealing it; woe to their soul! for they do evil to themselves.*" In any case, what is meant is the insolent look which their sinfulness is stamping upon their faces, without the self-condemnation which in others takes the form of dread to commit sin (Seneca, *de vita beata,* c. 12). The construct form הַכָּרַת, if derived from הכר (Jos. Kimchi and Luzzatto), would follow the analogy of בַּקָּרַת

in Ezek. xxxiv. 12. But הכר = Arab. *hakara* (*hakira*), affords no suitable meaning; הַכָּרָה is the active noun formed from the Hiphil הִכִּיר. The common expression הִכִּיר פָּנִים signifies to look searchingly, inquiringly, keenly into the face of a person, to fix the eye upon him; and, when used of a judge, to take the side of a person, by showing undue regard to him (Deut. i. 17, xvi. 19). This latter meaning, however ("their respect of persons," "their partiality," Prov. xxiv. 23, xxviii. 21), though supported by Hitzig, Maurer, and Gesenius, is inadmissible here, simply because the words do not refer to judges specially, but to the whole nation. "The appearance of their faces" is to be understood here in an objective sense, their look (τὸ εἶδος, Luke ix. 29), as the *agnitio* of Jerome is also to be taken as meaning *id quo se agnoscendum dat vultus eorum.* This is probably the usual Hebrew designation for what we call physiognomy,—the meaning indicated by the expression of the face, and then the latter itself. The expression of their countenance testifies against them (עָנָה בְּ as in lix. 12); for it is the distorted and troubled image of their sin that cannot and will not hide itself. They do not even content themselves, however, with this open though silent display; they further speak openly of their sin, making no concealment of it, like the Sodomites who proclaimed their fleshly lust (Gen. chap. xix.). Jerusalem is, in fact, spiritually Sodom, as the prophet called it in i. 10. Through such shameful sinning they do themselves harm (גָּמַל, allied to גָּמַר, signifies to complete, then to carry out, to show by actual deed): this is the undeniable fact, the actual experience.

But seeing it is the curse of sin that the knowledge of what is perfectly clear and self-evident is just what is marred and even obliterated for man, the prophet dwells still longer on the fact that all sin is self-destruction and self-murder, presenting this general truth with its opposite in palilogic fashion, like the Apostle John, and calling to his contemporaries in vers. 10, 11: "*Say of the just, that it is well with him; for they will enjoy the fruit of their doings. Woe to the wicked! it is ill; for what his hands have wrought will be done to him.*" What is declared in Prov. xii. 14 is here re-echoed in prophetic form. We cannot, with Vitringa and

some modern commentators, translate "Praise the righteous one;" for, though אָמַר is sometimes construed with the accusative (Ps. xl. 11, cxlv. 6, 11), it never means to praise, but to utter, express (see also Ps. xl. 11). We have here the transposition familiar to us even from Gen. i. 4,—simple and natural in the case of the verbs רָאָה (cf. also xxii. 9; Ex. ii. 2), יָדַע (1 Kings v. 17), and אָמַר (like λέγειν, John ix. 19): *dicite justum quod bonus = dicite justum esse bonum* (Ewald, § 336*b*): the object of seeing, knowing, or saying is first mentioned generally, and then what qualifies it or defines it in some way. טוֹב and, in ver. 11, רָע (רַע when not in pause) might both be the 3rd sing. perfect of their verbs, used in a neuter sense: טוֹב, "it is well," viz. to him (as in Deut. v. 30; Jer. xxii. 15 f.); and רַע (from רָעַע), "it is ill" (as in Ps. cvi. 32). But Jer. xliv. 17 shows that we may also say רַע הוּא ,טוֹב הוּא, in the sense of καλῶς ἔχει, κακῶς ἔχει, and that both expressions have been so regarded, and hence in both cases do not need לוֹ to be supplied. The form of the first favours this, while in the second the accentuation vacillates between אוֹי with *Tifcha*, לְרָשָׁע with *Munach*, and אוֹי with *Merkah*, לְרָשָׁע with *Tifcha;* the latter mode of accentuation, however, which favours the personal view of רָע, is presented by important editions (such as those of Breschia, 1494; Pesaro, 1516; Venice, 1515 and 1521), and rightly preferred by Luzzatto and Baer. The summary statements, "the righteous is well," "the wicked is ill," are established by the latter end of both, in the light of which the previous misfortune of the righteous appears as good fortune, and the previous good fortune of the wicked as misfortune. With reference to this difference in the eventual fate of each, the call "say," which is common to both clauses, summons to a recognition of the good fortune of the one and the ill fortune of the other. O that Judah and Jerusalem recognised this for their salvation, ere it becomes too late! For the state of the poor nation is already sad enough, and they are very near destruction.

Ver. 12: "*My people,—its oppressors are boys, and women rule over it; my people, thy leaders are misleaders, and they have swallowed the way of thy paths.*" The idea that מְעוֹלֵל signifies those who maltreat or abuse others, is opposed by

the parallel נָשִׁים; moreover, the notion of despotic treatment is already contained in נֹגְשָׂיו. Along with women, one expects to find children;[1] and this, too, מְעוֹלֵל means, but not a suckling (Ewald, § 160*a*), like עֹל and עֲוִיל (see our commentary on Job xvi. 11), for the active form requires an active idea; but עוּל does not mean "to suckle" (rather to support, nourish), much less then "to suck," so that it would thus need to signify the suckling in the sense of one who is nourished. This is improbable, however, for the simple reason that it occurs in Jer. xliv. 7 and Lam. ii. 11 along with יוֹנֵק, and thus cannot have exactly the same meaning as the latter word, but, like עוֹלֵל and עוֹלָל (the former of which may have been contracted from מְעוֹלֵל), signifies a boy as playful and wanton (*lascivum, protervum*): see the remarks on ver. 4 (where תַּעֲלוּלִים occurs with נְעָרִים), and cf. the Bedouinic עאלול, plur. *'awâlîl*, with the sense of *juvencus* (a young bull, three or four years old). Böttcher correctly renders the word by *pueri* (*lusores*); מעולל, however, is not, as he supposes, in itself a collective form, but the singular is used collectively; or perhaps better still, the predicate is meant to apply to every individual included in the plural idea of the subject (cf. xvi. 8, xx. 4; Gesenius, § 145. 5), so that the meaning is,—the oppressors of the people, every one without exception, are (even though advanced in years), in their way of thinking and acting, like boys or youths, who make all those subject to them the plaything of their capricious humour. The person of the king — נגשיו being understood by Hitzig, Ewald, and Cheyne as a plural of excellence—is here also placed in the background; but the female sway, afterwards mentioned, points us to the court. This must have been the state of the case when Ahaz, a young spendthrift, twenty years of age (according to the LXX., twenty-five), came to the throne, after the end of Jotham's reign. Once more the prophet, with deep pain, repeats the words "my people," and, addressing them directly, passes from the rulers of the nation to the preachers,—for the מְאַשְּׁרִים are prophets (Micah iii. 5); but what characters!

[1] An Arabic proverb (*Cat. Codd. Lips.* p. 373) runs thus: "I flee to God in order to escape from the domination of boys and the government of women."

Instead of leading the people on the straight road, they lead them astray (ix. 15; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 9); for, as we know from the history of this gang of prophets, they ministered to the godless interests of the court, making themselves the slaves either of the dynasty or the demagogues; or they pandered to the desires of the people, which were of no higher tone. Moreover, "the way of the path" of the people (*i.e.* the main-road or highway, by the branches of which the people were to reach the goal designed by God) have they "swallowed" (*i.e.* taken away the eyes and feet of the people), so that they cannot find it and walk in it. Nägelsbach renders this passage differently,—"they drag down thy path of life into destruction;" but the solemn nature of the expression rather points to the conclusion that "way" means law, or the path of duty (Theodoret, Jerome, Luther). Whatever is swallowed is invisible; it has disappeared without leaving a trace behind. "To swallow," in the sense of *deglutire*, is expressed by the Qal, as in xxviii. 4; the Piël בִּלַּע signifies absorption, in the sense of annihilation. The way of salvation shown in the law is no more to be seen or heard; it has perished, as it were, in the preaching of the false prophets with their misleading doctrines.

Such is the state of matters. The exhortations of the prophet have no great range or breadth of view, for he must ever recur to the announcement of judgment. The judgment of the world comes anew before his mind in ver. 13: "*Jehovah is standing to plead, and has stepped forward to judge the nations.*" When Jehovah, wearied of exercising patience, arises from His heavenly throne, this is called קוּם, as in ii. 19, 21, xxxiii. 10; when He sits down on the judgment-seat before the eyes of all the world, this is called יָשַׁב, as in Ps. ix. 5; Jonah iv. 12; when He descends from heaven (Micah i. 2 ff.) and comes forward as accuser, this is called נִצָּב or עָמַד, Ps. lxxxii. 1,—the latter word signifies to go forward and stand, in contrast with sitting; while the former means to stand, with the additional idea of being firm, fixed in purpose, ready. But Jehovah's pleading (רִיב, Jer. xxv. 31) is likewise judging (דִּין), because His accusation, which cannot possibly be denied as false, is at the same time the sentence of condemnation; and this sentence, which

irresistibly operates, is at the same time also the execution of the punishment. Thus God stands—Accuser and Judge and Executioner in one Person—in the midst of the nations (Ps. vii. 8). But among the nations it is Israel specially, and among the Israelites it is particularly the leaders of the poor misguided and neglected people against whom He stands, as shown in vers. 14, 15: "*Jehovah will enter into judgment with the elders of His people and their princes,—and you, ye have eaten up the vineyard; the plunder of the sufferer is in your houses. What do you want, that you crush my people, and grind the face of those in suffering? Declaration of the Lord Jehovah of hosts.*" With the first part of ver. 14 cf. Ps. cxliii. 2. The address of God begins with וְאַתֶּם; the clause to which this "and ye" (or "but ye") forms the contrast is wanting, just as in Ps. ii. 6, where the address of God begins with וַאֲנִי, "and I" = "but I." The suppressed clause, however, is easily supplied in some such way as this: "I set you over my vineyard, but ye have eaten up the vineyard." The question has been asked whether it is God Himself who silently passes over this clause, or the prophet; but certainly it is Jehovah Himself. The majesty with which He comes before the rulers of His people of itself practically and undeniably declares, even without express statement in words, that their majesty is but a shadow of His, and that their office is held from Him and under Him. But their office is owing to God's having committed His people to their care; the vineyard of Jehovah is His people,—a figure which the prophet, in chap. v., forms into a parable. Jehovah appointed them to be keepers and preserves of this vineyard, but they have themselves become the cattle (בְּעִיר) which they were to drive off; the verb בִּעֵר is used in speaking of the cattle that utterly devour the stalks of what grows in a field, or the tender vines in a vineyard (Ex. xxii. 4). The property of which their unhappy fellow-countrymen have been robbed is in their houses, and attests the plundering that has been carried on in the vineyard. הֶעָנִי forms an explanation of הַכֶּרֶם; for a lowly and distressful condition is the usual lot of the community which God calls His vineyard; it is an oppressed Church, but woe to the oppressors! In the question מַלָּכֶם there is implied the

want of understanding and the bold insolence of the beginning they have made: מַה is here, after the manner of a prefix, fused into one word with לָכֶם, as in Ex. iv. 1; Ezek. viii. 6; Mal. i. 13. The *Qerî*, by resolving the *Kethib*, helps us to understand the meaning. מַלָּכֶם should properly be followed by כִּי (*quid est vobis quod atteritis populum meum*, as in xxii. 1, 16), but the discourse hurries on (as in Jonah i. 6) because it is an outburst of wrath. Hence also the expressions setting forth the conduct of the rulers of the people are the strongest possible. דִּכֵּא occurs also in Prov. xxii. 22, but טָחַן פְּנֵי is a strong metaphor of which no other example is found. The former signifies to beat (or pound), while the latter (the extreme opposite of חִלָּה פְּנֵי) means to grind small (to powder), as the millstone grinds the grain. They beat the face of those who are already bowed down, repelling them with such merciless harshness that they stand as if they were annihilated, and their face becomes pale and white, from oppression and despair,—or even (without any reference to the loss of colour) so that their joyful appearance is exchanged for the features and gait of men in despair. Thus far, language still affords figurative expressions fitted in some measure for describing the conduct of the rulers of Israel, but it lacks the power of adequately expressing the boundless immorality of this conduct; hence the greatness of their wicked cruelty is set before them for consideration in the form of a question: "What is it to you?" *i.e.* what kind of unutterable wickedness is this you are beginning? Thus the prophet hears Jehovah speak,—the majestic Judge whom he here calls אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִֹה צְבָאוֹת (to be read *Adōnâ*ʸ *Elōhîm Zebaōth*, according to the traditional vocalization). This threefold name of God, which pretty frequently occurs in Amos, and also in Jer. ii. 19, first appears in the Elohistic psalm lxix. (ver. 7),—as this judgment-scene generally is painted with psalm-colours, and especially reminds us of Ps. lxxxii. (Elohistic, and a psalm of Asaph).

But though the prophet has this judgment-scene thus vividly and dramatically before him, yet he cannot help breaking off, even after he has but begun the description; for another message of Jehovah comes to him. It is for the women of Jerusalem, whose sway is now, when the prophet

is delivering his burden, not one whit less influential in the capital (see ver. 12, beginning) than that of their husbands, who had forgotten their calling. Vers. 16, 17: "*And Jehovah hath spoken: Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with necks stretched forth and twinkling with the eyes, walk with tripping gait, and tinkle with their foot ornaments; therefore the Lord maketh the crown of the head of Zion's daughters scabbed, and Jehovah will make bare their secret parts.*" Their pride of heart (גָּבַהּ is used as in Ezek. xvi. 50, cf. Zeph. iii. 11) reveals itself in their outward conduct. They go with outstretched neck, *i.e.* bending back the fore part of the neck, seeking to make themselves taller than they are, since they think themselves exceedingly great. Cornelius à Lapide here remarks: *instar gruum vel cygnorum; habitus hic est insolentis ac procacis.* (The *Qeri* here substitutes the usual form נְטוּיוֹת, but Isaiah perhaps intentionally employed the more rare and rugged form נְטוּוֹת, for this form actually occurs in 1 Sam. xxv. 18, as also its singular נְטוּי for נְטוּו in Job xv. 22, xli. 25.) Moreover, they go twinkling (מְשַׂקְּרוֹת, not מְשַׁקְּרוֹת, "falsifying") the eyes (like גָּרוֹן, the accusative of closer specification), *i.e.* in pretended innocence casting wanton and amatory glances about them (LXX. νεύματα ὀφθαλμῶν): this participle comes from סָקַר=שָׂקַר, not in the sense of *fucare* (Targum, *Shabbath* 62*b*, *Yoma* 9*b*, Luther), properly "to dye reddish-yellow" (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 132*a*, "with red collyrium;" Talm. שרק, parall. כחל, *Kethuboth* 17*a*); but secondarily to paint the face. This derived sense is in itself not probable here, from the simple fact that the painting of the eyelids black with powdered antimony (פּוּךְ, liv. 11) was not considered a piece of vanity, but regarded as an indispensable item of female adornment. The verb is rather used in the sense of *nictare* (LXX. Vulgate, Syriac, cf. Saad. "making their eyes flash"), syn. רָמַז, cf. סְקַר, Syr. to squint, Targ. = שָׁזַף, Job xx. 9. Compare also the Talmudic witticism, "God did not create the woman out of Adam's ear, lest she might become an eavesdropper (צַיְּתָנִית); nor out of Adam's eye, lest she might become a winker (סַקְרָנִית)." [1]

[1] Cf. also *Sota* 47*b*: "Since there has been increase in the number of women with extended neck and winking eyes, there has also been increase of the cases in which the curse-water (Num. v. 18) had to be used." To

The third descriptive clause states that they walk *incedendo et saliendo:* the second infinitive absolute is here, as usual, that which gives the definite colour to the expression, while the other keeps before the eye the occurrence that would be denoted by the verb in its finite form. They go skipping along (טָפֹף, cf. طَفَرَ طَفَّ, to spring, so called from drawing the feet together; hence טַף, the skipping little family), *i.e.* taking short and tripping steps, almost always placing the heel at the great toe, as the Talmud everywhere says. The LXX. gives a rendering of interest for the history of luxury in dress: *καὶ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἅμα σύρουσαι τοὺς χιτῶνας.* Quite as appropriate, but contrary to the meaning of the words, is the rendering of Luther, "they walk along and waggle," *i.e. clunibus agitatis*, a meaning for which the Semitic has other expressions (see *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xvi. 587).[1] But the rendering should rather be "tripping;" for only such little steps can they take, owing to their pace-chains, which join together the costly foot-rings (עֲכָסִים) that were placed above the ankle. With these pace-chains, which perhaps even then as now, were sometimes provided with little bells, they make a tinkling sound,—an idea which is here expressed by the denominative verb עִכֵּס; with their feet they make a tinkling sound, clinking the ankle-ornaments, by placing the feet in such a way as to make these ankle-rings strike one another. In view of this fact, בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם for בְּרַגְלֵיהֶן is perhaps not an unintentional interchange of gender; they are not modest *virgines*, but bold *viragines*, and thus in their own persons display a *synallage generis.* This coquettish clinking,

such an extent, indeed, did the evil grow, as is well known, that Johanan ben Zaccai, the pupil of Hillel, completely abolished the ordeal of the Sota (*i.e.* the woman suspected of adultery); his contemporaries were thoroughly adulterous (*μοιχαλίς*). Synonymous with משקרות is *paeta*, a Latin epithet of Venus, which Philoxenus glosses by *μύωψ τοῖς ὄμμασι*; but a different meaning is conveyed by *ὑγρά*, which also is a term having reference to the eyes.

[1] The translation of the Targum וּבְפַחְתֵּין מַקְפָן is explained in the same way by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, p. 554) to mean *clunes agitantes*, but more correctly by Rashi to signify "putting on false hair-toupees," פָּאתָה=פָּתָא (הַפֵּאָה). See Levy's *Targumic Dictionary*, under נְקַף I. and פָּאתָא.

though forbidden by the Qoran, is still the delight of women in Moslem Oriental countries at the present day, as the women of Jerusalem enjoyed it in Isaiah's days. Great is the attractive influence of natural charms, especially when enhanced by lavish employment of art; but the prophet, blind to this display of splendour, sees only the filthiness within, and announces to the women of rank a foul and by no means aesthetic fate. The Almighty will smite with scab the crown of their head, from which long hair now flows down (וְשִׂפַּח has ו consecutive, and, at the same time, forms the apodosis; the verb is a "denominative" from סַפַּחַת, which means the scab or scurf which deposits itself on the skin); and Jehovah, by delivering them over to the violation of and insult of coarse enemies, will uncover their nakedness, —the greatest disgrace in the eyes of a woman, who covers herself as carefully as possible from every stranger (xlvii. 3; Nah. iii. 5; Jer. xiii. 22; Ezek. xvi. 37). The noun פֹּת is derived from a verb פות (Arab. *faut, tefâwut*, signifying *intercapedo*), so that פָּתְהֵן or פֹּתְהֵן (cf. Stade, § 353*b*, and, further, אַתֵּן for אַתֶּן in Ezek. xxxiv. 31) is thus a designedly disrespectful term; cf. פֹּתָה, plur. פֹּתוֹת, a Biblical and Talmudic word signifying *cardo femina*. The Babylonians read פַּתְהֵן from פַּת, which is rather derived from פָּתָה (cf. יַרְכָן; also פֶּתַח in the sense of *vulva*, in *Pesachim* 87*a*; and in explanation of this passage, *Shabbath* 62*b*).[1]

The prophet now proceeds in vers. 18–23 to describe further how the Lord will tear from them their whole toilet as plunder for their foes: "*On that day will the Lord remove the splendour of the ankle-clasps, and of the forehead-bands, and of the crescents; the ear-drops, and the arm-chains, and the light veils; the tiaras, and the stepping-chains, and the girdles, and the smelling-bottles, and the amulets; the finger-rings and the nose-rings; the gala-dresses, and the sleeved-frocks, and the wrapping-cloaks, and the pockets; the hand-mirrors, and the*

[1] Luzzatto explains פֹּת by the Aram. פּוּתָא, "forehead;" but this word, the full form of which is אַפּוּתָא, is equivalent to אַפָּא, אַפֵּיא, the face or countenance; moreover, the Syriac *fût* (whence comes *l'fût* = לִפְנֵי), which Bernstein regards as a collateral form from *fûm*, פּוּם, the "mouth," is the apocopated *apût* = *apai*.

Sindu-covers, and the turbans, and the gauze-mantles." The oldest commentary on this passage, important for the information it affords regarding ancient costumes, though itself needing explanation, is found in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Shabbath* vi. 4. Later writers who have industriously treated of these articles of female dress are Nic. Wilh. Schröder, in his *Commentarius de vestitu mulierum Hebraearum ad Jes.* iii. 16–24 (Lugd. Batav. 1745, 4to), and Ant. Theod. Hartmann (sometime Professor in Rostock), in his work entitled, *Die Hebräerin am Putztische und als Braut*, 1809–10 (3 vols. 8vo); cf. Saalschütz's *Archäologie* (1885), chap. 3 of which treats of the dress of men and women; and Sal. Rubin, נאון יהודה וירושלים (on the luxury, love of show, and mode of living among the Hebrew women referred to in the Bible), in vol. i. of the monthly magazine called השחר (also published separately, Vienna 1870). [See also Keil's *Biblical Archaeology* (English translation, Edinburgh 1888), vol. ii. 142.] It is not customary elsewhere with Isaiah to be so detailed in his descriptions; among all the prophets, Ezekiel most displays this style of writing (see, for example, chap. xvi.); nor do we find anything similar again in other prophecies against women (cf. xxxii. 9 ff.; Amos iv. 1 ff.). Here ends the enumeration of articles of female finery and show; and while it forms a trilogy with the enumeration of the props of State in iii. 1–3, and the enumeration in ii. 13–16 of persons and things lofty and exalted, it has its own special ground in the boundless love of ornament which had become prevalent especially during the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, it is intended to make a serious impression, and yet show the ridiculous character of the unrestrained luxury actually existing; for it is the prophet's design in this address throughout to draw a sharp contrast between the titanic, party-coloured, noisy, worldly glory, and the true glory, which is spiritual, grandly simple, and shows itself in working outwards from within. Indeed, the subject of the whole address is the course of universal judgment from false glory to the true. The general idea of "splendour" or "glory" (תִּפְאֶרֶת), which stands at the head and forms the foundation of the whole, already points to the contrast which follows in iv. 2, with quite another kind of glory.

In explaining each particular term, we must content ourselves with stating what is most necessary and comparatively most certain regarding the words which here occur. עֲכָסִים (from עָכַס, عكس, عكش, to bind, see the remarks on lix. 5) are rings worn round the ankles, and made of gold, silver, or ivory: hence the denominative verb עִכֵּס (used in ver. 16), to make a clinking sound with these rings. שְׁבִיסִים (from שָׁבַץ=שָׁבַס, to weave) are bands woven of gold or silver thread, worn on the forehead and under the hair-net, and extending from one ear to the other; plausible, but less probable, is the explanation current since Schröder's time, that the word means sun-like balls (שְׁמִישִׁים), worn as ornaments round the neck (Arab. *šumeisa, šubeisa*, a little sun). שַׂהֲרֹנִים are *bullulae* of this kind, moon-shaped ornaments (Arab. شهر, Aram. סהר, moon), fastened round the neck, and hanging down on the breast (Judg. viii. 26; cf. 21, royal ornaments), half-moons or crescents (*hilâlat*), like those of which an Arabic girl usually possesses several kinds, for the *hilâl* (new moon) is an emblem of increasing good fortune,[1] and, as such, the most approved means of warding off the evil eye.[2] נְטִפוֹת are ear-drops (found in Judg. viii. 26 as a designation of the ornament worn by Midianite kings); hence the Arab. *munaṭṭafa*, a female adorned with ear-rings. שֵׁרוֹת (from שָׁרַר, to twist) are chains, and these, too (according to the Targum), chains for the arms, or spangles for the wrists, corresponding to the spangles for the ankles; the arm-chain or bracelet is still at the present day called *siwâr* (hence the denominative سور, to present or adorn with a bracelet). רְעָלוֹת are veils (from רָעַל, Aram.

[1] In this sense the crescent is the sign (*wasm*) with which the tribe of the *Ruwala* mark their herds as their property.

[2] "Amulet" and "talisman" are both words derived from the Arabic; the former comes from حميلة instead of the plural حمائل (from حمل, to bear, carry), which is more usual in this sense,—see, however, Gildemeister (in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxviii. 140–142), who considers *amoletum* an old Latin word: the latter is from طلسم, the Arabic form of τέλεσμα.

רָעַל, رعل, رغل, غرل, to be loose and flaccid, to hang down or hang over loosely); these were more costly and of better quality than the ordinary veil worn by maidens, which is called צָעִיף. פְּאֵרִים are *tiaras;* the term occurs elsewhere in Scripture only in passages in which the word is applied to coverings for the heads of men (the priests, the bridegroom, and persons of rank). צְעָדוֹת are the stepping-chains (from צְעָדָה, which primarily means a step or pace; then the little chain which makes the pace short and elegant). קִשֻּׁרִים (from קָשַׁר, to gird) are dress girdles, such as the bride wears on the marriage-day (cf. Jer. ii. 22 with Isa. xlix. 18); the Targum wrongly renders קַלְמַסְמְזַיָא hair-pins (καλαμῖδες). בָּתֵּי נֶפֶשׁ are holders of scent (נֶפֶשׁ being used only here in the sense of the breath of an aroma). Luther appropriately renders the expression "musk-apples," *i.e.* capsules filled with musk. לְחָשִׁים (from לָחַשׁ, to whisper, to work magically) are amulets worn either as charms or as a protection against witchcraft, perhaps something like the later קמיעות (*Shabbath* 60*a*), *i.e.* small plates with an inscription, or small bunches of plant-roots with sanative powers. טַבָּעוֹת (from טָבַע, to sink into, seal) are signet-rings worn on the finger, corresponding to the חותם worn by men on a string hanging down over the breast. נִזְמֵי הָאַף are the nose-rings in common use from patriarchal times (Gen. xxiv. 22) till the present, generally put through the right nostril, and hanging down over the mouth; they are different from חָח (a word occurring seven times), which is the ring put through the nose of animals, though this term is also found along with נזם in Ex. xxxv. 22 as the designation of an ornament.[1] מַחֲלָצוֹת are garments such as a person of rank brings out and presents to another,—gala-dresses, robes of honour (from חָלַץ, خلع, to draw out; as a denominative verb it signifies to put on a gala-dress); the Arab. is خِلْعَة (usually pronounced خَلَعَة, whence our "gala," Spanish *gala;* it does not come from حَلْيٌ =חֲלִי, חֶלְיָה, jewellery, ornaments).

[1] This נֶזֶם signifies also an ear-ring, which afterwards came to be called עָגִיל by way of distinction; see the essay on "Ohrgehänge (נזמים) als götzendienerisches Geräth," in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, x. (1872) pp. 45–48.

מַעֲטָפָה is the second tunic or frock, which was worn over the ordinary one,—the Roman *stola*. מִטְפָּחוֹת (from טָפַח, to spread out) are wrappers or broad wrapping-cloths,[1] like the one which Ruth wore when she crept close to Boaz in her best attire (Ruth iii. 15). חֲרִיטִים (here written הַחֲרִיטִים with the article, according to the Masora) are pockets into which people put money (2 Kings v. 23), which at other times is carried in the girdle or in a purse (כִּיס). גִּלְיֹנִים (according to LXX. διαφανῆ λακωνικά, sc. ἱμάτια) are Lacedaemonian gauze or crape dresses, which reveal rather than conceal the nakedness (from גָּלָה in the sense of laying bare); Kimchi (in his Lexicon, under גָּלָה) compares the Arab. جلوة, a transparent dress; but the word is more certainly mirrors with handles, polished plates of metal (from גָּלָה, جلا, جلى, in the primary sense of making smooth), for גִּלָּיוֹן elsewhere signifies a smooth table, as in the later Hebrew it means the empty space on the page of a book, the margin.[2] סְדִינִים are veils or coverings made of the finest linen, perhaps of Sindu or Hindu texture (σινδόνες); for *Sindu*, the country of the Indus, is the ancient name of India (see our commentary on Prov. xxxi. 24).[3] צְנִיפוֹת (from צָנַף, to roll up) are the turbans or headbands formed of cloths of various colours, twisted round the head.

[1] The term מִטְפַּחַת is very commonly used in the Mishna and the Gemara to signify a wrapping-cloth, such as a bath-sheet, or a cloth in which articles (*e.g.* the Levitical utensils) are wrapped up, a cloth for wiping off (such as a hand towel or bath towel); see, for example, *Kelim* xxiv. 13, xxviii. 5. On the other hand, מחלצות has no connection with the Mishnic term מחצלות, which means plaited mats for covering and laying on the top of an object, but not for folding round anything.

[2] The Jerusalem Talmud everywhere explains גליונים by גלגלייה, and in *Bereschith rabba* c. 19, גליון occurs as a specific article belonging to the class of חֲגוֹרֹת, corresponding to the articles of male attire named קולסין, *galeae;* Levy accordingly renders it by "headband," and derives it from גלל=גלי. But, as shown by the use of the word in other passages, the root does not mean to roll or wind, but to make smooth, or lay bare.

[3] The Mishna (*Kelim* xxiv. 13) distinguishes between three kinds of סדינין, the material used for bed-clothes, the material used for curtains, and that used for embroidering. The Sindon is pretty often mentioned as a covering for the body; and in *Menachoth* 41*a* we read סדינא לקיטא וסרבלא לסתוא, "the sindon is summer clothing, the sarbal (cloak) is winter clothing,"—a passage which explains Mark xiv. 51 f.

רְדִידִים (from רָדַד = רָדַד, to spread out) are wide mantles, light and loose, for throwing over the shoulders and the body.

No mention is made of stockings and pocket-handkerchiefs; the former were not introduced into Western Asia from Media till long after Isaiah's time, and a lady of Jerusalem needed a pocket-handkerchief as little as one of Greece or Rome. The *σουδάρια καὶ σιμικίνθια* mentioned in Acts xix. 12 were not used for cleaning the nose. Nor did the veil (*burkaʿ*), now commonly used for muffling the face, excepting the eyes, form a portion of female dress among the ancient Israelites.[1] The prophet mentions together twenty-one articles of personal adornment, a threefold evil seven, especially for the husbands of these State dolls. In the enumeration there is no order observed, — from above downwards, or from without inwards; there is as little arrangement in it as in the whole array of attire itself.

When Jehovah now will take away all this grandeur with which the women of Jerusalem are laden, they will become wretched - looking captives, disfigured by ill - treatment and dirt. Ver. 24: "*And instead of balmy fragrance there will be a mouldy smell, and instead of a sash a rope, and instead of artistic dressing of hair a baldness, and instead of a wide cloak a frock of sackcloth, branding instead of beauty.*" Then, in place of the בֹּשֶׂם (*i.e.* the odour arising from the powder of balsam, and aromatic powder in general) there comes mouldiness (מַק, as in v. 24, the dust of things that have rotted or moulded away) from which a dust may be raised, and the smell of which cannot but be felt; and in place of the חֲגוֹרָה (the beautifully embroidered girdle, Prov. xxxi. 24) there shall be נִקְפָּה. This word signifies neither a "wound" (as interpreted by the Targum and Talmud) nor "rags" (the opinion of Knobel in his first edition), — views which find some support in the derivation from נָקַף as meaning to smite through, cut through,—but it denotes the rope (as rightly rendered in

[1] Rashi remarks on *Shabbath* 65*a*, "The Israelitish women in Arabia go out veiled (רְעוּלוֹת, wearing a veil that muffles the countenance), while those in India go out פְּרוּפוֹת (with a cloak fastened together above, about the mouth)."

the LXX. Vulgate, and Syriac) which is thrown over them as prisoners: the word is derived from נָקַף, to turn round, revolve, and is thus the feminine of a masc. נֵקֶף or נִקָּף: it is unnecessary to assume the existence of a verb קָוָה=קָפָה, signifying to twist (as is done by Meier, and by Knobel in his second edition).[1] A baldness takes the place of מַעֲשֶׂה מִקְשָׁה (not מַעֲשֵׂה, so that the second noun is in apposition, as in the case of two indeterminate notions; see also Ezek. xxii. 18; 1 Chron. xv. 19, etc.; cf. also the remarks on xxx. 20), *i.e.* not (as the LXX. renders) a golden head-ornament, though מקשה in other passages signifies embossed or carved work in metal or wood: by "artificial turned-work" is here meant hair either crisped with the curling-iron, or artificially plaited and set up, which custom compels them to cut off in times of mourning (xv. 2, xxii. 12), or which falls off from them through grief. A מַחֲגֹרֶת שָׂק, *i.e.* a smock of coarse hair-cloth, comes in place of the פְּתִיגִיל, *i.e.* dress cloak (from פָּתַג, the root of which is פת, to be open, spreading, with the noun-ending *il*: *Targ.* לְבוּשׁ=פתג, סְדִין; by the old interpreters, beginning with the Talmud, the word was misunderstood, as if it were a compound of פְּתִי and גִּיל); and in place of beauty comes כִּי, a branding mark (= כְּוִי, the cognate form being כְּוִיָּה, which occurs in the legal enactment, Ex. xxi. 25; the word is derived from כָּוָה, Arab. كوى, which is especially used of cauterizing with the مِكْوَاة, *i.e.* red-hot iron, as practised by surgeons), which is burnt by the conquerors into their forehead, though proud and beautiful as Juno's. For כִּי (Arab. كَيّ) is a noun,[2] not a particle, as in Jer. ii. 34; in correct codices it stands without Maqqeph, and with *Tifcha*, but תַּחַת with *Mercha*, and the first letter of this word with Dagesh.

[1] Of cognate origin perhaps is the Arab. *nuḳba* (explained in Zamachśari, *Moḳaddima*, Wetstein's edition, p. 62, by the Persian *mijân-bend*, a waist-belt), a kind of apron fastened by means of a drawing-string, according to the Turkish Kâmûs.—*Fl.*

[2] In Arabia the application of the *kej* by means of a red-hot piece of iron (*mikwâh*) plays an important part in the medical treatment of man and beast. One sees many people who have been burned, not merely on the legs and arms, but also on the face; and the most beautiful horses are generally disfigured by the *kej*.

The form of the word is like אִי, עִי, צִי, רִי, Job xxxvii. 11; along with רִי, Simson ha-Nakdan also compares נִי in Ezek. xxvii. 32. The inverted arrangement of the words in the last of the five clauses is very effective. In the fivefold exchange, shame and sadness take the place of the haughty rejoicing of luxury.

The prophet now, by a sudden transition, directly addresses the people of Jerusalem; for the "daughters of Zion" are the daughter Zion in her present degenerate state. The daughter Zion loses her sons; the daughters of Zion thereby lose their husbands. Ver. 25: "*Thy men will fall by the sword, and thy heroism in the war.*" The plural מְתִים (the singular of which—in Ethiopic, *met*, "man" in the sense of husband, the Latin *maritus*—is still found only in the form מְתוּ, with the union-vowel *û*, as a constituent part of proper names) is a prose-word in the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy; elsewhere it is a poetic archaism. מְתַיִךְ is changed for גְּבוּרָתֵךְ, "thy heroic power," an abstract expression meaning the inhabitants of the city, in the same way as *robur* and *robora* are also used in Latin (probably in like manner Jer. xlix. 35).

What the prophet here predicts for the daughter Zion he sees in ver. 26 as fulfilled on her: "*Then will her gates lament and mourn; and she is made desolate, sits down on the earth.*" The gates where the husbands of the daughter of Zion, now fallen in the war, used at one time to assemble in such numbers, have been deserted, and in this condition one as it were hears them complain and sees them mourn (xiv. 31; Jer. xiv. 2; Lam. i. 4); and the daughter Zion herself is quite vacated, thoroughly emptied, utterly stripped of her former population. In this state of saddest widowhood, or bereavement of her children, brought down from her former exalted position (xlvii. 8) and princely adornment (Jer. xiii. 18), she sits on the ground in the manner shown on Roman commemorative medals, struck after the destruction of Jerusalem, which represented Judea as a woman utterly crushed and in despair, sitting under a palm-tree before a warrior standing erect, while there is inscribed at the side, *Judaea capta* (or *devicta*). The LXX. translates in accordance with the general sense, *καὶ καταλειφθήσῃ μόνη καὶ εἰς*

τὴν γῆν ἐδαφισθήσῃ (cf. Luke xix. 14),—only תֵּשֵׁב is not the second, but the third person, as also נִקָּתָה is third person perfect Niphal (for נִקְּתָה), a pausal form, such as is often found also with smaller distinctive accents than Silluk and Athnach (here in connection with *Tifcha*, as also in v. 9, xxii. 14; 1 Kings v. 31; Amos iii. 8). The clause לָאָרֶץ תֵּשֵׁב follows without any connecting particle, as is pretty frequently the case when one of the two verbs stands in relation to the other as a closer specification which would otherwise be expressed adverbially, as for instance in 1 Chron. xiii. 2, and with inverted arrangement of the words, Jer. iv. 5; cf. xii. 6: in her depopulated and therefore isolated condition, or her deprivation also of even the most necessary articles of household furniture (cf. xlvii. 1, 5, and the Talmudic נקי מנכסין, "robbed of his property"), Zion sits on the earth.

When war shall have thus unsparingly swept away the men of Zion, then will arise an unnatural state of things: women will not be sought by men, but men by women. Chap. iv. 1: "*And seven women shall lay hold of one man on that day, saying, Our own bread will we eat, and in our own garments will we clothe ourselves; only let thy name be named upon us, take away our reproach.*" The division of the chapters is wrong, for this verse is the closing one of the prophecy against the women, and the concluding portion of the whole discourse only begins with iv. 2. The present pride of the daughters of Zion, every one of whom deems herself the greatest, as the wife of so-and-so, and whom many men now woo, comes to an end with the self-humiliating fact that seven of them offer themselves to one man,—any one,—and that, too, with a renunciation of the claim, legally resting on the husband, for food and clothing (Ex. xxi. 10). It is enough for them to be allowed to bear his name (עַל is employed, as in lxiii. 19: the name is put upon what is named, because giving it its definiteness and its character); he is to take away their reproach merely by letting them be called his wives (viz. the reproach of being unmarried, liv. 4, as in Gen. xxx. 23 the reproach was that of being childless). Grotius appropriately compares Lucan (*Pharsalia*, ii. 342): *Da tantum nomen inane connubii, liceat tumulo scripsisse Catonis Marcia.* The number seven (seven women to one man) is explained by

the fact that there is an evil seven as well as a sacred seven (for example, Matt. xii. 45).

With iv. 1 ends the threatenings addressed to the women of Jerusalem. It is the side-piece which accompanies the threatenings against the rulers of the nation. Both scenes of judgment are but parts of the picture showing the doom about to fall on Jerusalem and Judah as a State or commonwealth. And even this again is but a part, namely, the central group in the picture of a much more comprehensive judgment about to fall on everything lofty and exalted on the earth. Jerusalem is thus the centre and focus of the great judgment-day for the world. In Jerusalem there is concentrated the ungodly glory now ripe for judgment; here, too, will concentrate the light of the true glory in the latter days. To this promise, with which the discourse returns to its starting-point, the prophet now passes directly. But indeed no transition-stage is needed; for the judgment in itself is the medium of salvation. Jerusalem is sifted by being judged; and by being sifted it is delivered, pardoned, glorified. In this sense the prophet proceeds, with the words "on that day," to describe the one great day of God at the end of time (not a day of twenty-four hours any more than the seven days of creation) in its leading features, as beginning with judgment but bringing deliverance. Ver. 2: "*On that day will the sprout of Jehovah become an ornament and glory, and the fruit of the earth pride and splendour for the saved ones of Israel.*" The four terms signifying glory, here combined in pairs, confirm us in the expectation that after the mass of Israel have been swept away together with the objects of their worthless pride, mention will be made of what will become an object of well-grounded pride for the "escaped of Israel" (*i.e.* those who have escaped destruction, the remnant that has survived the judgment). According to this interpretation of what is promised, it is impossible that it can be the Church of the future itself that is called "the sprout of Jehovah" and "the fruit of the earth" (the opinion of Luzzatto, Malbim, and Reuss); moreover, considering the contrast drawn between what is promised and what is set aside, it is improbable that צֶמַח יְהוָה and פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ (not "fruit of the ground," פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה) mean the blessing of harvest bestowed by Jehovah, the rich produce of

the land. For though "the sprout of Jehovah" may possibly signify this (Gen. xix. 25; Ps. civ. 14), and though fertility of the land is a permanent feature in the promise regarding the latter days (as seen in xxx. 23 ff.; Zech. ix. 16 f.; cf. the close of Joel and Amos, also the end of Hos. ii.), while it is also said that the fruitful fields of Israel will become famous in the eyes of the nations (Ezek. xxxiv. 29; Mal. iii. 12; cf. Joel ii. 17), yet this earthly, material good, of which, moreover, there was no lack during the times of Uzziah and Jotham, was wholly unsuited for forming a contrast that would quite outshine the worldly glory hitherto prevailing. Even after granting what Hofmann says, "that the blessing which comes from the fields, as the natural gift of God, may form a contrast with the studied works of art and articles imported from abroad of which men had hitherto been proud," yet what Rosenmüller had previously remarked remains true, "that the grandeur of the whole discourse is opposed to this interpretation." Let any one but compare xxviii. 5, where Jehovah Himself is in like manner called the glory and ornament of the remnant of Israel. But if צֶמַח יְהוָה is neither the delivered remnant itself, nor the fruit of the field which Jehovah causes to sprout, it will be the name of the Messiah: such is the view given in the Targum, and such also is the opinion, among modern commentators, of Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Steudel, Umbreit, Caspari, Drechsler, Strachey, and de Lagarde.[1] The great King coming in the future is called צֶמַח (*ἀνατολή* in the sense of Heb. vii. 14), as a Sprout arising from soil which is at once earthly, human, and Davidic,—a Sprout that Jehovah has planted in the earth, and causes to burst through and sprout up as the pride of His congregation, which was waiting for this heavenly Child. In the parallel member of the verse, this Child is likewise called פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ, as the fruit which the land will bring forth,—just as Zedekiah is called זֶרַע הָאָרֶץ in Ezek. xvii. 5, because the same reasons

[1] In his *Semitica* (i. 178) on this passage, this writer explains צמח יהוה as *αὐτομάτως φυὲν* and *ἄνωθεν δεδωρημένον*, so that, taken in conjunction with Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15, it points to a descendant of the house of David whom Jehovah causes to be born in a time of darkness and distress, in contrast with the natural descendant that had become utterly useless and worthless.

for which צֶמַח יְהוָה cannot mean the blessing of the fields apply with like force to פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ, instead of which there would be used the expression פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה, if the produce of agriculture were intended,—for whenever the former expression occurs instead of the latter, there is always a probable reason for the choice, as in Num. xiii. 20, 26; Deut. i. 25; cf. Lev. xxv. 18 f. Here, however, it was necessary to say "the fruit of the ground" in order to make clear the meaning of the expression "the sprout of Jehovah," for it is self-evident that אֲדָמָה means the land of Israel. In this way therefore will the Messiah be the "fruit of the earth" as the noblest fruit of the land in the future,—fruit in which all growth and bloom in the history of Israel reaches the end that has been promised and appointed of God.

Without importing New Testament ideas into the passage, we may nevertheless account for this double designation of the Coming One merely on the ground of the endeavour to describe the twofold aspect of His origin: on the one side, He comes from Jehovah, and yet on the other side He is also of earthly origin, by His going forth from Israel. We have here the passage on the basis of which צֶמַח has come to be adopted in Jeremiah (xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15) and Zechariah (iii. 8, vi. 12) as a proper name of the Messiah. There is much that commends itself, however, in Bredenkamp's interpretation: "The prophet here depicts the circle of light forming part of the future glory, but not its centre. The Sprout of Jehovah—an expression which points to the silent and mysterious power of creative grace—and the fruit of blessing with which the land is clothed, is the same as is called in Hos. iii. 5, 'the goodness of Jehovah,' the good things of the last days, which, as the gift of God, will present themselves on the ruins of the glory that has passed away." Nägelsbach also understands what is promised in the sense of the declaration in lxi. 11.

Connecting itself with the expression פְּלֵיטַת יִשְׂרָאֵל in ver. 2, ver. 3 goes on to describe the Church of the future: "*And it shall come to pass, whoever is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem,—holy will he be called, every one who is written down for life in Jerusalem.*" The keynote of the whole verse is given by the word "holy." Whereas formerly, in Jerusalem, persons were distinguished according to their

rank and their fortune, without regard to their moral worth (iii. 1–3, 10 f.; cf. xxxii. 5), "holy" will then be the one chief name of honour befitting every individual, inasmuch as the national vocation of Israel (Ex. xix. 6, etc.) would now be realized in every one. Hence the expression "he shall be called" is not, of course, equivalent to "he shall be," but it presupposes this, as in i. 26, lxi. 6, lxii. 4. "Holy" (קָדוֹשׁ) means what is separated from the world and superior to it; the congregation of the saints, or holy ones, who now inhabit Jerusalem, are what remain after a smelting; their holiness is the consequence of a washing. The term הַנִּשְׁאָר is interchanged with הַנּוֹתָר: the former word contains the idea of intention as a part of its meaning, and thus signifies what has been purposely left behind; the latter points more to the simple fact, and signifies what remains over or is left. The latter part of ver. 3 declares the character and the numbers of those who will constitute this "remnant of grace." This apposition-clause means something more than those who are entered as living in Jerusalem; for כָּתַב לְ signifies not merely "to inscribe as" something, but (like כָּתַב with the accusative, Jer. xxii. 30) "to inscribe as destined for" something. Whether we translate לַחַיִּים "for life" (as in Dan. xii. 2), or—a less probable meaning, however, as the form is not לְחַיִּים—"for living ones" (cf. Ps. lxix. 29; 1 Sam. xxv. 29), there is always contained in the expression הַכָּתוּב לְ the idea of predestination, the presupposition of a divine "Book of life" (Ex. xxxii. 32 f.; Dan. xii. 1; cf. Ps. cxxxix. 16; Rev. xx. 12, etc.), and thus a meaning like that which is contained in the words of Acts xiii. 48, *ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. The reference is to persons who, on account of the good kernel of faith which is in them, have their names standing in the book of life as those who are to be partakers of the life in the New Jerusalem, and who, in accordance with this divine purpose of grace, have been spared amidst the sifting judgment. For it is only by passing through the judgment, which sets free this kernel of faith, that such a holy community can be formed.

Whether ver. 4 belongs to ver. 3 and specifies the condition and the time of the fulfilment of what is there indicated, is a question as difficult to decide as the similar case in

Ps. lxiii. 7*a*. It seems more likely and natural, however, that ver. 4 is a hypothetical protasis to ver. 5: the combination of clauses will then be like what is found in 2 Sam. xv. 33 f.: "*When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughter of Zion and purged away the blood-guiltiness of Jerusalem from the midst of her, by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of sifting; then Jehovah creates*" . . . Here, as in xxiv. 13, אִם followed by a preterite forms the *futurum exactum* (Gesen. § 106. 3*c*), and introduces that through the preceding occurrence of which the other is conditioned. The imperfect יָדִיחַ (Hiphil, to wash or rinse away, as in 2 Chron. iv. 6; Ezek. xl. 38, to rinse off; from דּוּחַ, to push away) likewise obtains the meaning of a *futurum exactum* through the preterite רָחַץ (cf. the very same consecution of tenses in vi. 11). The double purification corresponds to the two scenes of judgment described in chap. iii. The filth of the women of Zion is the moral pollution hidden under their showy and coquettish finery; and the bloody deeds of Jerusalem are the judicial murders committed by its rulers on the poor and innocent. This filth and these spots of blood the Sovereign Ruler washes and purges away (see 2 Chron. iv. 6) by the pouring out of His Spirit or breath (xxx. 28) over the men and women dwelling in Jerusalem. This breath is called רוּחַ מִשְׁפָּט, inasmuch as it punishes what is evil, and רוּחַ בָּעֵר, inasmuch as it sweeps it away or removes it. בָּעֵר is to be explained, as in vi. 13, in the same way as in Deut. xiii. 6, etc.; cf. especially xix. 13, xxi. 9. The rendering of the LXX. (which is followed by the Vulgate), ἐν πνεύματι καύσεως, is based on another meaning of the verb, which not merely signifies to cut away, sweep away, depasture (iii. 14, v. 5, etc.), but also to burn, consume by fire (xliv. 15, etc.). The "spirit" is in both cases the Spirit of God, which pervades and works throughout the world, not merely giving and sustaining life, but also destroying and sifting, as seems good (xxx. 22 f.); and such is the case before us.

In ver. 5, the imperishable glory is described as breaking forth: "*And Jehovah creates over every spot of Mount Zion, and over her festal gatherings, a cloud by day, and smoke, and the brightness of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory*

comes a canopy." As the Israelites who had been redeemed from Egypt were led and screened by Jehovah through the day in a smoke-cloud and through the night in a fire-cloud, which moved before them in the form of a pillar and floated over them as a roof (Num. xiv. 14, etc.), — the continued manifestation of His self-revelation at Sinai, — so will He also shield the Israelites of the final redemption-days, who, because they have no longer to wander, no longer need the pillar of cloud, but only the roof of cloud. Such a cloud-roof Jehovah will create, as the "consecutive perfect" וּבָרָא declares. The verb בָּרָא (for the pre-exilian use of which, in the sense of "creating," we have vouchers in such passages as Ex. xxxiv. 10; Num. xvi. 30; Amos iv. 13; Deut. iv. 32) always indicates a miraculous divine production having a beginning in time, for even when God does anything natural, such action is in itself always supernatural; here, however, the reference is to a new manifestation of His gracious presence, in a sphere exalted above the present course of nature and the world. This manifestation takes the form, by day (Cheyne thinks that יוֹמָם has by an oversight been taken from ver. 5), of a cloud, and this too (as is designedly made prominent by the hendiadys עָנָן וְעָשָׁן, viz. cloud as regards form, and smoke as regards substance) in a cloud of smoke (not a watery cloud, like those which naturally cover the sky), and by night in a fiery splendour, and this, too, not a calm brightness resembling fire, like that of the sunset, but, as shown by לֶהָבָה, which here follows (as in Lam. ii. 3; Ps. cv. 32), a brilliantly flaming and therefore a real and living fire. The purpose of the cloud is not merely to afford a shade, but also to serve as a protecting wall (see Ex. xiv. 19) to withstand opposing influences; and the fire is not merely for the purpose of giving light, but also by flaming and sparkling to ward off hostile forces. But the cloud and fire are above all meant to serve as a token of the near presence of God and of His goodwill. In the most glorious times of the temple, a smoke-cloud of this kind filled the Holy of Holies, and only once (namely at the dedication of Solomon's temple, 1 Kings viii. 10) the whole building; but now the cloud, whose smoke, moreover, still changes into flaming fire by night, spreads over every spot

(מָכוֹן used as the more poetic word instead of מָקוֹם) of Mount Zion and Zion's festal gatherings. The whole mountain has thus become a Most Holy Place, and is holy, not merely to the extent of its being the dwelling-place of Jehovah, but wholly sacred as the meeting-place of a congregation of the saints. The word מִקְרָאֶיהָ, or according to another mode of writing, מִקְרָאֶהָ (a defective plural form, as in Jer. xix. 8), refers to Zion. There is no need for taking this noun (as is done by Gesenius, Meier, Hitzig, Ewald, Luzzatto) in the sense of "meeting-halls"—a meaning which it has nowhere else; it may, however, also signify (as in i. 13) the meetings or assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*).

Though ambiguity rests on the explanatory clause כִּי עַל־כָּל־כָּבוֹד חֻפָּה, this is no reason for holding (as Cheyne does) that the text has been mutilated; rather may we suppose these words, as a general statement, to be a gloss. Schegg and others regard the clause in this way, as a *locus communis*, and render it: "because, for everything glorious, protection and covering are seemly;" and certainly חפה bears the meaning of covering and concealing generally. As a noun, חֻפָּה in Ps. xix. 6, Joel ii. 16, does not signify, as in post-Biblical Hebrew, the nuptial canopy, but the bridal chamber. from its being concealed. But the verb-forms חָפָה, נֶחְפָּה also signify to cover, to clothe for adornment; and in this way the חֻפָּה here will also serve, not merely for a guard or protection, but also as an honour to the object covered. A cloud of smoke and a blaze of fire floats over Mount Zion like a canopy. (It is thus unnecessary to take חֻפָּה as the 3rd pers. Pual, inasmuch as תִּהְיֶה, which immediately follows in ver. 6, readily suggests itself as a word to be supplied.) The only question is whether כָּל־כָּבוֹד means "every glory," or, as in Ps. xxxix. 6, xlv. 14, "pure glory, nothing but glory." There is much that commends itself in the view of Hofmann, that Jerusalem is now all glory, as its inhabitants are all holiness, and that therefore this screen is spread out over pure glory; nevertheless we prefer the former view, as more in accord with the noun-clause. The glory of which Zion has now become a partaker no longer suffers any decay; Jehovah acknowledges it by tokens of His gracious presence, for there will henceforth be nothing glorious in Zion over which,

in the way indicated, there will not be a canopy to afford shade and light, to cover, protect, and adorn.

In this way, Zion becomes a safe retreat and shelter against all adversities and misfortunes. Ver. 6: "*And there will be a booth for a shade by day from the heat of the sun, and a refuge and hiding-place from storm and from rain.*" Just as in this passage, the place of concealment and safety is also called סֻכָּה in Ps. xxxi. 21, lxxvii. 5. The subject of the verb תִּהְיֶה is not the miraculous roofing, for עָנָן (cloud) is masculine; and to say of a חֻפָּה (canopy) that it will be a סֻכָּה (booth) is absurd. But תִּהְיֶה is either used in a pregnant sense (as in xv. 6, xxiii. 13), so as to mean "and there will be a booth;" or "Zion" in ver. 5 is the subject. Considering that "Zion" is so far away, we prefer the former alternative; the preservation naturally applies to the dwellers in Zion. Hitzig, with whom Nägelsbach agrees, thinks the end of ver. 5 should be read in undivided connection with ver. 6 ("for over everything glorious will arise a canopy and a booth for a shade by day," *i.e.* serving as such, etc.). But the combination of the synonymous terms חֻפָּה וְסֻכָּה is not in Isaiah's style, and the preservation from the glowing heat of the sun does not properly accord with the inanimate object כָּל־כָּבוֹד. With מַחְסֶה (*i.e.* not מַחֲסֶה) from חָסָה, which is allied to חוּשׁ (cf. the Assyrian *ḫasû* and *ḫâsu*), "to flee for refuge,"[1] מִסְתּוֹר is combined (only here in the Old Testament), for the sake of alliteration, instead of סֵתֶר, which is more frequently used by the prophets in other passages, as xxviii. 17, xxxii. 2. The temporal adjunct יוֹמָם, "by day" (which stands in construction with לְצֵל; cf. Ezek. xxx. 16), is purposely left without a corresponding לַיְלָה, "by night," because what is meant is a place of safety and concealment at all times, whether by night or by day. Instead of speci-

[1] This word is shown by the sound of its initial letter (*ḥ* not *ḫ*) to be different from the Arab. حسى; from which comes ماء الحسى, the water that is preserved under or by means of a covering of sand, or by means of the rock below, from evaporating or oozing away. In a biography of Mohammed (MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, *Sect. Wetzst.* ii. Nr. 311), it is said in the section on the battle at Mûta: "الحسى (*ḥisá* or *ḥasá*) is a sandy spot under which there is a rocky bottom; if rain falls upon this sand, the water dries up, but the rock prevents it from running

fying the most manifold dangers, the burning heat of the sun, storm, and rain are mentioned as examples; but it is a striking fact that the rain, which certainly is a benefit earnestly desired by one in a state of חֹרֶב, *i.e.* drought and burning heat, is also mentioned. At the present day, when rain falls in Jerusalem, the whole city leaps for joy. But the effects of rain, especially of the winter rain which suddenly pours down, are certainly very often destructive. The Jerusalem of the latter days is like Paradise restored (Gen. ii. 5 f.); one will not then be any longer exposed to the destructive changes of the weather. In this way the end of this prophetic address runs into the beginning. This Mount Zion, roofed over with a cloud of smoke by day and the shining of a flaming fire by night, is no other than the mountain of the house of Jehovah, which is exalted above all mountains, and to which the nations make their pilgrimage; and this Jerusalem, which is holy within and all-glorious without, is no other than the place from which one day the word of Jehovah will go out into all the world. But what kind of Jerusalem is that? Is it the Jerusalem which is to see the glorious days of the people of God in this present life (Rev. xii.), or is it the Jerusalem of the new heavens and the new earth (Rev. xx.)? The proper answer is, Both in one. In the vision of the prophet, the Jerusalem of the latter days on earth and Jerusalem of the life beyond—the glorified Jerusalem of earth and the glorified Jerusalem of heaven—are fused together as one. For it is a characteristic of the Old Testament that it views the closing period of the present life and the eternity that lies beyond as forming one continuous line, and looks upon the whole as if its character were that of earth. The first cross-line was drawn by the New Testament.

away, and the sand keeps the heat of the sun from drying it up; if any one therefore digs under this sand, he finds water." According to this, it might appear that חָסָה originally means to "hide one's self." But the proper signification of the old Arabic حَسَى يَحْسِى is to draw out (water), to exhaust, empty, and, metaphorically, to find out something secret, to draw secret thoughts out of any one by questions, etc. The water of a حِسْى is gradually taken out from under the sand, hence the name.

The Judgment of Devastation upon Jehovah's Vineyard, Chap. V.

Concluding Discourse of the First Cycle of Prophecy.

The foregoing discourse, at the close of chap. iv., has run through all the phases of prophetic address; and it has so completely worked out its fundamental thought,—the overthrow of the false glory and the establishment of the true glory of Israel, which is realized through judgment,—that chap. v. cannot be regarded either as a continuation or as a completion of it. Unquestionably chap. v. contains various allusions to chap. ii.–iv. The parable of the Vineyard in chap. v. 1–7 grows as it were out of chap. iii. 14; and in chap. v. 15 the recurrent verse or refrain of chap. ii. 9 is repeated, but varied in a similar manner as in chap. ii. 17. Yet these and other points of contact with chap. ii.–iv. do not prove that chap. v. was not independent, but only that the two were written about the same time. The contemporary circumstances or situation of the two discourses is the same; and the range of the prophet's thought from its relation to his surroundings at the time, is therefore closely related. Nevertheless the fundamental thought which is carried out in chap. v. is an entirely different one. The basis of the discourse is constituted by a parable of Israel as the Vineyard of Jehovah, which, contrary to all expectation, was bringing forth bad fruit, and therefore was given up to devastation. What sort of bad fruit this was, is described in a sixfold woe; and what kind of devastation it was to be, is told in the gloomy night-like close of the discourse, which is wholly without a promise.

The prophet began the first discourse in chap. i. like another Moses, and the second not less intensely with the text of an older prophecy; and now he begins this third discourse like a player who has a crowd of people around him, and who with alluring words addresses and rouses up himself and his hearers. Ver. 1*a*: "*Come, I will sing of my beloved, a song of my dearest about his vineyard!*" The winged rhythm, the musical euphony, and the graceful assonances of this invocation are inimitable and cannot be reproduced in a translation. The ל of לִידִידִי and לְכַרְמוֹ

indicates the reference: the song refers to his Beloved; it is a song of his dearest one himself about his vineyard (not of his cousin, *patruelis*, as Luther, following Jerome, translates it, for דוד signifies *patruus*, uncle, but here the meaning is determined by יָדִיד ἀγαπητός). The song of the beloved one is more definitely designated a song of the beloved one himself; it is not a song composed about him or composed for him, but a song as he himself has sung it and has to sing it. Knabenbauer rightly says: "The prophet recites it out of the thoughts of God." Cheyne, with Lowth, conjectures the reading שירת דודים; but this is not appropriate, for it is not a "love-song." The little song is short, and runs thus, 1*b*–2: "*My Beloved had a vineyard on a fatly nourished mount. And he dug it up and cleared it of stones, and planted it with noble vines, and built a tower in it, and also hewed out a winepress therein, and he hoped for grape-bringing, but it brought wildings.*" The vineyard כֶּרֶם (originally meaning hill, like the Assyrian *karmu*, cf. Talm. כָּרַם, to heap, to heap up[1]) lay upon a קֶרֶן, *i.e.* a mountain peak projecting like a horn, and consequently open to the sunshine on all sides; for "apertos Bacchus amat colles," as Virgil says (*Georg.* ii. 113). This mountain-horn or peak was בֶּן־שֶׁמֶן, a child of fatness; fatness was innate in it, it belonged to it by nature. שֶׁמֶן, as in chap. xxviii. 1, is used to indicate the richness of a soil capable of cultivation. On this vineyard the possessor bestowed all possible trouble and care. On account of the steep side of the mountain, the plough could not be used; and therefore he dug it up, *i.e.* the soil, which was to become the vineyard, with a hoe (עִזֵּק, to hoe, *i.e.* with the hoe; Arab. *mi'zak*, *mi'zaka*, to hand hoe in order to make fertile; Mishn., to draw a trench around something, whether a plant or a place, which is followed by the LXX., cf. Mark xii. 1: καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, see Kimchi's Dict. under עזק). And as he found it covered over with stones and *débris*, he proceeded to get rid of this rubbish by throwing it out (סִקֵּל, privative Pi.; lit. taking to do with stones, to clear of stones, like مرّض, removing sickness, healing, cf. casting the skin, scaling off, and such like).

[1] The Gemara, *Shabbath* 88*b*, says of the verb כרם: "it has the sense of heaping, gathering" (לישנא דמכנש הוא).

After the soil had been brought under cultivation, he planted it with שֹׂרֵק, the finest kind of eastern vine with bright-red grapes; for it is a colour word, not (like the Arab. name of wine, *ez-zerḳâ*, the bright-blue, the bright) indicating the colour of the drink, but that of the grapes (שֹׂרֵק = شَرِقَ, to be suffused with red, *i.e.* to be dark red, different from شَقِرَ, signifying to be light red). Then, in order to protect and adorn the vineyard, planted at such cost, he built in the midst of it a tower. וְגַם sets prominently forth that he also hewed out a wine-press trough in it (יֶקֶב, the trough into which runs the must pressed out in the wine-press גַּת, *lacus* in distinction from *torcular*); using a rocky portion of the soil in order that the trough may be the more immoveable and lasting. חָצֵב בּוֹ has not the accent retracted, as *e.g.* אֹהֵב דַּעַת, Prov. xii. 1, xvii. 19, and חָפֵץ בִּי, Ps. xviii. 20, because a *Beth* would thereby easily become inaudible, and hence there is also more firmness given to חצב by the pronunciation חָצֵב; and in like manner in chap. x. 15 we have הַחֹצֵב בּוֹ and בְּכָתֵף for בְּכָתֶף, chap. xi. 14; cf. Comm. on Ps. cxxxii. 10. This was a difficult piece of work, as the וגם gives us to understand; it was difficult, and for that reason gave evidence of surest expectation. But how utterly was this deceived! The vineyard brought forth no such fruit as is expected from a sorek-planting; it brought forth no עֲנָבִים at all, *i.e.* no berries or clusters such as a cultivated vine bears, but it brought בְּאֻשִׁים, wildings. Luther at first translated this word as wild grapes, and latterly as harsh or sour grapes; but they come to the same thing. The wild and the noble vine are only qualitatively different; the *vitis vinifera* is, like all cultivated plants, assigned to human nurture, under which it becomes ennobled, whereas growing in its wild state it falls short of its destination. Hence בְּאֻשִׁים designates the small sour berries of the wild vine (Rashi: *lambruches, i.e.* berries of the *labrusca*), as well as those berries of the noble vine which have remained unripe and stunted (but which are not like בֹּסֶר, which are only not yet ripe).[1] Such berries as these were brought forth

[1] In the Jerusalem Talmud such stunted berries are called אובְשָׁן; and in the Mishna (*Ma'aseroth* i. 2, *Shebiith* iv. 8), הִבְאִישׁ is the word used regularly of grapes that have become half-ripe.

by that vineyard; they were such as are produced by the wild vine, but not such as are to be expected from the most carefully cultivated vines of the noblest sort.

The Song of the Beloved One, so sorely deceived, thus ends. The prophet recites it, and not his dearest one himself; but because the two are one heart and one soul the prophet can continue thus in vers. 3 and 4: "*And now, ye inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, between me and my Vineyard! What was there further to do for my Vineyard which I did not do for it? Why hoped I for the bringing of grapes, and it brought wildings?*" The person of the Beloved may already be discerned, from the fact that the prophet speaks as if he were the beloved himself. The Beloved of the prophet and Lover of the prophet, יָדִיד and דּוֹד, is Jehovah, with whom he is so united through a *unio mystica*, elevated above earthly love, that, like the Angel of Jehovah in the primeval histories, he can speak as if he were Jehovah Himself (see especially Zech. ii. 12–15). To one who has insight, the parabolical meaning and purpose of the song, therefore, betrays itself already here; and even the inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah (יוֹשֵׁב and אִישׁ, taken collectively, as in chap. viii. 14, ix. 8, xxii. 21, cf. xx. 6), who are appealed to as adjudicators or umpires, are not so utterly stupefied by sin that they should not perceive at what the prophet was aiming. They are called upon to decide on which side the guilt of this unnatural issue lies, of this עֲשׂוֹת of the Vineyard, so contradictory to the עֲשׂוֹת of the Lord: that instead of the bringing of grapes, which was hoped for, it has brought wildings. On מַה־לַּעֲשׂוֹת, *quid faciendum est?* see Comm. on Hab. i. 17; Ges. § 132. 1. Instead of (לָמָּה) לָמָּה, we have the more appropriate מַדּוּעַ; for the latter asks for the *causa efficiens*, or the cause, whereas the former asks for the *causa finalis*, or the purpose. The parallel passage in chap. l. 2 resembles this passage, both in the use of the מַדּוּעַ, and also in the fact that there, as well as here, it relates to both clauses, and especially to the latter of the two. This paratactical construction is also found in the case of other conjunctions, as in chap. xii. 1, lxv. 12. They are called upon to decide and answer as to this *what* and *wherefore*; but they are silent, just because they clearly see that they would have to

condemn themselves (as David similarly condemned himself on the occasion of Nathan's parable, 2 Sam. xii. 5). The Lord of the vineyard, therefore, again proceeds to speak. He, its accuser, will now also be its judge.—Ver. 5: "*Now then, I will let you know what I will forthwith do to my vineyard: take away its hedge, and it shall be for grazing; pull down its wall, and it shall be for trampling upon.*" Before וְעַתָּה, as in chap. iii. 14, we must imagine a pause; the Lord of the vineyard breaks the silence of the umpires, which betrays their consciousness of guilt. They shall hear, then, from Him what He is going to do to His vineyard (ל in לְכַרְמִי, as, for example, in Deut. xi. 6). אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה, *fut. instans*, equivalent to *facturus sum* (Ges. § 134. 2 *b*). In the following *inf. abs.* the content of the אֵת אֲשֶׁר, *id quod*, is unfolded. On this explicative use of the *inf. abs.*, see chap. xx. 2, lviii. 6, 7; in such cases it represents the place of the object, as elsewhere of the subject, but always in an abrupt, stiff manner. He will take away the מְשׂוּכָּה, *i.e.* the green thorny hedge (Prov. xv. 19; Hos. ii. 8 = מְסוּכָה, Micah vii. 4 fr. שׂוּךְ=שָׂכַךְ, סוּךְ, סגג, to hedge round), with which the vineyard is enclosed, and will pull down the גָּדֵר, *i.e.* the low stone wall (Num. xxii. 24; Prov. xxiv. 31; cf. Ezra ix. 9 ending, according to Cheyne, in allusion to Isaiah's parable), which had been surrounded by the hedge of thorn-bushes to make a better defence, as well as for the protection of the wall itself, more especially against undermining, so that the vineyard, in consequence of this, is exposed to grazing and trampling down (LXX. καταπάτημα), *i.e.* becomes an open way and resort for men and beasts.

Thus the unthankful vineyard comes to an end, and indeed to a hopeless end. Ver. 6: "*And I will utterly ruin it: it shall not be pruned, and it shall not be hoed, and it shall shoot up in thorns and thistles; and I will command the clouds not to rain rain over it.*" בָּתָה=בַּתָּה fr. בָּתַת=בּוּת (بتّ, akin to בָּתַר, بتر), *abscindere*, signifies the sharply cutting off, and, as the action is viewed as a quality: what is sharply cut off, *abscissum præruptum*, vii. 19, or it is also transferred to the result of the action: the sudden total destruction.[1] This is the

[1] In the Arabic, البتّة, *elbatta* (Vulg. *halbatt*), from the meaning ἀποτόμως (absolutely), comes to be commonly used for "surely."

meaning here, where שִׁית בָּתָה is a more refined expression for the more usual עָשָׂה כָלָה, both being construed with the accusative of the thing which is brought to a total end. Further, pruning (זמר) and hoeing (עדר, different from another עדר, to put in order, 2 Chron. xii. 33, 38) with the weeding-hoe (מַעְדֵּר, vii. 25), would not improve it, but only bring new disappointments: it is the will of the Lord, therefore, that the deceitful vineyard shall shoot up thorns and thistles (עָלָה is applied to the soil, as in chap. xxxiv. 13 and Prov. xxiv. 31; cf. צָמַח, Eccles. ii. 6, with acc. of the object, according to Ges. § 138, 1, 2, applied here to the exclusively and peculiarly Isaianic שָׁמִיר וָשַׁיִת). And in order that it may remain a wilderness, the clouds receive commandment from the Lord not to rain upon it. There can now be no longer any doubt who the Lord of the vineyard is. He is the Lord who gives commands to clouds (cf. Gen. ii. 16), or in respect to the clouds (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 8, according to the old interpretation, to the angels), and therefore the Lord of heaven and of earth. It is He who is the prophet's Beloved and dearest One. The song which opened in so loving and harmless a tone, has now become sharply severe, and terribly repulsive. The husk of the parable, which has already been broken through, now falls completely off (cf. Matt. xxii. 13, xxv. 30). What it sets forth in symbol is true. This truth the prophet establishes by an open declaration in ver. 7: "*For the vineyard of Jehovah of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah are the plantation of His delight; he waited for justice, and behold rapine; for righteousness, and behold an outcry.*" The conception is not that the Lord of the vineyard lets no more rain fall upon it, for this Lord is Jehovah (which is not indeed said in what follows כִּי); but more generally: this is how it stands with the vineyard, for all Israel, and especially the people of Judah, is this vineyard, which so bitterly deceived the expectations of its Lord, and, moreover, it is the vineyard of Jehovah of hosts, and therefore of the omnipotent God, whom even the clouds must serve when He punishes. The כִּי justifies, as in Job vi. 21, not only the truth of what was last stated, but the truth of the whole simile, including this; it is כי, *explic.*, which opens the *epimythion*. "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts"

(כֶּרֶם ה' צְבָאוֹת) is the predicate. "The house of Israel" (בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל) is the whole nation, which is also symbolically represented in other passages under the same figure of a vineyard (chap. xxvii. 2 sqq.; Ps. lxxx., etc.). But because Isaiah is prophet in Judah, he applies the figure more particularly to Judah, which is called Jehovah's favourite plantation, inasmuch as it was the seat of the divine sanctuary and of the Davidic kingdom. נְטַע const. along with נֶטַע, like זֶרַע in Num. xi. 7, Ew. § 213*a*, and שַׁעֲשֻׁעִים, an abstract *plural form*: the delighting, from the Pilpel, occurring in chap. xi. 8, in the sense of delightful playing, literally, stroking or caressing; Luther has *seine zarte Feser*, a term applied to the vine-shoot which is planted. This makes it easy enough to interpret the details of the simile. The fat mountain-peak is Canaan, flowing with milk and honey (Ex. xv. 17); the digging up of the vineyard, and clearing it of stones, is the clearing of Canaan from its former heathen inhabitants (Ps. xliv. 3); the sorek-vines are the holy priests and prophets and kings of Israel of the better early times (Jer. ii. 21); the protecting and ornamental tower in the midst of the vineyard is Jerusalem as the royal city, with Zion the royal fortress (Micah iv. 8); the winepress-trough is the temple, where, according to Ps. xxxvi. 9 (8), the wine of heavenly joy flows in streams, and by which, according to Ps. xlii. and many other passages, all the thirst of the soul is quenched. The grazing and trampling down are explained in Jer. v. 10 and xii. 10. The bitter deception experienced by Jehovah, is expressed in a play upon two words, indicating the surprising change of what was hoped for, into its opposite. The explanation which Gesenius, Caspari, Knobel, and others give of מִשְׂפָּח, as "shedding" = bloodshedding, does not commend itself; for even if ספח occurs once or twice in the Arabizing book of Job (chap. xxx. 7, xiv. 19) in the sense of *effundere*, like سفح, yet this verbal root is otherwise strange to the Hebrew (and the Aramæan). Moreover, משׂפח in any case would only mean pouring out, or shedding, and not shedding of blood; and although the latter might indeed be possible in reference to the Arabic *saffâh, saffâk* (blood-shedder, blood-man), yet it would be an ellipsis such as cannot be substantiated anywhere

else in Hebrew usage. On the other hand, משׂפח, rendered "leprosy," does not yield any appropriate sense, as (ספחת) מִסְפַּחַת is never generalized anywhere else into the general meaning of "dirt" (Luzzatto: *sozzura*), nor does it appear as an ethical conception. We therefore prefer to connect it with a meaning assuredly belonging to the verb ספח (see *Kal*, 1 Sam. ii. 36; *Niphal*, xiv. 1; *Hithpael*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19), viz. "to associate or to join," of violent annexation, or from the root-conception of "snatching," and specifically "carrying forcibly away," etc.; cf. סָפָה, סוּף, אָסַף, יָסַף. Hence we regard the word as denoting the grasping appropriation and unjust heaping up of worldly possessions; certainly a suitable antithesis to מִשְׁפָּט, as צְעָקָה *vox oppressorum* (not *sanguinis*, which would be said) to צְדָקָה. The prophet depicts, in full-toned figures, how the expected noble grapes had turned into wild grapes, with nothing more than an outward resemblance to grapes. The introduction to the prophecy goes thus far.

The prophecy itself follows next, a sevenfold discourse composed of the sixfold woe contained in the following vers. 8–23, and the announcement of punishment in which it issues. In this sixfold woe the prophet describes the bad fruits individually. Confirming our explanation of מִשְׂפָּח, the first woe relates to πλεονεξία, covetousness and avarice, as the root of all evil.—Ver. 8: "*Woe unto those joining house to house, who lay field to field, till there is no more room, and ye are made to dwell alone within the land.*" נגע, as also קרב, is construed with ב in Judg. xix. 13 and Ps. xci. 10. The participle, because equivalent to a relative clause, is continued in the finite verb, as in ver. 23 and x. 1; the regular syntactical construction in cases of this kind (Ges. § 134. 2). The preterites after עַד (there being two such preterites, for אֶפֶס is an intensified אַיִן including the verbal idea) correspond to future perfects: they, the insatiable, rest not till, after all the smaller landed properties have been swallowed up by them, the whole land has become their possession, and no one besides themselves will be settled in the land (Job xxii. 8). Such covetousness was all the more condemnable, as the law of Israel had provided very stringently and carefully, that as far as possible there should be a proper proportional distribution of the ground and soil (Num. xxxiii. 54), and that hereditary

family property should be inalienable. The curse in Deut. xxvii. 17 was directed against the displacing of a boundary (in the language of the Roman law, *Crimen termini moti*). All landed property that had been alienated reverted to the family every fiftieth year, or year of jubilee; so that alienation had reference only to the usufruct of the land till that time. But how badly the law of the jubilee year was observed, may be inferred from Jer. xxxiv., according to which the law of the manumission of Hebrew bondsmen in the Sabbatical year had fallen entirely into neglect. The same complaint which Isaiah makes is brought forward by his contemporary Micah, in chap. ii. 2 (cf. Ps. xlix. 12; Job xxii. 8). The announcement of punishment is also there expressed in terms similar to what we have here in vers. 9 and 10: "*Into my ears Jehovah of hosts: Truly many houses shall become a desolation, large and beautiful ones without any inhabitants. For ten yokes of vineyard land will yield one pailful, and a quarter of seed corn will bring forth a bushel.*" How the prophet thinks of the nominal clause, Into my ears (or literally in my ears) is Jehovah-Zebaoth, is made clear from chap. xxii. 14: He is revealing Himself there to me. בְּאָזְנָי, pointed with Kamez along with Tifcha, as in that parallel passage, reminds us of what is to be interpolated in thought. In Hebrew, to say into the ears did not mean to speak secretly and softly; but, as Gen. xxiii. 10, 16, Job xxxiii. 8, and other passages show, it means to speak in a manner that is distinct and intelligible, and which excludes all misunderstanding. It is true that the prophet has not Jehovah now locally external to him, but he has Him notwithstanding objectively over against his own ego, and he is able to distinguish distinctly the thoughts and words of his own ego from the inspeaking of Jehovah which rises aloud within him. This inspoken word tells him how it will go with the rich insatiable landowners. אִם־לֹא introduces an oath of an affirmative sense (the complete form being חַי אָנִי אִם־לֹא), just as אִם, *e.g.* Num. xiv. 23, introduces an oath of a negative sense. A universal desolation will ensue; רַבִּים signifies not less than all, for the houses (pronounced *bâttim*) form altogether a great number (cf. רַבִּים, chap. ii. 3, and πολλοί, *e.g.* Matt. xx. 28). מֵאֵין is double, and is thus abso-

lutely negative (so that there is not no inhabitant). How such a desolation of the houses will come about, is explained by כִּי, beginning in ver. 10: failure of crops brings famine, and this brings depopulation of the country. Ten צִמְדֵּי (with *Dag. lene*, Ewald, § 212*b*) of vineyard land are ten pieces as large as can be ploughed daily with a yoke of oxen, as is shown by the analogous فدّان (فدان), ܦܕܢܐ, פַּדָּן, which signifies the plough-span with belongings, and then the field, and particularly (in accordance with the Turkish Kamus) a cultivated field of the extent of 400 roods. On the assumption that vineyards, on account of their many curves, are difficult to calculate by yokes, and that they were never ploughed, Noskowyj (in his treatise, *De valle Hadhramaut*, 1866) understands the meaning to be ten pieces of yoke-like espaliers of vines trained on cross-laths (called *vina jugata* in Varro). But 1 Sam. xiv. 14 decides for *jugum* (*jugerum*) as a measure of land. כרמים is also applied to vineyards lying in the plain, and צמד may be a measure of corn-land transferred to vineyard land, which undoubtedly was not worked with the plough but with the hoe. Moreover, we want the intermediate links requisite to furnish the proof that the ancient Israelites had the same chief field-measure as the Romans.[1] Thus, then, ten days' work will only produce a single בַּת. This measure of liquids, which first appears in the time of the kings, was equivalent to אֵיפָה as a dry measure (Ezek. xlv. 11). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 2. 9), it contained 72 Roman sextarii, or a little more than 33 Berlin quarts. The חֹמֶר (perhaps an ass's burden,[2] cf. חֲמוֹר, 1 Sam. xvi. 20), a dry measure generally called כֹּר after the time of the kings, contained (according to Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 2) about ten Attic *μέδιμνοι*,[3] a *μέδιμνος* being a little more than 15 pecks. If any one sowed 150 pecks of grain, not more would be reaped from it than 15 pecks: the harvest there-

[1] See on the *jugerum*, Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, 1862, p. 68 f.

[2] It has been objected to me that, according to *Mezia* 80*a*, a לֶתֶךְ is already equal to ½ כֹּר = חֹמֶר, the amount of a normal ass's burden.

[3] Or rather 7½ Attic Medimni = 10 Attic Metreti = 45 Roman Modii; see Böckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, p. 259.

fore would only yield the tenth part of the seed sown, for the איפה is the tenth part of חמר, or three seahs, the usual minimum for one baking (*e.g.* Matt. xiii. 33). In the translation, these relations of measure could not be exactly reproduced.

The second woe, to which the curse falling upon the vine cultivation (ver. 10*a*) leads by association of ideas, is directed against the revellers who carry on their indulgence in carnal security into the day. Ver. 11: "*Woe to those who rise up in the early morning to run after strong drink, who continue till late in the evening, wine inflaming them.*" בֹּקֶר (from בָּקַר, *bakara*, to slit, tear up, split) is the break of day, and נֶשֶׁף (from נָשַׁף, to blow, sigh) the evening twilight (*Berachoth* 3*b*), when it begins to become cool (1 Sam. xxx. 17), and the night into which it passes (chaps. xxi. 4, lix. 10). אִחֵר, to continue till late, as in Prov. xxiii. 30; the construct state before words with a preposition, as in chaps. ix. 2, xxviii. 9, and often elsewhere (Ges. § 116. 1). שֵׁכָר, standing with יַיִן, is the general name of all other strong drinks, especially of wines made artificially from fruit, honey, raisins, dates, etc., including barley-wine, οἶνος κρίθινος, or beer (ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ in Æschylus, Suppl. 930, elsewhere called βρῦτον βρυτόν, ζῦθος ζύθος, and various other names), acquaintance with which goes back to Egypt, which was half a wine country and half a beer country, and is traceable up to the time of the Pharaohs. The form שֵׁכָר is formed like עֵנָב (Arab. *'inab*), from שָׁכַר, to intoxicate; according to the Arabic, literally to close by stopping up (סָכַר, סָגַר), *i.e.* to stupefy (cf. Hos. iv. 11). The clauses after the two participles indicate the circumstances (chap. i. 5*a*) under which they run out already in the early morning, and remain sitting till late into the darkness at these *tempestiva convivia* (Cicero, *De Sen.* 14); they hunt after mead, they heat themselves with wine, particularly in order to lull the conscience amid their deeds of darkness.

Ver. 12 describes how these blind ones carry on their music-making and carousing: "*And guitar and harp, kettle-drum and flute and wine is their carouse; but the work of Jehovah they regard not, and the purposing of His hands they do not see.*" Their carouse (מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם, only plural in appearance,

rather a singular, as in Dan. i. 10, 16, and frequently with a softened ' of the ground form מִשְׁתֶּה=מִשְׁתַּי; cf. on עֲלֶה, chap. i. 30, and עֹשֶׂה, chap. xxii. 11, Ges. § 93, 9) is that and that, *i.e.* it consists of such things, it is composed of intoxicating music and wine. Knobel construes it thus: "And there is guitar, etc., and wine is their drink;" but the sentence thus divided becomes feeble, and the other mode of expression is employed in the Semitic to the widest extent, *e.g.* Ezek. xxxviii. 5, "they all are shield and helmet," *i.e.* they appear in this armour. כִּנּוֹר, guitar (an onomatopœic word like צִנּוֹר, cataract, صنّار, spindle), is the general name of the instruments which have their strings drawn (upon a bridge) over the sounding-board; and נֵבֶל (harp and lyre) is the general name of those instruments which have their strings swinging freely, so that both hands could at the same time seize the strings; תֹּף (Arab. *duff.*) is the general name for the tambourine, the drum, and the kettledrum; חָלִיל (bored through) is a general name for the flute and double flute. In this rioting and revelling they have no perception and no eye for the work of Jehovah and the project of His hands. This expresses in idea God's eternal counsel (chap. xxxvii. 26, ver. 19), which leads to salvation by the circuitous ways of judgment (chap. x. 12, xxviii. 21, xxix. 23), in so far as that counsel is realized in history which is shaped by the invisible interposition of God's hands. In their carousing and revelling they have no sense for the moving and working of God in history; nor do they at all observe the judgment which is being prepared in the present. And therefore will the judgment fall upon them in this blind, dull, stupid, animal state.

Ver. 13: "*Therefore my people goes into banishment from want of knowledge; and its glory turns into hungry ones, and its tumult into men with burning thirst.*" As לָכֵן (as in chap. i. 24) opens the threat of punishment, גָּלָה (to emigrate, properly, to lay bare, *i.e.* the land) is a prophetic preterite. Israel must vacate his land, must go into exile, and moreover מִבְּלִי־דָעַת. The מִן of מִבְּלִי is causative as in מִבְּלִי הַדַּעַת, Deut. ix. 28, cf. Num. xiv. 16, and also in Hos. iv. 6: from want of knowledge; and to regard it here as the negative (as in

מֵאֵין), because דעת is indeterminate, is not justified; and besides, our view is supported by מבלי דעת, being immediately joined to 12*b* as a fundamental statement. Moreover, מבלי דעת does not signify "unawares," but unknowingly = undesignedly, and yet more frequently "in non-understanding," Job xxxv. 16, xxxvi. 12, cf. iv. 21. The knowledge which they lack, according to 12*b*, is knowledge of the ruling of God and of the moral order of the world, according to which calamity is the necessary consequence of wrong-doing. In the sequel, כְּבוֹדוֹ and הֲמוֹנוֹ are, as the predicates show, collective terms used in a personal sense; the former signifies the *élite* of the people (cf. Mic. i. 15), and the latter the crowd that lived in riot and revelling. The former become מְתֵי רָעָב, men of famine (מְתֵי, as in Gen. xxxiv. 30; Job xi. 11; otherwise אַנְשֵׁי, 2 Sam. xix. 29, or בְּנֵי, 1 Sam. xxvi. 16); and the latter צִחֵה צָמָא (sing. as the subj.), parched with thirst. Instead of מְתֵי, the LXX. and Jerome read מֵתֵי (dead ones); but the reading adopted by Hitzig, Roorda, Ewald, and Böttcher, מְזֵי (מְזֵה), after Deut. xxxii. 24, and exactly corresponding to the parallel צחה, is more probable; it signifies sucked out or emaciated by hunger. צִחֶה (ἁπ. λεγ.) is formed like אִלֵּם, חֵרֵשׁ, כֵּהֶה, and other adjectives which express defects; the place of the *ē* is represented in such forms of verbs ל״ה by an *ä* that has arisen out of *ay*. The debauchees of rank must starve, and the low boon companions must thirst to death.

The threat of punishment commences again with לָכֵן; it has not yet satisfied itself, and therefore reaches deeper still. Ver. 14: "*Therefore the under-world opens wide its throat, and stretches its mouth immeasurably wide; and the pomp of Jerusalem goes down, and its tumult and uproar, and those who are jubilating in it.*" The verbs which follow לָכֵן are prophetic preterites, as in ver. 13. The feminine suffixes attached to what the lower world swallows up, do not refer to שְׁאוֹל, but, as expressed in the translation, to Jerusalem, which is necessarily required by וְעָלֵז בָּהּ; שְׁאוֹל has, according to the rule, *Dag. forte conj.* The withdrawal of the tone from וְעָלֵז to the penultimate (cf. חָפֵץ in Ps. xviii. 20, xxii. 9, Ezek. xxii. 25, whereby the Zere, which cannot be shortened into Segol, gets the checking Metheg) is here omitted; the rhythm thereby becomes more picturesque: one hears the

falling object rolling down, and at length striking upon something. A mouth is ascribed to the under-world, also a נֶפֶשׁ, *i.e.* a greedy soul, in which sense נֶפֶשׁ is applied metonymically sometimes to a thirst for blood (Ps. xxvii. 12), and sometimes to devouring greed (chap. lvi. 11), and even, as in the present passage and Hab. ii. 5, to the throat or gullet which the soul opens "without measure" (cf. Mal. iii. 10, עַד־בְּלִי־דָי, to insufficiency), when its craving knows no bounds (*Psychol.* p. 204). One is reminded here of Cerberus, whose original was Egyptian: the devourer in Amenthes (nether-world).[1] The prophet appears to connect שְׁאוֹל (which is feminine, like the names of countries) in thought with the verb שָׁאַל (cf. Hab. ii. 5; Prov. xxx. 15): the God-ordered accursed power which calls for and swallows up all that is upon the earth. The idea of "decision" appears to be really connected with the Assyrian *šuâlu.*[2] But the view always still recommends itself, which holds that the Hebrew word starts from the idea of sinking or depth; for the fundamental meaning of the √שׁל is *χαλᾶν*, not to be hollow, as it might appear after שֹׁעַל (hollowing, properly deepening of the hand), מִשְׁעוֹל (hollow way, properly a sinking of the ground), שׁוּעָל (*excavator = cavorum habitator*, properly deepener, one who digs himself in). The designation corresponds to the notion, universal in antiquity, which assigned Hades to the depths below the upper world. As God reveals Himself in heaven among blessed spirits according to the light of His love, so does He reveal Himself in Sheôl, in the darkness and fire of His wrath. And, with the exception of Enoch and Elijah in the Old Testament, with their singular departure from this life, the way of all mortals went hither, until Jesus Christ changed the dying of all believers on Him from a descent into Hades into an ascension to heaven. But even under the Old Testament the believer might know that whoever hid himself on this side the grave in Jehovah the living One, would retain his eternal germ of life even in Sheôl in the midst of the shades, and would taste the divine love even in the midst of wrath. It was this postulate of faith which lay at the foundation of the fact,

[1] See Ludw. Stern, *Ueber das äg. Todtengericht*, Ausland 1870, Nr. 46.

[2] See Alfred Jeremias, *Die babyl.-assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 1887, p. 62.

that already under the Old Testament the all-comprehending range of the idea of שׁאול begins to be contracted into the narrower notion of a limbo or fore-hell (see *Psychol.* p. 415). This is the case in the passage before us, where Isaiah predicts of everything of which Jerusalem was proud, and in which it revelled, including the jubilating persons themselves, descent into Hades; just as the Korahite author of Ps. xlix. wrote (ver. 14) that the pomp of the godless will be given up to Hades to be consumed, without having hereafter a place in the upper world, when the righteous will have dominion over them at some future time. Hades even there is almost equivalent to the New Testament γεέννα.

The prophet now repeats a recurring thought of the second prophetic discourse (chap. ii. 9, 11, cf. ver. 18). It acquires here a much deeper sense, from the connection in which it stands. Vers. 15, 16: "*Then are mean men bowed down, and lords humbled, and the eyes of lofty men are humbled. And Jehovah of hosts shows Himself high in judgment, and God the Holy One hallows Himself in righteousness.*" What had exalted itself above earth to heaven, must go down earthwards into hell. The consecutive imperfects exhibit the future, here represented as historically present, as the direct sequel of what is also represented as present in ver. 14: Hades opens up, and then both low and high in Jerusalem sink down, and the soaring eyes now wander about in a horrible depth. It is the will of God, who is both exalted and holy in Himself, that as the exalted One He shall be exalted, and that as the Holy One He shall be sanctified. But Jerusalem has not done this; and He therefore proves Himself the exalted One by the execution of justice, and sanctifies Himself (נִקְדָּשׁ is to be rendered as a reflective verb, as in Ezek. xxxvi. 23, xxxviii. 23, whereas the reading נִקְדַּשׁ is the expression of a resulting fact), by the manifestation of righteousness, in consequence of which the people of Jerusalem must give Him the glory against their will, as καταχθόνιος (Phil. ii. 10). Jerusalem has been thus swallowed up twice by Hades: once in the Chaldean war, and again in the Roman war. But the invisible background of the outward event was the fact that it had already fallen under the accursed power of hell. Even

in its outward reality, ancient Jerusalem, like the company of Korah (Num. xvi. 30, 33), has become subterranean. Just as Babylon and Nineveh, the ruins of which are dug out of the inexhaustible mine of their wide-stretching foundation and soil, have sunk into the earth, so do men walk about in the present Jerusalem over ancient Jerusalem, which has sunk beneath the ground; and many an enigma of topography will remain an enigma so long as ancient Jerusalem is not scraped out of the earth again.

And considering that the Holy Land is at the present time a great pasture-ground for tribes of Arab shepherds, and that the modern Jerusalem, which has been built out of rubbish, is a Mohammedan city, what ver. 17 prophesies has been literally fulfilled: "*And lambs feed as upon their pasture, and nomad shepherds enjoy the waste places of the bloated ones.*" There is no necessity to supply an accusative object to the verb וְרָעוּ (Knobel and others), namely, the devastated lands mentioned in the second clause (רָעָה, to pasture, as in chap. xxx. 23), nor is כְּדָבְרָם that accusative (Caspari); but the place is determined by the context thus: Where Jerusalem is sunken, there lambs feed in the manner of their own pasture-ground, *i.e.* just as if they were in their old accustomed pasture (דֹּבֶר, as in Micah ii. 12, from דבר, the Targum word for נהג in Exod. iii. 1, is to drive, and כְּדָבְרָם is equivalent to כִּבְדָבְרָם). The lambs meant are those of the גָּרִים mentioned in the second clause, which word, used so substantively as here in distinction from גֵּרִים, indicates strangers putting up anywhere yet settled down, those roaming inconstantly about or leading a nomadic life. Were גָּרִים (cf. chap. xi. 6) referred to the lambs themselves, it would be an idle word. The LXX. translation has ἄρνες, and therefore there must have been read כָּרִים or גְּדָיִים (which is approved by Ewald, Knobel, Reuss, and Bredenkamp). But one of the lines in the prophecy, which is authenticated by the historical fulfilment, is thereby obliterated. חָרְבוֹת מֵחִים are the lands of those who were formerly full of marrow (*i.e.* full-fed, and strutting about in fulness of enjoyment), which lands have now become wastes. With ver. 17 the second woe closes. It is the longest of the woes. This also confirms the fact that luxury was the chief vice of Judah under Uzziah and Jotham, as it was of

Israel under Jeroboam II. (see Amos vi., where the threat of punishment is also the same).

The third woe is pronounced upon the supposed strong-minded men who challenge the judgment of God by presumptuous sins and blasphemous sayings. Ver. 18: "*Woe unto those who draw criminality with cords of unrighteousness, and sin as with the cart-rope.*" As מָשַׁךְ is also used in Deut. xxi. 3 in the sense of drawing at the yoke, that is to say, drawing a plough or cart, and as the cart or waggon, עֲגָלָה (the word commonly used for a transport waggon, as distinguished from מֶרְכָּבָה, the state-carriage or even the war chariot), is here expressly named, the figure might appear to be the same as that which underlies the New Testament *ἑτεροζυγεῖν* (2 Cor. vi. 14), and to mean: Evil-doing is the burden which they draw behind them with cords of שָׁוְא, and sin the waggon to which they are harnessed as with (Ewald, § 221*b*) a thick cart-rope (Hofmann, Drechsler, Nägelsbach, Cheyne, and Knabenbauer). But this is hardly the meaning of the prophet. The מֹשְׁכֵי thus put without אַחֲרֵיהֶם presupposes the signification *attrahere* in itself, as in Ps. x. 9; Job xl. 25 (Knobel and most commentators), and it means this in what is regarded as the closest parallel, Hos. xi. 4: I drew them (*i.e.* to myself) with man's bands, with cords of love. Bredenkamp says rightly: The actual drawing to, is in contrast to the implied farness. שָׁוְא means desolation and emptiness (see Comm. on Ps. xxvi. 4, and especially on Job xv. 31), and in the ethical sense: irreligiousness, unconscientiousness, characterlessness. The cart-rope is an image of the coarse boldness with which they diligently draw to them the sin, which is here considered as making them liable to punishment.[1] They sin forgetful of duty and boldly, because they set themselves in their unbelief above the prophetic threatenings, and look upon the day of Jehovah as an idle terror.

[1] From this Isaianic verse, which is cited in *Sanhedrin* 99*b* as בקבלה (*i.e.* to be found in the prophetic division of the Holy Scripture), springs the proverb הילתו של חטא הוא דומה לחוט של כוביא אבל סופו להיות כעבותות העגלה; see *Sifri* 33*a*, ed. Friedmann. Hesba Stretton has made it the motto of her novel, *Cobwebs and Cables*, 1882, where it is rendered: *Sins are at first like cobwebs, at last like cables.* The English *cob* corresponds to the Talmudic כּוּבְיָא.

Ver. 19: "*Who say, Let him hasten, let him then speed on his work that we may see; and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel now draw near and come so that we may experience it.*" They doubt that the day of Jehovah will ever come (Ezek. xii. 22; Jer. v. 12 f.; cf. 2 Pet. iii. 3 f.); and they go so far in their unbelief as to wish for what they cannot and will not believe, and challenge it to come so as to see it with their own eyes and experience it (Jer. xvii. 15; otherwise than in Amos v. 18 and Mal. ii. 17–iii. 1, where this wishing does not proceed from scorn and defiance, but from impatience and littleness of faith). As the two verbs denoting haste are used both intransitively (Judg. xx. 37, to make haste, to hasten) and transitively, the passage may also be translated: let his work haste, hurry itself on (Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, and Drechsler); but we prefer the transitive sense in accordance with chap. lx. 22. The forms יָחִישָׁה (*Hi.* from חוּשׁ= Beduin حاس, to move oneself quickly, to drive along; *DMZ.* xxii. 159 f.) and תָבוֹאָה are, along with Ps. xxiv. and Job xi. 17, in fact the only examples of a voluntative in the third person, strengthened by the *ah* of summons or challenge; for the imperfects in *ah* in Ezek. xxiii. 20 and Job xx. 21 are double feminine forms (Ges. § 48, 3). The fact that the freethinkers call God קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, while they yet scoff at His self-attestation actually authenticating this name, is explained from chap. xxx. 11: They take this name of God out of the mouth of the prophet, so that their scorn applies to both God and His prophet at the same time.

The fourth woe is expressed in ver. 20: "*Woe to those who call evil good, and good evil; who give out darkness for light, and light for darkness; who give out bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.*" The previous woe had reference to those who made the facts of sacred history the butt of their naturalistic doubt and ridicule, especially so far as they were the subject of prophecy. This fourth woe relates to those who adopted a code of morals that completely overturned the first principles of ethics, and was utterly opposed to the law of God; for evil, darkness, and bitter, with their opposites, represent fundamental moral principles that are essentially related (Matt. vi. 23; Jas. iii. 11). Evil, as antitheistic, is dark in its

nature, and therefore loves darkness, and is exposed to the punitive power of darkness. And although it may be sweet as regards its material enjoyment, it is nevertheless bitter, inasmuch as it produces abhorrence and disgust in the godlike nature of man, and, after a brief self-deception, is turned into the bitter woe of miserable consequences. Darkness and light, bitter and sweet, therefore, are not tautological metaphors for evil and good; but designations of evil and good according to their essential natures, and their necessary and internal effects. The שָׂמִים, with following לְ, parallel to הָאֹמְרִים (with *Mercha*, not *Darga*), has a subjective meaning, as in Job xvii. 12.

The fifth woe, ver. 21: "*Woe unto those who are wise in their own eyes, and who are prudent in their own sight.*" The third woe had reference to the unbelieving naturalists, the opponents of prophecy, נבואה; the fourth woe referred to the moralists, who brought ideas into confusion; and to this woe is attached by a closely-connected thought the woe denounced upon those whom want of humility makes inaccessible for the חכמה, which goes hand in hand with the נבואה,—that wisdom of which the fear of Jehovah is the basis (Ps. cxi. 10; Prov. i. 7; Job xxviii. 28; Eccles. xii. 13). "Be not wise in thine own eyes," is a fundamental rule of this wisdom (Prov. iii. 7). Upon this wisdom rests the prophetic state-policy, whose warnings, as we read in chap. xxviii. 9, 10, they rejected so contemptuously. That in this woe the prophet had specially in view the untheocratic state-expediency, is shown by the sixth woe, which is directed to the administration of right in the State.

The sixth woe, vers. 22, 23: "*Woe unto those who are heroes to drink wine, and bold men to mix strong drink, who acquit evil-doers for a bribe, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from everybody.*" We see from ver. 23 that the drinkers in ver. 22 are unjust judges. The threatening of these is everywhere Isaiah's *ceterum censeo;* and accordingly it is also here the content of the sixth and last woe. They are heroes, yet not in avenging wrong, but in drinking wine; they are famous men, yet not for deciding between guilt and innocence, but for mixing strong drink, that is to say, with spices (so Cheyne, Knabenbauer, and others; cf. *vinum aromatites,*

myrrhinum, *absynthites*, etc. in Pliny).[1] The wine of the Jews of the present day in Jerusalem and Hebron, Guthe tells me, is always spiced, and it thereby acquires great power of heating, and passes violently into the blood, a fact which agrees with the ידליקם in chap. v. 11. But it always remains questionable (cf. on Song of Sol. vii. 3) whether it is not mixing with water that is meant. It was an old custom to temper or dilute wine and other spirituous liquors (שֵׁכָר, *e.g.* date wine and cider) by an addition of water, and to make them more agreeable for drinking (Maimonides' הלכות חמץ ומצה, vii. 9), which is called מָסַךְ (in the Mishna מזג, *Aboda zara* 58*b*), wherefore this verb also comes to mean to pour in, to fill up, chap. xix. 14 (in Mishn. מזג), *e.g. Pesachim* x. 1, and elsewhere, and the classical *κεραννύναι* and *temperare*. Accordingly מֶסֶךְ, מִמְסָךְ, or מֶזֶג signifies any kind of fine tasting wine which has been made palatable by spicing or diluting (Arab. *chamr memzûǵa*). In such preparation of intoxicating drinks they are praiseworthy and strong, and therefore the more accessible to bribery for acquitting the guilty and condemning the just (Deut. xxv. 1; Prov. xvii. 15); beclouding themselves with strong drink, they become blind to right, and get bold for wrong, chap. xxviii. 7 f.; Prov. xxxi. 5. עֵקֶב (Arab. *'ukb*, whereas עָקֵב, a heel = *'akib*) is an adverbial accusative: in compensation for, or for pay; and מִמֶּנּוּ (which, as one is tempted to read מֵהֶם, belongs, according to the Masora, to the misleading ממנו) refers back distributively to צַדִּיקִים; as, for example, in Hos. iv. 8.

In the three denunciations of woes in vers. 18–21, Isaiah confined himself to the mere unexplicated הוי. On the other hand, the first two woes denounced upon the covetous and the revellers were already expanded into a detailed announcement of punishment. But now, when the prophet has reached the bad judges, the announcement of punishment breaks out so vehemently that a return to the form of the mere expression of woe is not to be thought of. To the two therefores, לָכֵן, in vers. 13, 14, a third is now added in ver. 24: "*Therefore as fire's tongue devours stubble, and hay collapses in flame, their root*

[1] The Assyrian Syllabaries enumerate several kinds of such spiced wines, such as *karanu lâni* = Absinth wine (*karanu* = קרינא, *Aboda zara* 30*a*. Cf. Nöldeke in *DMZ*. xxxiii. 331).

will become as mould, and their blossom fly up as dust; for they have despised the Torah of Jehovah of hosts, and scornfully rejected the proclamation of the Holy One of Israel." The persons primarily intended are those described in vers. 22, 23, but with an extension of the range of view to Judah and Jerusalem, the vineyard of which they are the bad fruit. The sinners are compared to a plant which moulders both above and below, and therefore altogether, into dust (cf. chap. xxxvii. 31; Job xviii. 16; Amos ii. 9; Mal. iii. 19; and the expression, "let there not be to him root below and fruit above," in the epitaph on the sarcophagus of the Phenician king אשמנעזר, Eśmun'azar). Their root moulders in the earth, and their blossom (פֶּרַח, the same as in chap. xviii. 5) turns to fine dust which the wind carries away. And this transformation of root and blossom takes place very suddenly as through the force of fire. In the expression כֶּאֱכֹל קַשׁ לְשׁוֹן אֵשׁ חֲשַׁשׁ, which consists of five short words with five sibilants (cf. Jo. ii. 5), one hears the crackling sparks, the lambent flame. When the infinitive construct is connected with both subject and object, the subject generally stands first, as in chap. lxiv. 1, but here it is the object, as in chap. xx. 1 (with reference to the former, compare the similar Arabic form *ḳatlun Zeidun 'Amran*). The infinitive construct passes in the second clause into the finite verb just as in the similarly constructed passage, chap. lxiv. 1. As יִרְפֶּה has the intransitive meaning *collabi*, either לֶהָבָה is *acc. loci*, or חֲשַׁשׁ לֶהָבָה is the construct state, and means flame-hay, *i.e.* hay destined for the flame, or going up in flames.[1] As the reason

[1] In Arabic also, *ḥašîš* signifies hay; but in common usage (at least in Syriac) it is applied not to dried grass, but to meadow-green grass or green barley: hence the expression *yaḥuššî* here gives green fodder. Here, however, in Isaiah, חֲשַׁשׁ is equivalent to *ḥašîš yâbis*, and this is its true original meaning. In the time of the kings, as is evident from Amos vii. 1, the growth of grass was twice mown, specially in order to be used as fodder for cattle; לֶקֶשׁ there is hay in the proper sense, *i.e.* grass for fodder after the first cropping. In our day it is only in March and April that grass and green barley are cut and used as fodder; during the rest of the year the fodder is made up of barley and chopped straw (תֶּבֶן, 1 Kings v. 28). When grass is otherwise cut, it is used for firing. Stubble and wild growths, when dried by the heat of the sun, are set on fire and burnt to ashes (see James Neil in *Jewish Intelligence*, 1886, pp. 66–69).

why the plantation of Judah so suddenly dies out, instead of certain particular sins, there is at once named the sin of all sins, the rejection of the word of God with the heart (מָאַס), and in word and deed (נִאֵץ). The twofold אֵת and וְאֵת give prominence to the object, and the קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, changing with ה׳, makes the sin appear all the greater, the more exalted and holy the God is who reveals Himself in His word, and who has, moreover, revealed Himself to Israel as His own peculiar people. No sooner has the prophet named the guilty sin of Judah, than the proclamation of punishment has also got new fuel, and it flares forth anew in ver. 25: "*Wherefore the anger of Jehovah is kindled against His people, and He stretches His hand over it and smites it; then the mountains tremble, and its carcase becomes like outsweepings in the midst of the streets,—with all this His anger is not stilled, and His hand remains stretched out.*" The last words are repeated in chaps. ix. 11, 16, x. 4, as a refrain. Cheyne thinks with Ewald, that vers. 25–30 had a place originally within chap. ix. 7–x. 4; and Bredenkamp expounds chaps. v. 24, 25, ix. 7–11, 12–16, 17–20, x. 1–4, as five connected strophes. But what could have occasioned their separation from each other? As chap. iii. 14 is a prelude to chap. v. 1–7, this passage from vers. 25–30, with the formula, "with all this His anger is not stilled . . . ," may also be a prelude to chaps. ix. 7–x. 4; and further, in chap. v. 15 there is repeated chap. ii. 9, 17, without chap. v. and chap. ii. sq. therefore being a whole. The judgment upon Judah which stands here before the soul of the prophet, is certainly a future and not a past judgment; for the verbs after עַל־כֵּן are like those after the three previous לָכֵן, *praett. prophetica.* It is therefore impossible to interpret the phrase, "then the hills tremble," as a reference to the earthquake in the time of Uzziah (Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5). This judgment in the near future will consist in Jehovah stretching out His hand over His people, or, as it is elsewhere said, swinging it over them (Luther: swaying or moving it hither and thither), chaps. xi. 15, xix. 16, xxx. 30, 32; and bringing it down upon Judah with a blow, the violence of which gets to be felt by the surroundings of nature as well as by men. What sort of blow this will be, may be inferred from the fact that

the corpses lie unburied upon the streets like the common sweepings. The reading חֻצּוֹת is to be rejected, for either חֻצוֹת, as the Complut., or חוּצוֹת, which has the Masora on Num. xx. 39 in its favour. It at once occurs to compare כַּסּוּחָה with the Arabic *kusâḥa*, sweepings, scourings, from كسح, to sweep, to scour (see on chap. xxxiii. 12); but *kusâḥa* is the common form for such refuse (*e.g.* *ḳulâma*, nail-paring), while כְּסוּחָה must mean swept out, and then as there was no reason for using here the form כַּסּוּח, any more than חֲלוּק, חָרוּץ, שָׁכוּל, כְּסוּחָה had to be written. Hence the כ is to be taken as that of comparison, and סוּחָה is to be derived from סוּחַ (*verrere*), as סְחִי from סָחָה (سحا synonymous with كسح). It will therefore not be a pestilence (which, moreover, as a stroke of God is indicated not by הִכָּה, but by נָגַף), but a carnage of war; and in reference to the still more fearful judgment threatened in vers. 26 sqq., which is to proceed from the world-power, it cannot be doubted that the spirit of prophecy here indicates the bloodshed brought about by the Syro-Ephraimitic war in Judah (see 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6). The mountains may well have then trembled under the marching of troops and the clashing of arms, and the felling down of trees, and the shrieks of woe, and nature in any case had to suffer along with what men had incurred; for nature is related to man according to God's creative order, as the body of man to his soul. Every infliction of the wrath of God which falls upon a people, smites at the same time the land which has deteriorated with it; and in this sense the mountains of Judah then quaked, although only to the hearing of initiated ears. But for all this (בְּ, notwithstanding, in spite of, as in Job i. 22), Jehovah's anger, as the prophet foresees, will not turn away as it does when He is satisfied, and His hand will remain always still stretched out over Judah in order to strike again.

Jehovah does not take the human instruments of His further strokes anywhere from Israel and the neighbouring peoples, but from the peoples in far-off lands. Ver. 26: "*And He lifts up a banner for the distant peoples, and hisses to it from the end of the earth; and behold hurrying hastily it comes hither.*" What the prophet here prophesies already

began to be fulfilled in the time of Ahaz. But the prophecy which starts with this verse bears in it all the possible marks of being the opposite of a *vaticinium post eventum*. It is properly only what was threatened in Deut. xxviii. 49 sqq. (cf. chap. xxxii. 21 sqq.), which is here presented in a more plastic form, but which yet appears to the perception of the prophet as if emerging out of mist. God summons the far-off peoples; מֵרָחוֹק is here and in chap. xlix. 1 virtually an adjective, as Jer. xxiii. 23 it is virtually a substantive. It combines the meanings from afar, as *e.g.* in chaps. xxv. 1, xliii. 6, and far away, as *e.g.* in chaps. xxii. 3, xxiii. 6, cf. chap. xvii. 13, as in Homer, ἕκαθεν, from far, may have the sense of far away (so with the opposite, ἔγγυθεν, near); the measure of length being determined from the *terminus ad quem* backwards, instead of from the *terminus a quo* forwards. In this passage and elsewhere מרחוק has become fixed into an expression of distance, with the whence and whither lost sight of (see on chap. xxxvii. 26). The visible working of God presents itself sensibly to the prophet in two figures. Jehovah plants a banner or standard which, like an optical telegraph, tells the peoples still at a far distance, like the battle-horn, שׁוֹפָר, that they are to band themselves together for war. נֵס is a high staff with a fluttering banner (chap. xxxiii. 23), set up upon a bare mountain-top (chap. xiii. 2); נָשָׂא, in this favourite figure of Isaiah, alternates with הֵרִים. The peoples through whom this was first fulfilled, were those of the Assyrian empire. These peoples are regarded as far off, dwelling at the end of the earth (chap. xxxix. 3), not merely inasmuch as the Euphrates formed the boundary to the north-east between what was geographically known and unknown to the Israelites (Ps. lxxii. 8; Zech. ix. 10), but also inasmuch as the prophet has in his mind a complex body of peoples stretching away into further Asia. The second figure is taken from a bee-master, who entices the bees with hissing or whistling to come out of their hives and settle on the ground; as Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 54) says to the bee-master who wants to make the bees settle down: "Raise a tinkling sound, and beat the cymbals of Cybele round the quarter."[1] Thus does Jehovah

[1] This tinkling with scythes and cymbals is now regarded as of no use; see Gedde's *Apiarium Anglicum* (1721), xv. § 13.

entice the banded peoples, like swarms of bees (chap. vii. 18), who now swarm hither, hurrying rapidly. The plural passes into the singular, for those who are approaching appear at first as an indistinguishable agglomerated mass; but it is also possible that the ruling people among the many is fixed upon. The perception and the expression are both misty, and this is quite characteristic. With הִנֵּה the prophet points to those who step into his circle of vision; מְהֵרָה קַל, they are coming on, *i.e.* in the shortest time, with quick feet, and the nearer they come within his view, the more distinctly can he describe them.—Ver. 27: "*There is none wearied, and no one stumbling among them; they give themselves no slumber and no sleep, and to none is the girdle of his hips loosed; and to none is the thong of his shoes rent asunder.*" Notwithstanding the long, far march, there is no one fatigued, עָיֵף, who had been obliged to fall out singly and remain behind (Deut. xxv. 18; Isa. xiv. 31). There is no כּוֹשֵׁל; for they march on, pressing incessantly forwards, as if on a levelled road (Jer. xxxi. 9). From their eagerness for the conflict they do not slumber (נוּם, mimetic of audible breathing), to say nothing of them sleeping (יָשֵׁן): they do not slumber in order to repose, and they do not allow themselves the usual night's rest. The girdle of his armour-shirt or coat-of-mail in which the sword is inserted (Neh. iv. 12), is lacking in none; not even the shoe-thong of any one, with which the sandals are fastened and knotted, is rent asunder (נִתַּק, *disrumpitur*). The description of their wanting rest forms a *climax descendens*, while the representation of the tightness and lastingness of their armour is a *climax ascendens;* the two statements follow each other after the manner of a *chiasmus*.

The prophet now describes their weapons and war-chariots. Ver. 28: "*He whose arrows are sharpened, and all his bows strung; the hoofs of his horses are accounted like to flint, and his wheels to the whirlwind.*" As perceived by the prophet, they are moving always nearer. For they have brought with them pointed arrows in their quivers (chap. xxii. 6). But all their bows are already trodden (which implies that, as they were in length as much as the height of a man, this was done by means of setting the left foot upon the inner bend); and the fact shows that they find themselves near their goal. The

right reading is קַשְׁתֹּתָיו, with *Dag. dirimens* (Gesen. § 20. 2*b*), as, according to Abulwalid, Kimchi, and other witnesses, it is also in Ps. xxxvii. 15. As the horses in ancient times were not shod, firm hoofs, ὁπλαὶ καρτεραί, were, according to Xenophon's *Hippikos*, a prime quality of a good horse. The horses of the enemy now drawing near to Judah have hoofs which must be found like flint (צַר, ἀπ. λεγ.=Arab. *ẓirr*, Syr. *ṭarânâ*), hard, sharp-cornered or sharp-pointed stone. Homer calls such horses χαλκόποδες, brass-footed. And the two wheels of each of the war-chariots, in front of which the horses are harnessed, turn with such rushing rapidity, and throw everything down before them with such violence, not merely as if the whirlwind drove, but as if they were the whirlwind itself (chap. lxvi. 15 ; Jer. iv. 13). Nahum compares them to flashes of lightning, chap. ii. 5.—Thus far the description of the prophet moves on as if in double quick marches, through clauses consisting of from two to four words. Now the description becomes heavy and stealthy, and then springs, in a few sentences, like a carnivorous beast upon its prey. Ver. 29 : "*A roar he raises like the lioness ; he roars like the lions and growls low,—seizes the prey, carries it off, and no one rescues.*" The imperfects (*Keri*, יִשְׁאַג), with the preceding שְׁאָגָה לוֹ, which is equivalent to a future (according to which also *Chethib*, וְשָׁאַג, is, therefore, admissible as *perf. consec.*), hold fast every separate factor of the description for consideration. The lion roars when he longs eagerly for prey, and such now is the battle-cry of the bloodthirsty enemy, which the prophet compares to the roar of the lioness (לָבִיא, Copt. *laboi*, with the feminine form, לְבִיָּה[1]), and with the roar of young lions full of strength (כְּפִירִים). In place of the roaring there succeeds a growling (נַהַם, *fremitus*, Prov. xix. 12), when the lion makes himself ready, and prepares to fall upon his prey.[2] And so the prophet hears, in the army thus ready for battle, a low, evil-foreboding hum. But he immediately also perceives how the enemy seizes his booty and drags it irrecoverably away (יַפְלִיט, properly, how he makes it slip away, *i.e.* brings it into

[1] In Arabic, *en-nehem* is used to signify greediness (see Ali's *Proverbs*, No. 16).

[2] The Indo-Germanic names of the lion appear to be connected with לָבִיא, perhaps also לַיִשׁ ; see Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.* No. 543.

a place of safety; cf. Micah vi. 14). This prey or booty is Judah. And it adds to the weird, gloomy character of the prophecy that the prophet does not name Judah. As if he was not able to let it pass his lips, this object still remains unexpressed in ver. 30: "*And there is a deep moaning over it in that day, like the moaning of the sea; and he looks to the earth, and behold darkness—tribulation and light—it becomes night in the clouds of heaven over there.*" The roar of the lion and the surging of the sea are so like each other in the impression they make, that *Sierra Leone* (Sierra = Arab. سَرَاة, mountain chain) took its name from the fact that those who first landed there took the noise of the waves breaking on the steep shores for the roaring of lions. The subject of וְיִנְהֹם is the mass of the enemy; and in the expressions עָלָיו and נִבַּט (with the Pi. used only here instead of the usual Hi. הִבִּיט) the prophet has the people of Judah in view as the enemy falls upon them with a roar like the sea, and thus rushes as in sea-billows over them. And when the people of Judah looked to the earth, and therefore to the land in which they dwelt, darkness presents itself to them,—a darkness in which is swallowed up every friendly and smiling aspect formerly exhibited by it. And what further? צַר וָאוֹר have been explained as moon (=סַהַר) and sun (Jewish expositors), and as stone and gleam = hail and lightning (Drechsler); but these and similar explanations depart too far from the ordinary usage. And the separation of the words צַר and אוֹר, proposed by Hitzig, Gesenius (*Thesaurus*), Ewald, Knobel, Umbreit, Schegg, Meier, Luzzatto, Nägelsbach (who refers to Job xviii. 16), and Bredenkamp, so that the one word closes a sentence ("darkness of tribulation") and the other opens one (Cheyne: "*yea, the light is dusk through the clouds thereof*"), is against the impression of the connection made by the two monosyllables, and which is supported by the punctuation. However, we thus obtain a connected thought, as in the Vulg.: *et ecce tenebrae tribulationis et lux obtenebrata est in caligine ejus* (Jer.). But if צַר וָאוֹר are left together, a still more expressive meaning results. צַר וָאוֹר are tribulation and lighting up, the one following the other and passing over into the other, like morning and night, chap. xxi. 12. This

as the preacher of the judgment of hardening;" and if chap. vi. stands in its true historical place, it would contain the result or sequel of the preceding prophetic preaching. But true as it is that the whole of the central portion of Israel's history, which lies midway between the commencement and the close, is divided into halves by the contents of chap. vi., and that the significant importance of Isaiah as a prophet consists especially in the fact that he stood upon the boundary between these two historic halves, yet there are serious objections which present themselves to such a view of chap. vi. It is possible, indeed, that this distinctive importance may have been given to Isaiah's calling and appointment at his very first call. And what Umbreit says—namely, that chap. vi. must make the impression upon every unprejudiced mind of its being the prophet's inaugural vision—cannot really be denied. But the position in which chap. vi. stands in the book itself exercises an influence contrary to this impression, unless that position can be accounted for in some other way. The impression, however, still remains (just as at chap. i. 7–9), and recurs again and again. We will therefore proceed to chap. vi. without labouring to efface it. It is possible that we may discover some other satisfactory explanation of the enigmatical position of chap. vi. in relation to what has preceded it.

The Prophet's Account of his Divine Mission, Chap. VI.

The time of the occurrence narrated in the following words: *In the death-year of the king Uzziah*, is important as regards the prophet himself. The statement thus made in the naked form in which it is here prefixed, makes a much sharper impression than if it commenced with וַיְהִי (cf. Ex. xvi. 6; Prov. xxiv. 27). It was the year of the death of Uzziah (as he is also called in 2 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. chap. xxvi., whereas he is called Azaria in 2 Kings xiv. 21, 1 Chron. xii. 12, and in cuneiform inscriptions). It was therefore the year in which Uzziah was still reigning, although his death was at hand; not the first year of Jotham's reign, but the last of Uzziah's; for it is more than highly probable that in the calculation of the regnant years of the kings, the year of the accession of one king was reckoned to his prede-

from afar is couched in such nameless and general terms, and is so vague and misty, that we cannot but say that everything that was to happen to the people of God on the part of the world-power during the five great and extended periods of judgment that were now so soon to commence (viz. the Assyrian, the Chaldean, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman), is here unfolding itself out of the mist of futurity, and presenting itself to the prophetic eye of the seer. Already in the time of Ahaz the character of the prophecy changes in this respect. It is then that the eventful relation of Israel to the imperial power assumes its first concrete shape in the form of a relation to Assur (Assyria). And from that time forth the imperial power in the mouth of the prophet is no longer an unknown quantity; for although the notion of the world-power was not yet embodied in Assur, yet it is called Assur, and Assur represents it. It also necessarily follows from this, that chaps. ii.–iv., v. belong to the time anterior to Ahaz, *i.e.* to that of Uzziah and Jotham. But several puzzling questions suggest themselves here. If chaps. ii.–iv., v. were uttered under Uzziah and Jotham, how could Isaiah begin with a promise (chap. ii. 1–4) which is repeated word for word in Micah iv. 1 sqq., where it is the direct antithesis of the threat in chap. iii. 12, which was uttered by Micah, according to Jer. xxvi. 18, in the time of Hezekiah? Again, if we consider the advance made in this threatening prophecy from the general expressions with which it commences in chap. i. to the close of chap. v., in what relation does this discourse in chap. i. stand to chaps. ii.–iv., v., seeing that vers. 7–9 are not ideal, but have a contemporary historical reference, and therefore at least presuppose the Syro-Ephraimitish war? And lastly, if chap. vi. does really relate, as it apparently does, to the calling of Isaiah to the prophetic office, how are we to explain the singular fact that three prophetic discourses precede the history of his call, which ought properly to stand at the opening of the book? Drechsler and Caspari have attempted to explain this by maintaining that chap. vi. contains an account of the call of the prophet, who was already installed in his office, to a particular mission. The proper heading to be adopted for chap. vi. would therefore be, "The consecration of the prophet

man, and his limitation by the present life. This is the mode of revelation characteristic of ecstatic vision (ἐν ἐκστάσει or ἐν πνεύματι). Isaiah, then, is here transported to heaven; for although elsewhere prophetic ecstasies have the earthly temple as the place and object of the seeing (Amos ix. 1; Ezek. viii. 3, x. 4, 5; Acts xxii. 17); yet here the high exalted throne (to which and to Him sitting on it, chap. lvii. 15, רָם וְנִשָּׂא is to be referred) is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly throne of the mercy-seat; and therefore הֵיכָל (properly, spacious hall, a name of the temple as the palace of God the King), as in Ps. xi. 4, xviii. 7, xxix. 9, and frequently elsewhere, is not the Jerusalem temple (Reuss and others), but the heavenly temple. There he sees the universal ruler, or, as we prefer to translate this name, formed from דון=אָדֹן,[1] the All-Lord sitting (יֹשֵׁב is an accusative predicate, for the Hebrew expression is like the Latin form *vidi te ambulantem*), and, moreover, in human form (Ezek. i. 26), as is shown by the trailing robe, of which the floating ends or skirts fill the hall (שׁוּלִים, as in Ex. xxviii. 33, from שׁוּל=سال, *med. O*, and ذال, *med. Y*, to hang down loose, see on chap. v. 14). The LXX., Targum, Jerome have obliterated the figure of the trailing robe as too anthropomorphic. But John in his Gospel is bold enough to say that it was Jesus whose glory Isaiah beheld (John xii. 41); for the incarnation of the Logos is the truth of all the Biblical anthropomorphisms. The heavenly temple is the super-terrestrial place which Jehovah, by giving Himself to be beheld there by angels and saints, makes into a heaven and a temple. In giving His glory to be beheld, He must at the same time veil it, because the creature cannot bear it. But what veils it is not less splendid than what of it is made manifest. It is this which is symbolized to Isaiah in the long trailing robe. He sees the Lord, and what he further sees is the all-filling splendid robe of the indescribable One. As far as the look of the seer reaches, the ground is covered everywhere with this splendid robe. There is therefore no place to stand there. In accordance with this, the vision of the seraphim is determined in

[1] Comp. *Der Waltende* as applied to God by the Old German and Anglo-Saxon poets.

ver. 2: "*Seraphim stood over Him, each one of which had six wings; with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew.*" מִמַּעַל לוֹ is not to be explained as near to him; for although the mode of expression that one in standing finds himself עַל, over one sitting, Ex. xviii. 13, or even מֵעַל, above him, Jer. xxxvi. 21 (2 Chron. xxvi. 19, מֵעַל לְמִזְבַּח הקטרת, above the altar of incense), is also used of spirits, Job i. 6; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Zech. vi. 5; and of men, Zech. iv. 14, in relation to God upon His throne, where an actual towering above is not to be thought of; yet ממעל לו, that strongest expression for *supra*, cannot be otherwise than literally meant; and hence the Targum and Rashi explain it "above, for His service." The sequence of the accents can be taken as in favour of this view (Luzzatto); it is the same as in Gen. i. 5*a*. How Isaiah thinks of this standing above Him who is on the throne, is to be inferred from the use made of the wings of the seraphim. The imperfects do not state what they are accustomed to do (Böttcher and others), but what the seer saw them do; he saw them fly with two of their six wings (כְּנָפַיִם, dual, instead of the plural, as also elsewhere in the case of words used for what is presented in pairs, *DMZ.* xxxii. 33). They therefore stood flying, that is, they hovered (cf. עמד, Num. xiv. 14), as is said of the earth and the stars: they stand although in free space, Job xxvi. 7; and as Apuleius says of the eagle when fixing his prey: *volatu paene eodem loco pendula circumtuetur.* It is true that the seraphim (how many not determined[1]) are not to be regarded as towering over the head of Him who is sitting on the throne, although לו applies to Him, and not to the throne (Jer. *super illud,* scil. *solium*); but they hovered over His robe that filled the hall, being supported by the two outspread wings, while with two other wings they covered their faces in awe before the divine glory (Targ. *ne videant*), and with two wings they covered their feet in the feeling of the deep distance of the creature from the Holiest of all (Targ. *ne videantur*), as the cherubim in Ezek. i. 11 do their bodies. This is the only

[1] Nestle draws my attention to the fact that Origen only accepts two seraphim, and refers the suffix of פניו and רגליו to God. The LXX. favour this view, for they have merely τὸ πρόσωπον and τοὺς πόδας (without αὐτῶν, as in the imperfect text of the Stier-Theil Polyglott).

passage in the Holy Scripture where the seraphim are mentioned. The representation of the Church, which took its rise from Dionysius Areopagita, represents them as at the head of the nine choirs of angels; the first rank or order is formed by the seraphim, cherubim, and *throni*, for which view it may be adduced that the cherubim in Ezekiel bear up the chariot of the divine throne, whereas here the seraphim hover round the seat of the divine throne. In any case the seraphim and cherubim are heavenly beings, different in kind; the attempts to prove their identity have only an apparent support in Rev. iv. 8. Further, שְׂרָפִים certainly does not mean merely spirits as such, but if not the most exalted of all, yet such as have a separate place before the others; for the Scriptures really teach a gradation in their rank, *hierarchia coelestis*. As the cherubim of Ezekiel are three-fourths in animal form, and the writer of the Apocalypse gives animal forms to three of the four *ζῶα*, which are six-winged, like the seraphim here (Rev. iv. 7, 8), the seraphim thus appear, apart from what was human shaped in them, necessarily to be represented as winged dragons; for the serpent lifted up by Moses is called שָׂרָף in Num. xxi. 8, and the flying dragon in xiv. 29, שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף, from שׂרף (to burn, and particularly to cause burning wounds, whereas *serpens* is related to *ἕρπειν*, *repere* [1]). In any case the name seraphim includes the idea of burning, and in any view the sensible externality in which they appear to the seer is an emblematic embodiment of their supposed nature. While the seraphim hover above on both sides of the throne, and thus form two semicircular choirs hovering over against each other, they worship Him that sits on the throne as in a responsive hymn. Ver. 3: "*And one cried aloud to the other, and spake: Holy, holy, holy is Jehovah of hosts, filling the whole earth is His glory.*" The meaning is not that they raised their voice in concert at the same time (Luzzatto); nor is אֶל used in Ps. xlii. 8 in this sense as = כְּנֶגֶד; but it was an antiphonal song proceeding without interruption. Some of them commenced and others responded, whether they repeated the whole Trisagion or continued the

[1] Cheyne, like Riehm, sees in the cherub of the original extra-Israelite representation, the personified thunder-cloud, and in the seraph the personified serpent-like lightning.

קדוש קדוש קדוש with מלא כל־הארץ כבודו. Isaiah hears this antiphonal or hypophonal song of the seraphim, not merely to learn that endless worship of God is their blessed occupation, but it is with this doxology as with the doxologies of the Apocalypse: like the whole scene, its significance lies in its reference to the history of salvation. God is in Himself the Holy One קָדוֹשׁ, *i.e.* He that is separated; that is, from the world of the finite and also of sin, and who is exalted above it. His glory כָּבוֹד, as Oetinger and Bengel have formulated it, is His disclosed holiness, as His holiness is His inner glory. That God's holiness should become universally manifest, or what is the same thing, that His glory should become the fulness of the whole earth, is what was already brought into view in Num. xiv. 21 as the end of the work of God (cf. chap. xi. 9; Hab. ii. 14). This end of the work of God stands eternally present before God; and the seraphim also have it before them in its final completion as the theme of their song of praise. But Isaiah is a man in the midst of the history which is striving to this end; and the exclamation of the seraphim, as now thus precisely expressed, gives him the means of knowing to what it will eventually come on earth; and the heavenly forms which now present themselves visibly to him enable him to conceive the nature of the divine glory with which the earth is to become full. The whole Book of Isaiah bears traces of the impression of this ecstasy. The favourite name of God in the mouth of the prophet קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, is the echo of this seraphic *Sanctus;* and the fact that this name of God is already expressed in the discourses in chap. i. 2–iv. 5, and thus used by way of preference, is a further confirmation of the view that Isaiah is here narrating his first calling. All the prophecies of Isaiah bear this name of God on them as their stamp; it occurs thirteen times (and including chaps. v. 16 and x. 17, fifteen times) in chaps. i.–xxxix.; twelve times (and including chaps. xliii. 15, xlix. 7, cf. also lvii. 15, fourteen times) in chaps. xl.–lxvi.; and therefore twenty-nine times in all in the whole Book of Isaiah. On this Luzzatto remarks: "The prophet, as if foreseeing that the second part of his book would be denied to be his, has impressed the name of God, קדוש ישראל, as his seal on both parts, חתם חותמו בכיל." The word elsewhere occurs, apart

from Hab. i. 12, only three times in the Psalms (Ps. lxxi. 22, lxxviii. 41, lxxxix. 19), and twice in Jeremiah in two passages (chaps. l. 29, li. 5), which the hypothesis of interpolation regards as introductions of their Isaiah II. It belongs to Isaiah's peculiar prophetic signature, סגנן. Here we find ourselves at the very source of this phenomenon. Does the thrice holy indeed refer to God the Triune?[1] Knobel contents himself with remarking that the expression serves for strengthening. No doubt men are accustomed to say thrice what they wish to say exhaustively and satisfyingly; for the three is the number of disclosed unity. But why is this so? The Pythagoreans said that number is the principle of all things; but the Scripture, according to which God creates the world in twice three days by ten words of power, and completes it in seven days, teaches that God is the principle of all numbers. That the three is the number of unfolded and self-enclosed unity has its ultimate ground in this, that it is the number of the threefold being of God; and that being admitted, the Trisagion of the seraphim (as well as that of the cherubim in Rev. iv. 8) therefore applies in the consciousness of those spirits to God the Triune, and it is called in the language of the Church, not without right, *Hymnus Trinitatis.*

Isaiah, hearing this, stands enraptured at the farthest distance from Him that sat on the throne, namely, under the door of the heavenly palace or temple; and what he there further felt and saw is related by him in ver. 4: "*And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of those who cried; and the house became full of smoke.*" By אַמּוֹת הַסִּפִּים the LXX. Jer. Syr. and others understand the posts of the lintels, the supporting beams of the מַשְׁקוֹף closing the door at the top (Mishn. שְׁקוֹף, Arab. اُسْكُفَّة). This may be taken as correct; for that סִפִּים means not merely the thresholds, but also the horizontal beam which closes the framework of the door above, is proved by Amos ix. 1, where the

[1] Galatinus asserts that he saw a Targum in Lecce (a town in the Neapolitan province of the same name), in which the Trisagion was translated: קדישא אבא קדישא ברא קדישא רוח קודשא, doubtless an interpolation by a Christian hand.

command is given to smite the chapiters of the temple of Bethel that the ספים may tremble, and to smash the upper beams, supported by the pillars, down upon the head of those assembled. Hence Böttcher's view (*Lehrb.* i. 428) recommends itself; he understands ספים to mean the upper and lower threshold together, as distinguished from the upright door-posts. אמות, however, does not mean, as Nägelsbach holds, "the right-angled frames, like the bend of the arm" (for which no parallel can be quoted), but the basis of the upper beam; אַמָּה being related to אֵם as *matrix* to *mater*, and being used of the receiving basis (*e.g.* Talmudic אַמְּתָא דְרֵחְיָא, the frame or box of the hand-mill, *Berachoth* 18*b*, and אַמַּת מְגֵרָה, the woodwork which runs along the back of the saw and holds it stretched, *Kelim* xxi. 3; cf. the German Scraubenmutter, literally, screw-mother or female-screw, which, with its hollowed windings, receives and holds the cylindrical screw).[1] As often as the choir of the seraphim began their song (הַקּוֹרֵא, cf. the collective singular הָאוֹרֵב, the ambush, in Josh. viii. 19; הֶחָלוּץ, the men of war, in Josh. vi. 7 and elsewhere; and הַמְאַסֵּף, the rearguard, in Josh. vi. 9 and elsewhere), the lower and upper crossbeams of the portal which Isaiah stood in shook. The building was seized, as it were, with devout awe. At the same time it was filled with smoke. Reference in this connection has been made to 1 Kings viii. 10; but there God attests His presence by the cloud of smoke behind which He conceals Himself, whereas here such a self-attestation was not required, nor does God dwell here in cloud and mystery; and the smoke is not represented as the effect of the presence of God, but of the songs of praise of the seraphim. The material for producing smoke on the altar of incense is thereby set on fire. From this point some light begins to fall upon the name שְׂרָפִים, which, when derived from a verb, שָׂרַף, in the sense of the Arabic *śarafa* (*śarufa*), to tower forth, to be set high, or highly honoured (Gesenius, Hengstenberg, Hofmann, Kurtz, Cheyne, Schultz, Bredenkamp), gives a sense which expresses

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 107–110, carries back the cognate terms אֵם, אַמָּה, אֻמָּה, to the fundamental notion of width (roominess), according to which אַמָּה in this passage would mean the holder which receives into it the beam or post.

little. On the other hand, to follow Knobel, who reads שָׁרְתִים, servants of God (Targ. שַׁמָּשִׁין), would be a venturesome contribution of a new word to the lexicon. The verb שׂרף means *urere* and *comburere;* and if the name is explained therefrom, then the שׂרפים are fire-spirits of a burning nature, and efficient in setting on fire or burning away. And in any case there exists a connection between the name of these heavenly beings and the name of the serpents, שׂרפים, in Num. xxi. 6, especially as Isaiah himself uses שׂרף in chap. xiv. 29 as the name of a serpent. Why should not the seraphim be heavenly antitypes of that which the serpent was, which, apart from sin and the curse, belonged to the good creation of God, and even appears in Num. xxi. 6–9 as ἀγαθοδαίμων (cf. John iii. 14)? Like winged dragons, the seraphim hover round the throne of God as a crowning lustre. But it is only their being, which is invisible in itself to sensuous eyes, that thus makes itself visible to the seer.

At first, overwhelmed and intoxicated by the majestic spectacle, the seer now becomes conscious of himself. Ver. 5: "*Then I said, Woe to me, for I am lost; for a man of unclean lips am I, and I am dwelling among a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, Jehovah of Hosts.*" It is a fundamental view of the Old Testament that man cannot see God without dying (Ex. xix. 21, xx. 19, xxxiii. 20; Deut. xviii. 16; Judg. xiii. 22). He must die,—not, as Ritschl and Schultz, in their theory of sacrifice, suppose, as a creature standing at a deep distance from God, but as an impure one and a sinner,—because the divine holiness is for the sinner a consuming fire, chap. xxxiii. 14. But besides, it is true that the infinite distance between the Creator and the creature exercises of itself a prostrating effect, which even the seraphim cannot sustain without veiling their faces, but not a death-producing effect. Here, in Isaiah, the two facts meet: he is a man, and, moreover, a sinful man. Therefore, as he has come to see God, he regards himself as undone, annihilated (נִדְמֵיתִי, like ὄλωλα, *perii*, the preterite of the fact viewed as complete for the individual's consciousness); and so much the more since, as regards his own person, he is unclean of lips, and at the same time is a member of a people of unclean lips. The unholiness of his own person, in virtue of the solidarity of the

natural connection, is doubled by the unholiness of the people to which he belongs. This unholiness he calls uncleanness of lips, because he sees himself transported into the midst of choirs of beings who praise the Lord with clean or pure lips; and he calls Jehovah the King, for he has in fact not seen Jehovah face to face, but he has seen the throne, the all-filling talar, and the seraphim hovering around the enthroned One and doing Him homage.—He has therefore seen the heavenly King in manifest majesty, and he designates what was beheld by the impression he received. Here, however, to stand in sight of Jehovah of Hosts, the King exalted above all, to whom everything pays homage: to stand here and, in the consciousness of deep uncleanness, to be compelled to remain dumb—this excites in him the annihilating anguish of self-condemnation. And this finds expression in the confession which is made by the contrite seer.

This confession is followed by forgiveness of sins, which is guaranteed to him through a heavenly sacrament, and is appropriated as his through a seraphic absolution. Vers. 6, 7: "*And there flew to me one of the seraphim, with a glowing coal in his hand; with the tongs he had taken it away from off the altar. And with it he touched my mouth, and said: Behold, this has touched thy lips and away is thine iniquity, and thus thy sin is expiated.*" One of the seraphs hovering about the Lord flies to the altar of incense, the heavenly type of the golden altar of incense of the earthly tabernacle, which was reckoned as belonging to the Holiest of all, and in his hand a רִצְפָּה, which he had taken לָקְחָה=לָקַח, with tongs from the altar. רִצְפָּה is either a red-hot stone (Aq. S. Th. ψῆφος, Jer. *calculus*) from the structure of the altar, or a red-hot coal (LXX. ἄνθραξ). The Masora distinguishes scholastically[1] רִצְפָּה, mosaic pavement (see Norzi on Ezek. xl. 17),[2] and רִצְפָּה,

[1] Comp. Nöldeke, *Syrische Gramm.* p. 18. An analogous example is the distinction betweeen ܐܰܒܐ and ܐܒ݂ܐ, of which the former means a natural father, the latter a spiritual father (see Payne Smith, under ܐܒ).

[2] In the sense of burning coal or burning stone, רִצְפָּה is related to רְצָפִים (עֻגַת), 1 Kings xix. 6, as *n. unitatis.* Also in Arab. رَضْف (not

glowing coal; and the latter must be what is here meant, as the seraph would not have torn a stone out of the structure of the altar; and it is far from being natural to think of the heavenly altar as constructed of stones, according to the directions in Ex. xx. 25 (cf. Josh. viii. 31), which, moreover, refers to the altar of burnt-offering, and not to the altar of incense. With a pair of tongs he has taken it off from the altar, because even the seraph's hand does not immediately touch the structure consecrated to God, and the sacrifice belonging to God; and now he flies with this burning coal to Isaiah, makes it come into contact with his mouth (הִגִּעַ, Hi. in the causative sense as in chap. v. 8; Ex. xii. 22), of whose uncleanness above the other members of the body he had complained (cf. Jer. i. 9, where the prophet's mouth is touched by Jehovah's hand, and is thereby made divinely eloquent), and assures him of the forgiveness of his sins, coincident with the application of this sacramental sign (cf. Zech. iii. 4). The ו connects as simultaneous what is said by נָגַע and סָר; the זֶה in the neuter refers to the burning coal; and תְּכֻפָּר is a mode of sequence separated from its ו, because the notion of the subject has to be made prominent. For it is really impossible that the removal of the guilt of sin is to be thought of as momentary and the expiation as taking place gradually: the very fact that the guilt of sin is done away, shows that the expiation is also completed. כִּפֶּר, with the accusative or עַל of sin, signifies to cover up, extinguish, or wipe out this sin (see for the fundamental meaning, chap. xxviii. 18), so that it has no existence for the punitive justice of God. The sinful uncleanness is burned away from the prophet's mouth. The seraph therefore does here by means of fire from the

رضفة) is the name used for the stone made red-hot, which serves for roasting by: it and the flesh, wrapped up in leaves, being covered over. Two verbal stems of the form רצף are to be distinguished. The one, from which is derived רִצְפָּה, *pavimentum*, means to lay firmly on or beside one another, Assyr. *raṣâpu* (whence, *e.g.*, *arṣip*, I erected, used of piling building-stones on one another), Arab. رصف, and the cognate word in Mishna, רצף, to join in rows, connect. The other meaning is to glow, Arab. رضف, cognate רשף. This distinction is correctly made by Mühlau-Volck. Stone, *calculus*, ψῆφος, as a part of the flooring, is a meaning erroneously adopted by Aquila and others.

altar, and therefore by means of divine fire, what his name denotes: he burns up, yet not in a destructive way, but in a wholesome way: he burns away as likewise from the elevated שָׂרָף in Num. xxi. 6–9, there proceeds a healing power which makes the deadly poison ineffective. As the smoke which fills the house comes from the altar, and arises in consequence of the adoration of the Lord on the part of the seraphim, the incense-offering upon the altar and this adoration are thus closely connected. A fire-glance of God, and, moreover, as the seraphim are sinless, a pure fire-glance of love, has kindled the sacrifice. Now, if the fact that a seraph by means of this love-fire purges the seer of sin, presents an example of the historical calling of the seraphim in relation to salvation, the seraphim are the bearers and mediators of the fire of divine love, as in Ezekiel the cherubim are the bearers and mediators of the fire of divine wrath. For as in this instance a seraph takes the fire of love from the altar, so in that case (Ezek. x. 6, 7) a cherub brings forth the fire of wrath from the throne-chariot; and the cherubim therefore appear as the bearers and mediators of the wrath which destroys sinners; or at least of the *doxa* which has its fiery side turned towards the world, as the seraphim appear as the bearers and mediators of the love which purges away sin, or of the *doxa* which is turned on its side of light to the world.[1]

After Isaiah is purged of sin, it becomes manifest what is the special purpose of the heavenly scene. Ver. 8: "*Then I heard the voice of the All-Lord saying: Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said: Behold me here; send me!*" According to Knobel, the plural לָנוּ is the plural of majesty, by which God frequently speaks of Himself in the Koran; but the Holy Scripture furnishes no certain example of this. It is rather the plural of inner reflection or of self-consultation (Hitzig), but the Biblical representation of the relation of the heavenly beings to the heavenly God decides for the view that the seraphim are included in the idea, as

[1] Seraphic love is the expression used in the language of the Church to denote the *ne plus ultra* of holy love in the creature. The Syriac fathers regarded the burning coal as the symbol of the incarnate Son of God, who is often designated in poetry as the "live or burning coal" (*kemurtâ denurâ*): *DMZ.* 1860, pp. 679, 681.

they form along with the Lord an assembled council (סוֹד קְדוֹשִׁים, Ps. lxxxix. 8), as in 1 Kings xxii. 19–22; Dan. iv. 14, and elsewhere (see comm. on Gen. i. 26). The mission for which the right man is sought is not only a divine mission, but generally a heavenly mission; for it is not only a matter that concerns God that the earth shall become full of the glory of God, but it is also a thing incumbent on the spirits who serve Him. But Isaiah, whose longing to serve the Lord is no longer suppressed by the feeling of his sinfulness, has no sooner heard the voice of the Lord than he exclaims in holy self-consciousness: הִנְנִי שְׁלָחֵנִי.

There now follows the terms of the mission and the substance of the message. Vers. 9, 10: "*He spake, Go and say to this people: Hear always, and understand not; and but see ever and perceive not. Make the heart of this people greasy, and its ears dull, and its eyes sticky; lest it see with its eyes, and hear with its ears, and its heart understand, and it be converted, and one bring about its healing.*" הָעָם הַזֶּה points back to the people of unclean lips, dwelling among which Isaiah had complained, and which the Lord cannot call עַמִּי (cf. Judg. ii. 20; Hagg. i. 2). He is called to go to this people and to preach to it, and therefore he is called to be the prophet of this people. But how sad does the divine commission sound; it is the terrible opposite of the seraphic mission which was experienced by the prophet in himself. The seraph had purified Isaiah from sin by the burning coal, in order that he now as prophet may not purify his people from sin, but harden them by his word. They are to hear and see, and, moreover, as the added intensive infinitives say, on and on, by having the prophetic preaching *actu directo* always before them, but not to their salvation. The two prohibitives אַל־תָּבִינוּ and אַל־תֵּדָעוּ express what, according to God's judicial will, is to be the result of the prophetic preaching. And the imperatives in ver. 10 commission the prophet not merely to say to the people what God has determined; for the proposition *saepe prophetae facere dicuntur quae fore pronunciant* (for which reference is made to Jer. i. 10, cf. xxxi. 28; Hos. vi. 5; Ezek. xliii. 3) has its truth not in a rhetorical figure, but in the very nature of the divine word. The prophet is the organ of the divine word, and the divine word is the

comprehension of the divine will, and the divine will is an intra-divine act, a divine act that has only not yet become historical. For this reason it may be said that the prophet executes what he proclaims as future: God is the *causa efficiens principalis*; the word is the *causa media*, and the prophet is the *causa ministerialis*. There are three figurative expressions for hardening: הַשְׁמֵן, to make fat, *pinguem, i.e.* to make without feeling for the operations of grace (Ps. cix. 7); הַכְבֵּד, to make heavy, and especially heavy or dull of hearing (chap. lix. 1); הָשַׁע or הָשַׁע (whence *imper.* הָשַׁע, also *in p.* הָשַׁע), to spread thickly, to smear over, to do to any one what happens to diseased eyes when their sticky secretion during the night becomes a closing crust (from שָׁעַע, syn. טוּח or טָחַח, chap. xliv. 18; Arab. كحل, *illinere collyrium* in the sense of *occaecare;* related to שׁוּע, with which טחח is translated in the Targum). The three future clauses with פֶּן point back in the inverse order to the three demands. Spiritual sight, spiritual hearing, spiritual feeling are to be taken from them, their eyes becoming blind, their ears deaf, and their hearts covered over with the grease of insensibility. Ruled by these imperfects, the two preterites שָׁב וְרָפָא לוֹ say what might have been the result, but what will not be the result, if this hardening had not taken place. רָפָא לְ is always elsewhere used transitively (*e.g.* Hos. vii. 1), for to heal any one or to heal a disease, and never subjectively, to become whole; here it gets a passive sense through the so-called impersonal construction, "and one heal it = and it be healed," according to which it is paraphrased in Mark iv. 12, whereas the three other New Testament quotations of it (in Matthew, John, and Acts) reproduce the *καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς* of the LXX. The commission which the prophet receives, sounds as if it were quite incompatible with the fact that God as the Good only wills the good. But it is not only God's will of love that is good, but also His will of wrath, into which His will of love is transformed when He is obstinately rejected. There is a self-hardening of man in evil which makes him absolutely incorrigible, and which is not less a judicial infliction of God than self-produced guilt of man. The two are involved in each other, sin bearing its punishment already essentially in itself, as a punishment which consists in the wrath of God

excited by it. Israel has delivered itself over to this wrath by obstinate sinning. Hence the Lord now closes the door of repentance to His people. But that He nevertheless has repentance preached to the people through the prophet, takes place because the judgment of hardening, while decreed upon the mass of the people, is yet not without the possibility of the saving of individuals.

Isaiah has heard with sighing, but with obedience, what the mission to which he has so joyfully offered himself is to consist in. Ver. 11*a*: "*Then I said, How long, All-Lord?*" He asks how long this service of hardening and this state of hard-heartedness were to continue,—a question which his sympathy with the people to which he himself belongs forces from him (cf. Ex. xxxii. 9–14), and one which is justified by the certainty that God, who is faithful to His promise, cannot cast off Israel as a people for ever. The divine answer follows. Vers. 11–13: "*Until cities are made desolate, without inhabitants, and houses without men, and the ground shall be laid waste, a wilderness, and Jehovah shall remove men far away, and there shall be many forsaken places within the land. And if there is still a tenth therein, this is again given up to extermination; like the terebinth, and like the oak, of which, when they are felled, there only still remains a root-stock—a holy seed is such a root-stock.*" The answer intentionally begins, not with עַד־כִּי, but with עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם (which is only elsewhere found in Gen. xxviii. 15 and Num. xxxii. 7),—an expression which, without dropping the conditional אִם, means that the end of the judgment of hardening is only coming after the condition is realized that the cities, houses, and soil of the land of Israel and its surroundings have been first laid waste (pret. and imperf., thus in the sense of *fut. ex.* as in chap. iv. 4; cf. Num. xxiii. 24); and, moreover, utterly and thoroughly as the three successive accompanying determinations declare (without inhabitants, without men, wilderness). רִחַק is a still wholly vague designation of the exile (cf. Joel iv. 6; Jer. xxvii. 10), for which chap. v. 13 already presents the proper designation in using גָּלָה. Instead of some national designation, the expression here employed is general, אֶת־הָאָדָם, along with the process of depopulation, its consequence, the lack of men, being thus expressed. Like וְרִחַק, וְרַבָּה is also a *perf.*

consec. with accent on the last syllable (Olsh. p. 482); and הָעֲזוּבָה, "the forsaken," embraces the idea of places which were formerly full of life, with the life now extinct and fallen into ruins (chap. xvii. 2, 9). This judgment will be followed by a second, which will also subject the remaining tenth of the people to a sifting; שָׁב וְהָיְתָה, to become again (Ges. § 142, 3); הָיְתָה לְבָעֵר, not as in chap. v. 5, but as in chap. iv. 4, after Num. xxiv. 22, the feminine refers to the tenth. Up to לְבָעֵר the announcement is a threatening one; but from that point up to בָּם a comforting prospect already begins to dawn, which in the last three words lines the horizon of this gloomy announcement like a distant streak of light. It will fare with them as with the terebinth and the oak. These trees, with which a multitude of associations from the early times of Israel were connected (see on Gen. xii. 6), have (like certain others, as, for instance, the beech, the nut tree, and the alder) the property of renewing themselves again from the root-stump even when their trunk has been felled. As the forms יַבֶּשֶׁת (dryness), דַּלֶּקֶת (fever), עִוֶּרֶת (blindness), שַׁחֶפֶת (consumption) designate certain conditions, and especially faulty ones, so שַׁלֶּכֶת is not the throwing down or felling as an act, but the condition of a tree which is thrown down or hewn down: the state of fallenness, not (which would here be too little) that of defoliation (Targum) or of the falling of the fruit from the stalk (Syr.). Perhaps also the name of the gate of the temple, שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת, points to trees which formerly stood there, and had been felled down. אֲשֶׁר . . . בָּם goes together *in quibus*; ב has its primary significance of cleaving to something. Of the felled terebinth or oak, deprived of its trunk and its crown, there is still a מַצֶּבֶת (collateral form of מַצֵּבָה), *i.e.* there is a root-stock, *truncus* (a *cippus*, which the word otherwise signifies, but it is a natural cippus, and capable of shooting), fast fixed in the ground,—an image of the remnant surviving the judgment, which becomes a זֶרַע קֹדֶשׁ from which a new Israel shoots out after the old Israel is exterminated. In a few weighty words the way is thus sketched upon which God will henceforth go with His people. It presents an outline of the history of Israel to the end of time. It is repeated in Zech. xiii. 8, 9, where instead of the tenth we have a third, and they are therefore both to be taken as the symbolical

designation of a fraction, but not as its arithmetical measurement. Israel as a people is imperishable in virtue of divine promise; but the mass of the people is henceforth destined for destruction in virtue of a divine decision, and only a remnant which is converted will finally propagate Israel's prerogative as a people, and inherit the glorious future.

Now, if the impression which we have received from vers. 5–8 is not a false one,—namely, that the subject of chap. vi. is the inaugural vision of the prophet, and not his calling *ad unum specialem actum officii*, as Sebastian Schmidt holds,—this impression will be verified by the fact that the discourses in chaps. i.–v. do not merely give a picture of the state of the people ripening for the fatal event in chap vi., as Strachey holds, but that these discourses already contain the elements here conveyed to the prophet in the way of a revelation, and that the prophet is there already found executing his fateful commission. The impression also actually stands the application of this test. For the very first discourse, after it has shown to the people as such the gracious way of justification and sanctification, takes in the consciousness of its being all in vain, the turn indicated in chaps. xi.–xiii. The theme of the second discourse is that it will only be after the overthrow of the false glory of Israel that the promised true glory will be realized, and that after the extermination of the mass of the people, only a small remnant will live to experience its realization. The parable with which the third discourse begins, rests upon the supposition that the measure of the sin of the people is full, and the threatening of judgment which is introduced by this parable agrees actually, and in part verbally, with the divine answer received by the prophet to his question, עַד־מָתַי. From all sides, therefore, we have the view confirmed, that Isaiah in chap. vi. relates his consecration as a prophet. The discourses in chaps. ii.–iv. 5, which belong to the time of Uzziah and Jotham, do not fall earlier than the death-year of Uzziah, from which date the whole time of Jotham's sixteen years' reign is open for them. Now Micah appeared on the scene under Jotham; but his book, by working up the proclamations he delivered in the time of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, has taken the form of a chronologically indivisible summary, which, as we may learn from Jer. xxvi.

18, he recited or published in the time of Hezekiah; and hence Isaiah may thus quite well have taken the word of promise in chap. ii. 1–4 (certainly borrowed from some source) from Micah's lips, though not from Micah's book.

Further, the position of chap. vi. is not inexplicable. Hävernick has already observed that the prophet in chap. vi. is justifying, on the ground of a divine commission, the manner and style of his previous proclamation. But this only serves to explain the intention from which chap. vi. was not made to stand at the commencement of the collection, and not why it is found exactly in this and no other place. Prophecy and fulfilment are brought together; for, on the one hand, chap. vii. brings manifestly forward the judgment of hardening suspended over the Jewish people in the person of king Ahaz; and, on the other hand, we find ourselves in the middle of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, which forms the transition to the judgments of extermination prophesied in chap. vi. 11–13. It is only the position of chap. i. which still remains obscure. If the verses chap. i. 7–9 are meant to have a historical reference to the times, then chap. i. was composed when the danger of the Syro-Ephraimitish war was averted from Jerusalem, while the land of Judah was still bleeding from the opened wounds which this war, aimed at its annihilation, had inflicted upon it. Accordingly chap. i. is more recent than chaps. ii.–v., and also more recent than the connected chaps. vii.–xii. It is only the comparatively more indefinite and general character of chap. i. which seems to tell against this view. This objection, however, is removed, if we assume that chap. i. is not, indeed, the first spoken discourse of the prophet, but the first of his discourses that was written down, and that it was primarily designed to form the proëmium to the discourses and historical narrations in chaps. ii.–xii., the contents of which are ruled by it.[1] For chaps. ii.–v. and vii.–xii. are two cycles of prophecy; chap. i. is the portal which leads into them, and chap. vi. the band which connects them

[1] A different view is taken by v. Hoffman (*Hermeneutik*, herausgeg. von Volck, p. 133), who regards chap. i. as the preface to chaps. ii.–xxxv. Nägelsbach again holds chaps. i. 2–v. 6 to be the threefold introitus of the whole book in its two divisions, chaps. vii.–xxxix., xl.–lxvi., and chap. i. to be the portion of the collection which was written last.

together. The cycle of prophecy in chaps. ii.–v. may, with Caspari, be called the *Book of hardening,* and chaps. vii.–xii., after the example of Chr. Aug. Crusius, may be called the *Book of Immanuel.* For in all the stages through which the proclamation in chaps. vii.–xii. passes, the future Immanuel is the banner of consolation which the proclamation lifts up amid the judgments which are now breaking in, in consequence of the doom pronounced in chap. vi.

PART II.—CONSOLATION OF IMMANUEL IN THE ASSYRIAN OPPRESSIONS, CHAPS. VII.–XII.

THE DIVINE SIGN OF THE WONDROUS SON OF THE VIRGIN, CHAP. VII.

As the following prophecies cannot be understood without reference to the contemporary historical events into which they entered, the prophet begins historically. Ver. 1: "*It came to pass in the days of Ahaz, the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, the king of Judah, that Rezin, the king of Aram, and Pekah, the son of Remaliah, the king of Israel, went up towards Jerusalem to war against it; and was not able to war upon it.*" We read the same words again, only a little varied, in the history of the reign of Ahaz in 2 Kings xvi. 5. That the author of the Book of Kings takes them from the Book of Isaiah, is betrayed by the fact that he interprets them. Instead of "and he was not able to war upon it," he says particularly: "and they besieged Ahaz, and could not war upon him." The singular יָכֹל in Isaiah is transformed into the simpler plural; and the fact that the two allies could not assault or storm Jerusalem (which must be the meaning of נִלְחַם עַל here) is more exactly determined by saying that they vainly besieged Ahaz (צוּר עַל is the usual expression for *obsidione claudere,* cf. Deut. xx. 19). This *et obsederunt Ahazum* cannot merely mean *obsidere conati sunt,* although we know nothing in detail about this siege, and 2 Kings xvi. 5, from the secondary relation of this passage to Isa. vii. 1, cannot be regarded as a historical source. But happily we have

two accounts regarding the Syro-Ephraimitish war, in 2 Kings xvi. and 2 Chron. xxviii. The Book of Kings relates that the incursion of the two allies into Judah began already at the end of the reign of Jotham (2 Kings xv. 37); and apart from the statement taken from Isa. vii. 1, it mentions that Rezin reconquered for Edom the port of Elath which belonged to the kingdom of Judah (in 2 Kings xvi. 6 read לאדם instead of לארם); and the Book of Chronicles relates that Rezin brought a multitude of Jewish captives to Damascus; and that Pekah conquered Ahaz in a bloody battle, in which his forces were destroyed. However unquestionable the credibility of these events is, yet it is as difficult to bring them into an indubitably certain connection in relations of fact and chronology, as Caspari has attempted to do in a monograph on the Syro-Ephraimitish war, published in 1849. If we could assume that 1*b*, יָכֹל (not יָכְלוּ), is the authentic reading, and that the thwarting of the attempt to take Jerusalem, related here, had its ground, not in the intervention of Assyria, but in the strength of the city,—so that accordingly 1*b* would not be an anticipation of the ultimate thwarting of the whole undertaking, although such summary anticipations are in the manner of the Biblical mode of writing history, and likewise also in the manner of Isaiah,—then the course of events might be so represented that while Rezin marched to Elath, Pekah wished to deal with Jerusalem, but did not attain his purpose; but that Rezin was more successful in his easier undertaking, and that after the conquest of Elath he joined his allies.

It is this which may thus be taken to be referred to in ver. 2: "*And it was told the house of David: Aram has settled down upon Ephraim,—then his heart shook, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest shake before the wind.*" The נוּחַ עַל indicates here the coming down of the one army after the other in order to strengthen it; whereas ver. 19, 2 Sam. xvii. 12 (cf. Judg. vii. 12), indicates a hostile attack, and 2 Kings ii. 15, a spiritual *καταβαίνειν*. אֶפְרַיִם (feminine, like the names of countries, and of the peoples thought along with their countries, see chap. iii. 8), as the name of the chief stock of Israel, is used as the name of the whole kingdom, and here of the whole military power of Israel. Following

the combination indicated above, we find that the allies now prepared themselves for a second united march against Jerusalem. In the meantime, Jerusalem was in the condition indicated in chap. i. 7–9: like an invested city in the midst of a land overrun by a plundering enemy setting everything on fire. Elath had fallen, as Rezin's opportune return from it showed; and it was quite natural, humanly regarded, that in the face of his approaching junction with the united army of the allies, the court and people of Jerusalem should tremble like aspen leaves. יָנַע is a contracted impf. *Qal* ending in *a*, not in short *o*, on account of the guttural, as in יָנַח, Ex. xx. 11, and such like; and נוֹעַ, otherwise the form of the *infin. abs.* chap. xxiv. 20, is here and only here inf. constr. instead of נוּעַ (cf. נוֹחַ, Num. xi. 25; שׁוֹב, Josh. ii. 16; מוֹט, Ps. xxxviii. 17, and frequently).

In this time of terror, Isaiah received the following divine instructions. Ver. 3: "*Then said Jehovah to Isaiah, Come, go out to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-Jashub, thy son, to the end of the aqueduct of the upper pool by the road of the fullers' field.*" The fullers,[1] *i.e.* cleaners and thickeners of woollen stuffs, received as workmen the name כֹּבְסִים from כָּבַס, related to כָּבַשׁ, كبس, *subigere*, which is related to רָחַץ, as πλύνειν, likewise specially used in reference to clothes washing, is related to λούειν. The שְׂדֵה כוֹבֵס, so called as being their washing and bleaching place, lay, as Robinson, Schultz, von Raumer, Thenius, Unruh, Schick, and most expositors hold, upon the western side of the city. Zimmermann, in his maps and plans of the topography of ancient Jerusalem (1876), places the two great pools on the west of the city, the lower pool and north-west therefrom the Mamilla pool, eastward from which in the same line lies the Hezekiah pool, through which an aqueduct led the water of the upper pool to the upper city. On the other hand, Williams, Kraft, Meier, and Hitzig transfer the upper pool with the fullers' field to the north-east of the city, beside the monument of the fuller (Joseph.

[1] In the Aramaic of the Talmud and Targums the fuller is called קַצָּר, as in Arab. we have also *kaṣṣâr* and *mikṣar*, the cylindrical round fuller's club, which, according to Hegesippus (in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23), was the instrument by which James the Just was beaten to death. A כובס appears in the controversial dialogue with a Christian in *Sanhedrin* 38*b*.

Wars, v. 4. 2). But Rabshake encamping by the upper pool (chap. xxxvi. 2) comes from Lachis, and therefore from the south-west. Furrer (in the *Bibel-Lex.* ii. 464) also recognises the Mamilla-pool as the "upper pool in the fullers' field." Explorers have not yet succeeded in discovering a living spring on the west side;[1] both pools were probably even in former times only fed by rain, for catching which the lie of the land is very favourable.[2] If the upper pool was the Mamilla-pool, then the road מְסִלָּה, which ran past this fullers' field, was the road which led from the western gate to Joppa. Here in the west of the city, outside the enclosing wall, king Ahaz now found himself engaged in preparations for the event of a siege of Jerusalem, which received the most part of its water supply from the upper pool; and here, according to Jehovah's direction, Isaiah with his son was to meet him. These two are like a blessing and curse in person, offering themselves to the king for him to make his choice. For the name שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב, *i.e.* remnant is converted (chap. x. 21, 22), is a kind of abbreviation of the divine answer which had been given to the prophet in chap. vi. 11–13, and is, moreover, at once threatening and promising, but in such a way that it has the curse, as it were, before it, and the grace behind it. The prophetic name of the son of Isaiah is intended to urge the king by threat to Jehovah, and the prophetic announcement of Isaiah himself, whose name points to salvation, יֵשַׁע, is designed to entice him by promise to Jehovah.

No means remain untried. Ver. 4: "*And say to him, Take heed, and keep thyself quiet; fear not, and let not thy heart become soft from these two smoking stumps of firebrands,—at the burning anger of Reṣin and Aram, and the son of Remaliah.*" The imper. "take heed" is regularly pointed הִשָּׁמֶר (see especially, Ex. xxiii. 21; Job xxxvi. 21), and thus הִשָּׁמֵר וְהַשְׁקֵט will accordingly be infinitives absolute in the sense of urgent imperatives (Hitzig): take heed, and keep at rest!=

[1] Schick believed he had discovered it in 1865 about ten minutes' walking distance from the Jaffa gate; see Ausland, Nr. 38, 1865.

[2] This is entirely different from the Gihon, a running, although intermittent spring, probably the same as the Mary-spring at the east foot of Ophel, and therefore in the eastern side of the city.

be on your guard, and do not act precipitately, rather keep at rest. The first is a warning against self-willed acting; the latter is an exhortation to undismayed equanimity. Calvin correctly renders it: *ut et exterius contineat sese et intus pacato sit animo.* The explanation given by Jewish expositors of הִשָּׁמֵר, *conside super faeces tuas* (Luzzatto, *vivi riposato*), according to Jer. xlviii. 11 and Zeph. i. 12, gives an unseemly sense to the exhortation. The object of terror before which and at which the king's heart is not to be dismayed, is first introduced with מִן, and then with בְּ, as in Jer. li. 46. The two allies are at once designated as what they are before God, who sees through things in the future. They are two tails, *i.e.* nothing but the fag ends of wood pokers (אוּד, properly turners, namely, fire-turners, an Arabic figure for a warrior, Ges. *Thes.* p. 157*b*),[1] half-burned off and wholly burned out, so that they do not burn any longer, but only still keep smoking. Certainly they are not this yet at the time in question as regards outward reality, where, as בָּחֳרִי does not conceal, their anger has not yet been long kindled, but they are such before God, who makes the prophet cognisant with Himself of His counsel. Along with רְצִין (in cuneiform inscriptions *Rasûna*[2]), in order not to honour it with the name of a king, אֲרָם is specially named, and Pekah is called בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ, to recall the lowness of his descent, and the want of any promise in the case of his house.

The יַעַן כִּי which now follows does not belong to ver. 4, as might appear in consideration of the Sethume after it (fear not on this account that), cf. Ezek. xii. 12, but it gives the motive of the following sentence of judgment as in chap. iii. 16. Vers. 5–7: "*Because that Aram has resolved evil against thee, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah, saying, We will march against Judah, and strike it with terror, and conquer it for ourselves, and make the son of Tabel king in the midst of it: thus saith the All-Lord Jehovah, It shall not come about, and not take place.*" The promise to Ahaz is founded upon the wicked design with which the war has been begun. How far the allies had already advanced on the way to their

[1] Cf. Schwartzlose, *Waffen der alten Araber*, p. 32.

[2] Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed. 1883, p. 260 sqq.

ultimate goal, the overthrow of the Davidic kingdom, it does not say. But we know from 2 Kings xv. 37 that the invasion had already begun before Ahaz had ascended the throne, and we may see from ver. 16 of Isaiah's prophecy that the נְקִיצֶנָּה (from קוּץ, *taedere, pavere*, for which the Syrian translator has נְקִצֶּנָּה from קָצַץ, *abscindere*) had been successfully attained. The הִבְקִיעַ, *i.e.* cleaving, forcing of the passes and fortification (2 Kings xxv. 4; Ezek. xxx. 16; 2 Chron. xxi. 17, xxxii. 1) can therefore not be regarded as pertaining to the future. For history knows nothing whatever of a successful resistance of Judah in this war. Only Jerusalem has not yet fallen, and this, as מֶלֶךְ בְּתוֹכָהּ shows, is what is specially referred to under יְהוּדָה, just as אַשּׁוּר in chap. xxiii. 13 refers to Nineveh. Here they intend to appoint as king a favourite named טָבְאֵל[1] (see Ezra iv. 7, *in p.* intentionally טָבְאַל, a vocalic change which the tone-long *ē* of אֵל does not otherwise admit; cf. *DMZ.* xxxiii. 30, but which here separates the name of God from the name of "this good-for-nothing fellow"); but the intention remains a mere wish, the thing wished does not come about (cf. Prov. xv. 22), and is not realized (cf. Zech. xiv. 8).

The allies will not succeed in altering the course of history as the Lord has ordered it. Vers. 8–9: "*For head of Aram is Damascus, and head of Damascus Resin, and in other sixty and five years Ephraim will be broken to pieces as a people. And head of Ephraim is Samaria, and head of Samaria the son of Remaliah; if ye believe not, verily you will not remain.*" It naturally occurs to regard 8*b* as a later interpolation (Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Maurer, Knobel, Meier, Dietrich, Cheyne, Reuss). The prophecy here becomes divination, and one might hold that an indefinite expression of the near future would have been more effective than this fixing of a considerably distant terminus, and it is, in fact, probable that instead of וּבְעוֹד שִׁשִּׁים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה there stood in the original text the expression of what was only but a short delay (chap. xvi. 14, xx. 3, xxi. 16), and that a later hand glossed the unprecise expression by a reference to the history of the

[1] The name has not yet been traced out in the cuneiform inscriptions; see Schrader, *u.s.* p. 384, and comp. his *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforchung*, p. 396.

fulfilment of the prophecy. If 8*b* be left out, the whole idea is only this, that the two hostile powers will remain in their previous relationships without an annexation of Judah. If 8*b* is retained (under the supposition of such a phrase as "within a short time" instead of the "within sixty-five years"), then 8*a* and 9*a* similarly say that the old condition of things will remain; but 8*b* states that while Syria gains nothing, Ephraim, which had become involved in an unnatural and irreligious league with it, will lose its national independence, and 9*b*, that Judah, although Samaria's attempt to take away its independence fails, yet if it gives up its trust in Jehovah and makes flesh its arm, it will have no continuance, *i.e.* will lose its national independence. Ver. 8*b* is a prophecy announcing the destruction of Ephraim; 9*b* is a warning, threatening Judah with destruction in so far as it rejects the promise from unbelief. The colour of the style of 8*b* is entirely Isaianic (cf. on בְּעוֹד, chap. xxi. 16, xvi. 14; and on מֵעָם, away from being a people = so that it is no more a people, cf. chap. xvii. 1, xxv. 2, and Jer. xlviii. 2, 42). But it cannot be asserted that the sixty-five years are false, and that they are in contradiction with chap. vii. 16. Certainly they do not come out if we refer the prophecy to what happened to Ephraim in consequence of the Syro-Ephraimitish war carried on by Tiglath-Pileser, and to what was done to it by Salmanassar in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, to which events, and more especially to the former, chap. vii. 16 relates. But there is another event through which the existence of Ephraim, not merely as a kingdom, but also as a people, was broken, namely, the carrying away of the last remnant of the Ephraimitish population, and the planting of East Asian colonists upon the soil of Ephraim. While the land of Judah remained desolate after the deportation to Chaldea, and a new generation grew up there, which, being in exile, might again return, the land of Ephraim was occupied by heathen settlers, and the few who remained behind were fused with these into the mixed people of Samaritans, those in exile being lost among the heathen. This is the view which was already held by Malvenda, Calmet, and Usher as to the *terminus ad quem*. Bosanquet reckons the sixty-five years from the year 736 as the con-

jectural date of the meeting of Isaiah with Ahaz, and as extending to 671, founding upon the fact that even after the fall of Samaria, a kingdom of Samaria continues to be always mentioned in the inscription, but it is found for the last time in one that dates from 681 to 673. This calculation by the Assyrian monuments has, however, meanwhile become doubtful by more correct reading of them. Nevertheless the fact remains that the populating by Esarhaddon (2 Kings xvii. 24, Ezra iv. 2, and his successor Asnappar = Asurbanipal, Ezra iv. 10) of the land of Ephraim with colonists from Eastern Asia is the fulfilment of the יֵחַת מֵעָם; and if it was Esarhaddon under whom Manasseh was carried away to Babylon about the middle of his reign (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11), then we get just sixty-five years from the second year of the reign of Ahaz to the final ending of the existence of Ephraim as a people (fourteen years of Ahaz + twenty-nine of Hezekiah + twenty-two of Manasseh = sixty-five). Then was fulfilled what is here unconditionally predicted, יֵחַת מֵעָם (certainly not 3 *impf. Qal*, but *Ni.* נִחַת, Mal. ii. 5), just as the conditionally threatened לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ was fulfilled on Judah by the Babylonian exile. For נֶאֱמַן signifies to have a fast hold, and הֶאֱמִין to prove fast holding. If Judah does not *hold fast* to his God, he will lose his *fast hold* by losing the country in which he dwells, the ground beneath his feet. The same play on words is found in 2 Chron. xx. 20. The suggestion that the original reading was אם לא תאמינו בי, but that בי appeared objectionable and was altered into כִּי, is improbable.[1] Why should it have been objectionable when the words form the conclusion of a solemnly introduced direct discourse of Jehovah? On this כִּי, which has passed from the confirmative into an affirmative meaning, and here opens the consequence of the hypothetical clause, cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 39; Ps. cxxviii. 4; and (as used in the formula כִּי עַתָּה) Gen. xxxi. 42, xliii. 10; Num. xxii. 29, 33; 1 Sam. xiv. 30. Their continuance is conditioned by faith, as this כי surely asserts.[2]

[1] Geiger in *DMZ.* 1861, p. 117, and previously in the Review חהלוץ, 1860, p. 89.

[2] It is worth quoting what Augustine remarks on this subject in his *De doctrina Christiana*, ii. 11: *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis* [so LXX. and Itala]. Alius [Jerome] interpretatus est: *Nisi credideritis, non per-*

Thus Isaiah speaks, and thus Jehovah speaks through him, to the king of Judah. We are not informed as to whether he replied or what he replied. He is silent, for in his heart he hides a secret which consoles him better than the word of the prophet. The invisible assistance of Jehovah and the distant prospect of the fall of Ephraim are not sufficient for him. His mind is already made up. His trust is in Assur (Assyria), with whose help he will be superior to the kingdom of Israel, as that kingdom had been to the kingdom of Judah through the help of Damascene Syria. The pious theocratic policy of the prophet comes too late. He therefore lets the enthusiast talk, and thinks he knows what it is worth at the best. Nevertheless, the grace of God does not give up the unhappy son of David as lost. Vers. 10, 11: "*And Jehovah continued to speak to Ahaz as follows: Ask thee a sign from Jehovah thy God, going deep down to Hades or high up to the height above.*" Jehovah continued,—what a deep and firm consciousness of the identity of the word of Jehovah and the word of the prophet is expressed therein! It occurs also in chap. viii. 5. According to an astonishing *communicatio idiomatum* which runs through the Old Testament books of prophecy, the prophet speaks at one time (as, *e.g.*, in Zech. ii. 13 and 15) as if he were Jehovah, and at another time, as in this passage, Jehovah speaks as if He were the prophet. Ahaz is to ask a sign from Jehovah his God. Jehovah does not scorn to call Himself the God of this son of David who so hardens himself. Perhaps the holy love which pulsates in this אֱלֹהֶיךָ may yet move his heart; or perhaps he may reflect upon the covenant promises and covenant duties

manebitis. Quis horum vera secutus sit, nisi exemplaria linguae praecedentis legantur, incertum est. Sed tamen ex utroque magnum aliquid insinuatur scienter legentibus. Difficile est enim ita diversos inter se interpretes fieri, ut non se aliqua vicinitate contingant. Ergo quoniam intellectus in specie sempiterna est, fides vero in rerum temporalium quibusdam cunabulis quasi lacte alit parvulos, nunc autem per fidem ambulamus, non per speciem, nisi autem per fidem ambulaverimus, ad speciem pervenire non poterimus, quae non transit, sed permanet per intellectum purgatum nobis cohaerentibus veritati: propterea ille ait: *Nisi credideritis non permanebitis.* Ille vero: *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.* Et ex ambiguo linguae praecedentis plerumque interpres fallitur, cui non bene nota sententia est, et eam significationem transfert, quae a sensu scriptoris penitus aliena est.

which this אלהיך recalls to mind. He is to ask for a אות from this his God. אות (from אָוָה, to indicate) is a thing, event, or act which may serve to guarantee the divine certainty of some other thing, event, or act. This happens partly through sensible miracles presently performed (Ex. iv. 8, 9), or through fixed symbols of the future (chap. viii. 18, xx. 3), and partly through prophesied events, which, whether miraculous or natural in themselves, are not to be humanly foreseen; and therefore if they occur, they authenticate either the divine causality of other events retrospectively (Ex. iii. 12), or their divine certainty prospectively. The thing to be here guaranteed is what the prophet has just prophesied with great definiteness: the preservation of Judah with its kingdom, and the fruitlessness of the wicked enterprise of the two allied kingdoms. If this was to be guaranteed to Ahaz in a manner that would break down his unbelief, it can only be done by a sign, אות, which breaks through the regular course of nature. As Hezekiah, when Isaiah announces his recovery and a prolongation of life for fifteen years, requires a אות, and the prophet gives him it (chap. xxxviii.), so does Isaiah here meet Ahaz with the offer of such a sign, and, moreover, by laying before him heaven, earth, and Hades as the sphere of the miracle. הַעְמֵק (הַעֲמֵק) and הַגְבֵּהַּ are either *infin. abs.* or *imper.*, and שְׁאָלָה is apparently *imper.*: שְׁאַל with the *He* of challenge, which is given here instead of שְׁאֲלָה as שְׁאָלָה (as likewise elsewhere with distinctive accents, as in Dan. ix. 19, and even without any pause in xxxii. 11, *q.v.*); but in no case do we need to read, with Hupfeld, שְׁאָלָה with the tone upon the last, in the sense of שְׁאֵלָה; and thus: *in profundum descende* (or *descendendo*) *precare.* But שְׁאָלָה may also be a pausal collateral form for שְׁאֹלָה, which is allowable in itself (cf. יֶחְפָּץ, always in *p.* for יַחְפֹּץ, and other examples, Gen. xliii. 14, xlix. 3, 27),[1] and here it appears to be preferred on account of its consonance with לְמָעְלָה (Ewald, § 93. 3). We give the preference to this latter possibility, with Aq. Sym. Theod. Jer. (*βάθυνον*

[1] The passing of the *o* into *ā* (*å*) likewise produces the infinitive form לְמָשְׁחֳךָ, 1 Sam. xv. 1; לְהָרְגָךָ (according to Norzi), 1 Sam. xxiv. 11; עָמְדְךָ, Obad. ver. 11. On corresponding imperative forms, see on chap. xxxviii. 14.

εἰς ᾅδην), against the Targum; it corresponds to the antithesis (cf. Job xi. 8), and if the words before us were unpointed, this would first suggest itself. The challenge, accordingly, amounts to this: Descend down deep (in thy asking) to Hades, or ascend high up to the height; but more probably (as the closer construction is more pleasing, and הגבה as imper. would be well distinguished from the inf. by the form הַגְבֵּהַ, cf. הַרְקַח, Ezek. xxiv. 10, with a gerundive acceptation of העמק and הגבה, Ewald, § 280*a*): going deep down to Hades, or (אוֹ, from אָוָה, as *vel*, from *velle*) going high up to the height. This offer of the prophet of any kind of miracle in the upper or lower world cannot but perplex the adherents of the modern view of the world. The prophet, says Hitzig, is here playing a dangerous game, and if Ahaz had closed with the offer, Jehovah would certainly have left him in the lurch. So Meier observes: it cannot have at all come into the mind of an Isaiah to wish to do a miracle. And de Lagarde says: If he had done it, he would have been an enthusiast whom the failure of such a אות would have subjected to punishment for lying, or whom an artificial performing of it would have made a deceiver. None of these commentators can recognise the miraculous power of the prophet, because they do not at all believe in miracles; whereas Ahaz knows the miraculous power of the prophet, but is not to be constrained by any miracle to renounce his own plans and believe on Jehovah. Ver. 12: "*But Ahaz answered, I may not ask, and may not tempt Jehovah.*" How pious this sounds, and yet his self-hardening culminates in these pious-sounding words! Hypocritically he hides himself under the mask of Deut. vi. 16, in order not to allow himself to be disturbed in his Assyrian policy, and he is so unthinking as to call the acceptance of what Jehovah Himself offers him a tempting of God. He studiously draws down upon himself the fate indicated in chap. vi.; and not merely upon himself, but upon all Judah. For under the successor of Ahaz, the host of Assyria will stand upon this same fullers' field (chap. xxxvi. 2), and demand the surrender of Jerusalem. In this hour when Isaiah stands before Ahaz, the fate of the Jewish people is decided for more than two thousand years.

The prophet might now be silent, but in accordance with

the command in chap. vi. he must speak, although his word be a savour of death unto death. Ver. 13: "*He spake, Hear, then, O house of David: Is it too little for you to make men weary, that ye also weary my God?*" He spake. Who spake? The speaker, according to ver. 10, is Jehovah, and yet what follows is given as the word of the prophet. Here again the statement proceeds on the assumption that the word of the prophet is the word of God, and that the prophet himself, even when he distinguishes himself and God, is the organ of God. The address is directed to בֵּית דָּוִד, *i.e.* to Ahaz, including all the members of the court. אֲנָשִׁים is the plural of the category, and by it the prophet indicates himself. The prophet would, indeed, well have borne that those of the house of David should yield no results to his zealous human efforts, but they are not satisfied with this (cf. on the expression *minus quam vos = quam ut vobis sufficiat*, Num. xvi. 9; Job xv. 11); they also weary the long-suffering of his God by letting Him exhaust all the means of their correction without effect.[1] They will not believe without seeing; and when signs are about to be given them to see in order that they may believe, they will not even look at them.

Jehovah, then, will give them a sign against their will after His own choice. Vers. 14, 15: "*Therefore the All-Lord, He will give you a sign: Behold, the virgin*[2] *is with child, and bears a son, and calls his name Immanuel. Butter and honey will he eat when he knows to reject the bad and to*

[1] Perhaps הלאו and אלהי form an intended enantiophony; see the collection of examples in the Review החלוץ, Jahrg. 2 (1853), pp. 94–99.

[2] [As will be seen by what follows, "virgin" is not strictly the correct rendering of עַלְמָה, according to Dr. Delitzsch's own view; but as he retains *Jungfrau* in the German, it has been thought better in like manner to retain the usual English term rather than introduce "damsel,' "maid," or "maiden." Cheyne renders הָעַלְמָה, "the young woman," "so Hitzig, R. Williams, Nägelsbach, and (in effect) Gesenius;" gives the rendering of Ewald and Delitzsch (*Jungfrau*) as "the maiden;" and quotes the late Professor Weir of Glasgow as retaining "virgin," while observing: "But the Hebrew, strictly speaking, does not correspond to our 'virgin.'" Dr. Kay in his comm. on Isaiah in the *Speaker's Commentary*, *s.l.*, says: "Our English word "maiden" comes as near, probably, as any to the Hebrew word." "Or *maiden*" is added in the margin of the Revised Version. Prof. Drever remarks: "Probably the English word *damsel* would be the fairest rendering" (*Isaiah*, p. 41).—TR.]

choose the good." In its form the prophecy recalls Gen. xvi. 11: "Behold, thou art with child, and wilt bear a son, and call his name Ishmael." Here, however, the words are not addressed to her who was afterwards to bear the child, although Matthew gives this form to the prophecy;[1] for קָרָאת is not 2 *p.* but 3 *p.* = קָרְאָה (ground form *kara'at*, which occurs for קָרָת, "it takes place," Deut. xxxi. 29; cf. Gen. xxx. 11; Lev. xxv. 21; Ps. cxviii. 23).[2] The question as to whether the clause is to be translated: Behold, the virgin is with child, or shall be with child, ought not to have been raised. הנה with the following participle (here participial adjective; cf. 2 Sam. xi. 5) is always presentative, and the thing presented is always either a real thing, as in Gen. xvi. 11 and Judg. xiii. 5; or it is an ideally present thing, as is to be taken here; for except in chap. xlviii. 7, הִנֵּה always indicates something future in Isaiah. This use of הנה in Isaiah is of itself opposed to the view of Gesenius, Knobel, Friedmann (*De Jesaiae vaticiniis Achaso rege editis*, 1875), S. Davidson, and others, who understand הָעַלְמָה to apply to the already pregnant young wife of the prophet, and who, like Raven (see on chap. viii. 3) and Reuss, identify Immanuel and Mahershalal.[3] But it is already very improbable that it is the wife of the prophet who is meant; for if he meant her, one cannot well see why he did not rather say הַנְּבִיאָה. Further, the meaning and use of עלמה are against the reference of the אות to the prophet's own household. For while בְּתוּלָה (from בָּתַל, related to בָּדַל, to separate, *sejungere*) signifies the virgin maiden living retired in her parents' house, and still a long while from marriage (Assyr. has also *batûlu*, a youth), עַלְמָה (from עָלַם, to be strong, full of sap and vigour, arrived at the age of puberty, √על, غل, to swell) is the

[1] Jerome discusses this difference in an exemplary manner in his *Ep. ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi.*

[2] The pointing makes a distinction between קָרָאת (she calls) and קָרָאתְ (as Gen. xvi. 11 should be pointed), thou callest (see Abenezra's *Zachoth*, 7*a*, and Jekuthiël ha-Nakdan on Gen. xvi. 11); and Olshausen (§ 35*b*) is wrong in pronouncing the latter form of writing the word a mistake.

[3] Another view is taken by the expositor to whom Jerome refers: Quidam de nostris Judaizans Esaias duos filios habuisse contendit Jasub, et Emmanuel. Et Emmanuel de prophetissa uxore ejus esse generatum in typum Domini salvatoris, etc.

mature woman who is near marriage.[1] Both names may be applied to a female who is betrothed or even married (Joel i. 8; Prov. xxx. 19; see Hitzig on these passages). It must also be admitted that the idea of immaculate virginity is not necessarily connected with עלמה (as in Gen. xxiv. 43, cf. 16), since in such passages as Song of Sol. vi. 8 it can hardly be distinguished in sense from the Arab. *Surrîya*. It must also be admitted that it might be said of one who has a still youthful fresh wife, that he has a עלמה for his wife; but it is inconceivable that in a religiously earnest and well-weighed style a woman who has been already for a long time married, like the prophet's wife, could be called absolutely העלמה without qualification.[2] On the other hand, the expression warrants the assumption that the prophet by העלמה means one of the עֲלָמוֹת of the royal harem (Luzzatto); and if we consider that the birth of the child in the view of the prophet is to take place in the near future, his look might have been directed to that *Abijah* (*Abî*) *bath-Zechariah* (2 Kings xviii. 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1) who became the mother of king Hezekiah, to whom the virtues of his mother appear to have been transmitted in contrast with the vice of his father. But while the expression might admit this view, reference to Hezekiah and his mother is excluded by the fact that he was born to the young king Ahaz before his accession to the throne, and therefore he cannot be meant either here or

[1] Vercellone, in a lecture (in his *Dissertazioni accademiche*, Roma 1864), has defended at considerable length the assertion of Jerome: *Hebraicum* עלמה *nunquam nisi de virgine scribitur, significat enim puellam virginem absconditam*; but his defence is untenable. The root is not עלם, to conceal, according to which Aq. translates Gen. xxiv. 43, ἀπόκρυφος. Luther, in 1523, expressed himself to better effect thus: "Well, then, to oblige the Jews, we shall not translate the word *Alma* as virgin, but as a maid, although in German maid means a woman who is still young, and wears her crown with honour, so that it is said: she is still a maid and not a wife. Thus, then, the text of Isaiah is most properly translated: Behold, a maid is with child." In fact, the translation ἡ νεᾶνις (Aq. S. Th.) is more exact than ἡ παρθένος (LXX. Syr.). In medieval sermons Christ is called "the son of the maid."

[2] A young and newly-married wife might be called כַּלָּה (as in Homer, νύμφη = *nubilis* and *nupta*; Eng. *bride*); but even in Homer a married woman, if young, is sometimes called κουριδίη ἄλοχος, but not κούρη νεῆνις).

in chap. ix. 5.[1] But, in any case, even if the prophet thought of one of the עלמות of the then royal house, the child thus prophesied of is the Messiah, that wondrous heir of the Davidic throne whose birth is exultingly greeted in chap. ix. It is the Messiah whom the prophet here beholds as about to be born, then in chap. ix. as born, and in chap. xi. as reigning,—three stages of a triad which are not to be wrenched asunder, a threefold constellation of consoling forms, illuminating the three stadia into which the future history of his people divides itself in the view of the prophet. Or is העלמה no determinate person at all, or not any single person? Duhm asserts that wife and son are merely representative ideas; and Reuss holds that by the virgin is meant *la femme comme telle*. Kuenen thinks that some particular woman of the time was meant; and Henry Hammond as early as 1653 expounded this view, maintaining that the prophecy has found in Jesus Christ a fulfilment which goes beyond its immediate sense, that in its primary sense pregnancy, birth, and maturity are only parabolical facts subservient to the chronological measurement of time. But all this is opposed by the address in chap. viii. 8, which demands a definite and highly significant personality. And, further, the view is not to be accepted which holds that the house of David is the עלמה, and that her son is a future new Israel (Hofmann, Ebrard, Köhler, Weir); for while it is true that in contrast to the widowhood of the community of Israel a youthful age of it, עֲלוּמִים, is spoken of in chap. liv. 4 (cf. Jer. ii. 2), yet the community of Israel is never absolutely called הָעַלְמָה or הַבְּתוּלָה, and the text is here thoroughly individual in its reference, and does not point to a

[1] According to 2 Kings xvi. 2, Ahaz on ascending the throne was twenty years old, and according to 2 Kings xviii. 2, Hezekiah on his ascending the throne was twenty-five years old. Now, as, according to 1 Kings xvi. 2, Ahaz reigned sixteen years, he thus died in his thirty-sixth year, and would thus have to be regarded as father of Hezekiah when eleven years old. According to the LXX. and Pesh., in 2 Chron. xxviii. 1 he was twenty-five years old on ascending the throne, and therefore died when forty-one years old, so that Hezekiah, according to this reckoning, would have been born to him in his sixteenth year. This might have been possible. But however Hezekiah's accession to the throne may be regarded (see the tables on pp. 32–33), the result is always reached that Hezekiah was already born when his father succeeded to the government (cf. Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 40).

twofold *persona moralis*. The prophet would have said בַּת־צִיּוֹן; עלמה in this kind of personification is unheard of, and the house of David, as then before the view of the prophet, was not at all deserving of such a designation. There is therefore no other alternative left but to accept the view that the prophet means by העלמה a particular virgin, and one, moreover, belonging to the house of David, as the Messianic character of the prophecy desiderates. She who is meant is the same as is named by Micah v. 2, יוֹלֵדָה. It is the virgin whom God's spirit presents before the prophet, and who, although he cannot name her, yet stands before his soul as selected for something extraordinary (cf. the article in הַנַּעַר in Num. xi. 27 and similar passages). How exalted this mother appears to him, is seen from the fact that it is she who gives the son his name, the name עִמָּנוּאֵל (here to be written as one word).[1] The purport of this name is purely promissory. But if we look at the לָכֵן and the occasion which preceded it, the אוֹת can be no mere promise and no pure promise; we expect (1) that it will be an extraordinary fact which the prophet announces, and (2) a fact with a threatening presentative side. Now a humiliation of the house of David is already included in the fact that the God it will not recognise nevertheless shapes its future as the emphatic הוּא says: He (αὐτός) from His own impulse and out of His own choice. But this shaping of the future must also be as threatening for the unbelieving house of David as it is promising for the believers of Israel. And the threatening of the אוֹת cannot be to be sought exclusively in ver. 15, seeing that both לָכֵן and הִנֵּה transfer the central bearing of the אות to ver. 14; and further, the externally unconnected addition of ver. 15 shows that what is said in ver. 14 is the main thing, and not conversely. In ver. 14, however, a threatening element of the אות can only lie in this, that it is not Ahaz and not a son of Ahaz, or generally of the house of David as then hardening itself, through whom God saves His people, but that a nameless virgin of humble rank, whom God has chosen, and whom He shows to His prophet in the mirror of His counsel, will bring forth the divine deliverer of His

[1] See on this the tractate *Sofrim* iv. *Halacha* 8, and pp. 67, 68 of the edition by Joel Müller, 1878.

people in the midst of the impending tribulations. And by this it is indicated that He who is the pledge of the continued existence of Judah does not come until the present degenerate house of David, which is bringing Judah to the brink of destruction, is removed even to the stump (chap. xi. 1).

But now comes the further question, Wherein consists the extraordinary characteristic of the announced fact? It consists in this, that according to chap. ix. 5, Immanuel Himself is a פֶּלֶא,—He is God in bodily self-presentation. If, however, the Messiah is עִמָּנוּאֵל in the sense that, as the prophet in chap. ix. 5 (cf. chap. x. 21) expressly says, He is Himself אֵל, His birth must also be a wonderful or miraculous one. The prophet, it is true, does not say that the עלמה whom no man has yet known will bear Him without that happening, so that He is born not so much out of the house of David, as into it, a gift of heaven; but this העלמה was and remained in the Old Testament an enigma or mystery, powerfully inciting to the ἐρευνᾶν mentioned in 1 Pet. i. 10–12, and waiting for its solution in a historical fulfilment. Thus the אות is on the one side a mystery staring threateningly at the house of David, and on the other side it is a mystery rich in comfort to the prophet and all believers; and it is couched in such enigmatic terms in order that they who harden themselves may not understand it, and in order that believers may so much the more long to understand it. It is the result of the self-hardening of Ahaz, that the אות withdraws itself from his comprehension, just as the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven, according to Matt. xiii. 10–17, was wrapped in the veil of parable to the benefit of the disciples, but for the punishment of the hardened masses.

In ver. 15 the threatening element of ver. 14 then becomes alone predominating. It would not be so if thickened milk and honey were meant here, as the usual food of the tenderest age of childhood (as maintained by Gesenius, Hengstenberg, and others). But the reason on which it is grounded in the following verses, 16, 17, conveys another view. Thickened milk and honey, the food of the desert, will be the only provisions which the land will furnish in the time contemporaneous with the ripening youth of Immanuel. חֶמְאָה (from חָמָא, خمأ, to be thick, clotted) is butter including the

cream (both included in Arab. سَمْن), as גְּבִינָה means cheese including the curd. The object to ידע is expressed in vers. 15, 16 by *inf. absoluti* (cf. the more usual mode of expression in chap. viii. 4). The ל in לדעתו is that of time (Spurrel on Gen. iii. 8); it is used in a somewhat vaguer manner than עַד, as in לַקָּצִיר, Amos iv. 7; לַבֹּקֶר, Deut. xvi. 4, where all the three parallel passages, Ex. xii. 10, xxiii. 18, Num. ix. 12, have עַד; לְפָרֵשׁ in Lev. xxiv. 12 is a designation of the *terminus ad quem*, as it also interchanges in reference to space in Ps. lix. 14 with עַל and עַד. The incapacity to distinguish between bad and good belongs characteristically to the age of childhood (Deut. i. 39 and elsewhere), and to old age when it relapses into childish ways (2 Sam. xix. 36). The commencement of the capacity to distinguish things is equivalent to entering into the so-called *anni discretionis*, into the riper age of conscious free self-determination. The notion implied in the expression is not purely ethical, and therefore the לְ is not to be taken as the ל of purpose. By the time when Immanuel has advanced to this age, all the blessings of the land will be reduced to this, that a land full of luxuriant corn-fields and vineyards would have turned into a great wooded pasture land, only furnishing milk and honey and nothing more. The fact that אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבַשׁ is used in the Torah as the characteristic designation of Canaan, ought not to disturb this view. The desolation of the land is the reason of the limitation of Immanuel to that most simple and uniform kind of food, a food which is also most meagre and insipid when compared with the fat of wheat and the exhilaration of wine.

This limitation thus finds its reason in vers. 16, 17; there are two successive and causally connected events which bring about that universal desolation. Vers. 16, 17: "*For before the boy shall understand how to reject the evil and choose the good, laid waste will be the land before whose two kings thou art in terror. Jehovah will bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days such as have not come since the day when Ephraim tore himself from Judah—the king of Assur.*" The land of the two kings, Syria and Israel, is first devastated by the Assyrians who are called hither by Ahaz.

Tiglath-Pileser conquered Damascus and a part of the kingdom of Israel, and took away a large portion of the inhabitants of both regions into captivity (2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 9). Judah is then also devastated by the Assyrians as a punishment for having scorned the help of Jehovah and having preferred their human help. Days of misfortune will come upon the royal house and the people of Judah, such as (אֲשֶׁר, *quales*, as in Ex. x. 6) have not come upon them since the days of the calamity of the falling away of the ten tribes (לְמִיּוֹם with prefixed לְ, the vague expression of direction in time, as in Judg. xix. 30; 2 Sam. vii. 6; for which elsewhere is also used לְמִן־הַיּוֹם, with following infin., Ex. ix. 18; 2 Sam. xix. 25). The calling in of Assur laid the foundation for the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah not less than for that of the kingdom of Israel. Ahaz thereby became a tributary vassal of the Assyrian king, and although Hezekiah again became free from Assyria through the miraculous help of Jehovah, nevertheless what Nebuchadnezzar did was only the accomplishment of the frustrated undertaking of Sennacherib. אֵת מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר stands with incisive force at the end of the two verses. The אֵת is frequently placed where to an indefinite object is appended the more particularly defined object (Gen. vi. 19, xxvi. 34). Cheyne thinks that the closing words את מלך אשור weaken the energy of the expression, and that their ultra-distinctness betrays the fact of their being an interpolation. Like Knobel and others, he rejects them as a gloss. But even if במלך אשור in ver. 20*a* be a gloss, here the words appear to me to be like the arrow point of vers. 16, 17. The very king to whom Ahaz has recourse in his terror will bring Judah to the brink of destruction. Besides, the entirely loose unconnected succession of ver. 17 after ver. 16 is very effective. The hope which ver. 16 gives rise to in Ahaz, is suddenly transformed into bitter deception. In the view of such catastrophes, Isaiah prophesies the birth of Immanuel. At the time when he will understand aright what is good and bad, he will eat only thickened milk and honey; and this fact has its reason in the desolation of the whole of the old territory of the Davidic kingdom which will precede his maturer youth, when he would choose other kinds of food if they were to be found. Consequently the birth of Immanuel in the vision of the prophet occurs in

the interval between that present time and the Assyrian oppressions, and his earliest childhood runs parallel with the Assyrian oppressions. In any case, their consequences are still lasting during the time of his riper youth. This cannot be taken away from the prophecy; nor does Bredenkamp (who takes לדעתו as determining a purpose "in order that he may know what Ahaz has not known: to reject the evil and to choose the good") succeed thereby as he intends in separating the birth of Immanuel from being interwoven with the Syro-Ephraimitish war. We shall afterwards see how, notwithstanding this involvement, the truth of the prophecy nevertheless continues to exist.

What now follows in vers. 18–25 is only the development in detail of ver. 17. The promising side of the אות remains in the background. In the presence of Ahaz the promise must be dumb. So much the more eloquent is the threatening of judgment expressed from ver. 18: "*And it comes to pass in that day, Jehovah shall hiss for the fly that is at the end of the Nile-arms of Egypt, and the bee that is in the land of Assur; and they come and settle down all of them in the valleys of the declivities, and in the clefts of the rocks, and in all the thorn thickets, and in all the meadows.*" The prophet already said in chap. v. 26 that Jehovah would hiss for distant peoples, and now he is able to name them by name. Bees and swarms of flies are also used as a Homeric image for swarms of peoples, *Il.* ii. 87: ἠΰτε ἔθνεα εἰσὶ μελισσάων ἁδινάων, and 469: ἠΰτε μυιάων ἁδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά. Here the images are likewise emblematic. The Egyptian people, being unusually numerous, is compared to the swarming fly (זְבוּב, ذُبَاب, from ذَبَّ, to move much and inconstantly hither and thither); and the Assyrian people, being warlike and eager for conquest, is compared to the stinging bee, which is so difficult to turn away (Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12); דְּבֹרָה from דבר, دبر, to be behind one another, to follow one another, drive, swarm. The emblems also correspond to the nature of the two countries; the fly to slimy Egypt, which, from being such, abounds in insects (see chap. xviii. 1),[1] and the bee to the more moun-

[1] Egypt abounds in midges, gnats, gadflies, and especially *muscariae*, including a species of small flies (ناموس, so called from their humming,

tainous and woody Assyria, where bee-culture still constitutes one of the principal branches of trade in the present day. יְאֹר, pl. יְאֹרִים, is a name of the Nile and of its arms; the word is Egyptian (*yaro*, with the art. *phiaro*, plur. *yarôu*), but also Semitic (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebr. Language*, p. 25). The end of the Nile-arms of Egypt, from a Palestinian point of view, was the farthest corner of the land. The army of Egypt marches out of the whole extent of the country, meets with the Assyrian army in the Holy Land, where both settle down (וְנָחוּ, according to the Masoretic evidence, *Milra*, like ונעו, chap. xix. 1; ונסו, Lev. xxvi. 36, and other instances), and cover it in such a way that נַחֲלֵי הַבַּתּוֹת, the valleys of steep overhanging heights (cf. on chap. v. 6), and נְקִיקֵי הַסְּלָעִים, clefts of the rocks, all נַעֲצוּצִים, thorn hedges, and נַהֲלֹלִים, pastures (from נִהֵל, according to the Assyr., related to הֵנִיחַ, הִרְבִּיץ, to make to couch, to bring to rest), are covered over with their swarms. Just such places are named as afford the flies and bees suitable shelter and abundance of nourishment, and this shows the faithfulness to nature with which the figure is depicted. If we look at the historical fulfilment, it also corresponds to the literal terms of the prophecy; for no collision of the Assyrian and Egyptian forces took place in the time of Hezekiah; and it was not till the time of Josiah that a collision took place between the Chaldean and Egyptian powers in the eventful battle fought between Pharaoh-Necho and Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, which was decisive for the fate of Judah. That the spirit of prophecy points to this eventful occurrence, is shown in ver. 20, where there is now no further reference to Egypt, because it succumbed to the Eastern Asian empire.

Ver. 20: "*In that day the All-Lord will shave with a razor that is for hire on the banks of the river, with the king of Assur, the head and the hair of the legs; and also the beard will it take away.*" Knobel takes the hair-growth as figurative of the vegetable produce of the country; but the allegation that the flora, as the hair-covering of the soil, is a Biblical representation, has only limited support in the use of נָזִיר as a name of

DMZ. xii. 701, 702, Anm. 3), and they are a great plague to men in the whole region of the Nile (see Hartmann, *Naturgeschichtlich-medicinische Skizze der Nilländer*, p. 204 f., 1865). The wasp is found as a hieroglyphic sign, in Lower Egypt (see Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher, Mose's* i. 73 f.).

the uncultivated vine left to itself (Lev. xxv. 5).[1] The people of Judah are viewed here, as chap. i. 6, as a stripped and naked man, who has not only the hair of his head and parts (רַגְלַיִם, euphemistically of the place where the two legs separate) shaved off, but, what is most shameful of all, also the hair of his beard, which is the sign of manly vigour, manliness, and manly dignity. For this purpose the All-Ruler uses a razor, which is more exactly designated as *conductitia in litoribus* (see on בְּעֶבְרֵי, 1 Sam. xiv. 4), *Euphratis* (נָהָר here instead of הַנָּהָר), and yet more precisely as the king of Asshur, although this במלך אשור may be an elucidative addition not belonging to the original text.[2] הַשְּׂכִירָה might mean, as the genitive of a neuter, *conductitii*, or of an abstract term, *conductionis*, as it seems to have been so taken by the accentuation; but we take it rather adjectively: with a razor, that is to say, that which is for hire in the regions on both sides of the Euphrates—the king of Asshur. תַּעַר is *masc.* in Num. vi. 5, but may be *fem.* in the same way as תַּנּוּר in Hos. vii. 4, and as תֵּבֵל and תהום, with same nominal prefix *ta*, always is; and that it is thus understood here is shown by תִּסְפֶּה. The verb סָפָה has here its proper meaning, to shave off, *radere* (cf. סָפַג, *abstergere*, whence סְפוֹג, σπόγγος, σφόγγος, a sponge), which also takes on the special sense of scraping together, gathering in. In הַשְּׂכִירָה there is involved the bitterest sarcasm for Ahaz; the cheap knife which he had hired for the deliverance of Judah is hired by the Lord in order to shave Judah wholly and most shamefully.

[1] In the Arabic (Persian and Turkish) we frequently find the hair of the head compared to long leaves (*DMZ.* vii. 373), to the foliage of vines (de Sacy, *Chrestom.* iii. 54), or to the branches of palms (Amrulkais, *Muall.* v. 33). In the classical usage, figurative terms like κόμη, φόβη, *coma* (*caesaries*) are commonly applied to woods and trees. In the Mishna, *Peah* ii. 3, the branches of two trees beating on each other are designated שֵׂעָר כותש.

[2] العبر also signifies the tract along the banks of a river (as the place for عبور, passing over), and κατ' ἐξ. that of the Euphrates, the whole tract of land stretching from the east bank of the Euphrates to the Tigris, and from the west bank to the Arabian desert (*berrijet-el-'arab*), from which, according to the Turkish Kâmûs and *Lex geographicum*, ii. 232–3, is derived *'Ibri* or *'Ibrâni*, the name of the Jewish people, as having come from the land stretching from the bank of the Euphrates to the Tigris.

Thus shaved Judah is a depopulated and desert land, in which men nourish themselves no longer by cultivating corn and wine, or by trade and commerce, but exclusively by the rearing of cattle. Vers. 21, 22: "*And it will come to pass in that day that a man keeps a little cow and a couple of sheep. And it comes to pass, on account of the quantity of the milk produce, he will eat cream, for butter and honey shall every one eat who is left within the land.*" The former prosperity has gone down even to scantiest housekeeping. One man keeps carefully alive (חִיָּה, like הֶחֱיָה elsewhere) a diminutive milch cow (only a heifer, for the strongest and finest of the cattle that are full grown have fallen as spoil to the enemy) and two head of smaller animals. שְׁתֵּי, not שְׁנֵי, because two female sheep or goats in milk are meant, and all the same this is enough; there are but a few men now in the country, and since all the land is pasture, the few beasts give milk in abundance; for, as a rural proverb says, " the cow is milked through the mouth." Bread and wine are unprocurable. Whoever has escaped the Assyrian razor eats thickened milk and honey; this, and nothing but this, without change *ad nauseam*; for the hills, formerly covered with vines and corn-fields, are now overgrown with thorns.

The prophet repeats this three times in vers. 23–25: "*And it will come to pass in that day, every place where a thousand vines stand at a thousand silver pieces, thorns and thistles will it become. With arrows and with bows will men go; for the whole land will become thorns and thistles. And all the hills which are wont to be hoed with the hoe, thou wilt not go to them from fear of thorns and thistles; and it becomes a gathering place of oxen, and a treading place of sheep.*" The אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף, *i.e.* 1000 shekels of silver, recall to mind Song of Sol. viii. 11; but there that is the value of the yearly produce. Here the thousand shekels are the value of a thousand vines, the designation of a peculiarly valuable bit of vineyard. In the present day the value of a vineyard in Lebanon and Syria is still reckoned according to the value of the separate vines, and usually one vine is reckoned as worth one piastre, a little more than twopence each, just as in Germany a Johannesberg vine is valued at a ducat. Every piece of land where such precious vines stand will become a prey to thorny brushwood. People go

there (יָבוֹא שָׁמָּה, retraction of the tone, with following Milel)[1] with arrow and bow, because the whole ground will have become thorns and thistles (see on chap. v. 6*a*), and therefore wild beasts will make their abode among them. And thou,—thus does the prophet address the dweller in the country,—thou comest not to all the hills which have been hitherto most carefully cultivated,[2] thou comest not to them in order to make them again fertile, from fear (יִרְאַת in the accusative = מִיּראת) of thorns and thistles, *i.e.* because the thick undergrowth frightens thee from attempting to reclaim such a fallow. Jerome, Vitringa, Ewald, and others interpret otherwise: *timor veprium non veniet illuc,* but לֹא־תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה has a personal meaning; if יראת were the subject, the expression would have been תְבוֹאֶם. Thus, then, they give the oxen free course there, and let what grows be trodden down by sheep and goats. The description is intentionally tautological and pleonastic, heavy and dragging. It aims at giving the impression of a waste heath, of a dull uniformity. Hence the repetitions of הָיָה and יִהְיֶה. In vers. 23–25, whatever is intended as historically future may be also in every case translated by the future; the impf. יִהְיֶה־שָּׁם, ver. 23*a*, expresses the condition of things at the breaking in of the devastation ("where when this breaks so and so many vines will stand"); only יעדרון in ver. 25*a* has not a future, but a present signification; not *sarrientur*, and still less *sarriebantur*, but *sarriuntur*, as expressing the cultivation going on at present. The indefinite subject of וְהָיָה in ver. 25*b* is all that lies round about.

Thus far does the discourse of Isaiah to king Ahaz go. He does not say expressly when Immanuel will be born, but only what will have happened before he enters upon the riper years of boyhood: namely, first the devastation of Israel and Syria, and then the devastation of Judah itself by the Assyrians. But when he represents Immanuel as eating thickened milk and honey as well as all those who survive the Assyrian oppressions in the Holy Land, he manifestly beholds and thinks of the childhood of Immanuel as coinciding with the time of the Assyrian calamities. In such a

[1] In the Codices the remark is expressly made on יבוא: ב׳ בטעם לעיל יהושע בן נון, *i.e.* twice occurring as Milel, here and in Deut. i. 38.

[2] Compare the reminiscence in the Mishna, *Peah* ii. § 2.

combined perspective view of events which lie far apart, consists what Chr. A. Crusius has designated the complex character of the prophecy.[1] The ground of this complex character of it is the human limitation attaching to the far look of the prophet, which limitation the Spirit of God allows to exist and makes subservient to Himself. If we cleave to the letter of the prophecy, it is possible on account of its complex character to find fault with its truth; but if we look upon the substance of what it contains, it will be found that its truth is not thereby destroyed. For the things which the prophet sees together are also essentially connected although not in time. If Isaiah here, in chaps. vii.–xii., looks upon Assyria absolutely as the universal empire (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 29; Ezra vi. 22), this is so far true, seeing that the four empires from the Babylonian to the Roman are really only the unfolding of the beginning which had its beginning in Assyria. And if, here in chap. vii., he thinks of the son of the virgin as growing up under the Assyrian oppressions, this is also so far true, since Jesus was actually born in a time in which the Holy Land, deprived of its earlier fulness of blessing, found itself under the supremacy of the universal empire, and in a condition which went back to the unbelief of Ahaz as its ultimate cause. Besides He, who in the fulness of time became flesh, does truly lead an ideal life in the Old Testament history. The fact that the house and people of David did not perish in the Assyrian calamities is really, as chap. viii. presupposes, to be ascribed to His presence, which, although not yet in bodily form, was nevertheless active. Thus is solved the contradiction between the prophecy and the history of its fulfilment. We do not need to have recourse to the expedient of Bengel, Schegg, Schmieder, and others, who hold that the אות consists in an event just about to happen, which points typically to the birth of the real Immanuel; nor do we require the expedient of Hofmann, who takes the words of the prophet as an emblematic prophecy of the rise of a new Israel which will come to spiritual understanding in a troublous

[1] Ed. König (*Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.* ii. 388, 389, 1882) thinks this subject can be more correctly formulated thus: "God makes what was announced by prophecy separate itself in reality into different stages."

time, due to the want of understanding in the Israel of that present time. Rather is the view of Vitringa, Haneberg, Reusch, Vilmar, and others to be adopted, namely, that the prophet makes the stages in the life of the Messiah of the far future to be time-measures of the events of the immediate future. This he actually does; but in prophesying, without holding the birth of Immanuel to be an event of the distant future, he combines him who is seen in vision with the approaching tribulations. Far sight and near sight are combined with each other in his prophecy; the prophecy is divine within human limits.

Two Signs of the Immediate Future, Chap. VIII. 1–4.

In the midst of the continued turmoils of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, Isaiah receives God's instruction to perform a peculiar prophetic action. Vers. 1, 2: "*Then Jehovah said to me, Take thee a large tablet, and write thereon in common legible lines: In speed trophies, booty hastens.*[1] *And I will take for me trustworthy witnesses: Uriah the priest and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah.*" The tablet (cf. iii. 23, where the same word signifies a metal mirror), perhaps a smoothed tablet of wood, is to be large, in order to produce the impression of its being monumental; and the writing upon it is to be חֶרֶט אֱנוֹשׁ, the stylus of the people, *i.e.* writing in the usual popular character, consisting of inartistic lines easily read (cf. Rev. xiii. 18, xxi. 17). What is to be written is introduced with לְ of dedication, as in Ezek. xxxvii. 16, or, more generally, of relation, as, *e.g.*, in Jer. xxiii. 9. But as it is not a personal name which the ל introduces, but a thing, לְמַהֵר will have to be taken, as Luzzatto does, for *fut. instans*, according to Gen. xv. 12; Josh. ii. 5; Hab. i. 17 (see remark upon it) = *acceleratura sunt spolia*, spoils are about to be hastened. Most of the commentators confuse the nature of the thing by taking these words at once as the name of a person (Ewald, § 288*c*); they are not yet this at the outset, but only become such afterwards. At first they are an oracular announcement of what is future: trophies, booty, are at hand,—but who is the conquered one? Jehovah and

[1] [Maher-shalal-hash-baz.]

His prophet, although not initiated into the policy of Ahaz, know. But their knowledge is intentionally shrouded in the veil of mystery. For the inscription is not to predict anything to the people. It is only to be a means whereby publicly to announce that the course of events was one that was foreknown and pre-indicated by Jehovah. Accordingly, when what is said by the inscription on the tablet occurs, men will know that it is the fulfilment of this inscription, and therefore an event predetermined by God. On this account Jehovah takes to Himself witnesses. It is not necessary to read either וָאָעִידָה, with Knobel and others (and I got to testify), nor וְהָעִידָה, with LXX. Targ. Syr. Hitzig (and get to testify). The relation is the same as with אָרִיק instead of הָרֵק in Ezek. v. 3. Jehovah says what He will do, and the prophet knows without its being necessary to be told him that it was to be done instrumentally through him. Uriah is doubtless the same person who afterwards set himself to serve the heathen desires of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 10 sqq.). Zechariah ben Jeberechiah (Berechiah), of the same name as the post-exile prophet, was perhaps the Asaphite mentioned in 2 Chron. xxix. 13. The two are reliable witnesses as being persons of high distinction whose testimony is of great authority with the people. Accordingly, when the history of the time itself solves the enigma of that inscription, these two will tell the people how long before it had been written down by the prophet as such.

In the meantime something occurred whereby the place of the dead tablet was taken by a more eloquent living one. Vers. 3, 4: "*And I approached the prophetess; and she conceived, and bear a son. Then said Jehovah to me: Call his name Swiftly—Trophies—Booty hastens; for before the boy will learn to cry my father and my mother, they will carry the property of Damascus and the trophies of Samaria before the king of Assur.*" How entirely different does ver. 3 sound from chap. vii. 14! The נביאה is not the עלמה there; for if the son of the virgin is the Messiah, he is born into the house of David, and not into the house of the prophet. Besides, the prophet has already a son from his young wife, and she was no longer עלמה.[1] To his son Shearjashub, in whose name the

[1] J. J. Raven (Cambridge), in his *Essay on Isaiah* vii.–ix. 7, observes on chap. viii. 3: "Now to accomplish the sign that was given to Ahaz,

law of the history of Israel was formulated to the prophet on the occasion of his call in chap. vi., there is now added another son, to whom the inscription on the tablet (with omission of the לְ) is given as a name, and who therefore symbolizes the approaching chastisement of Syria and of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Before this boy learns to lisp the name of father and mother, they will carry away (יִשָּׂא, not 3 *imperf. Ni.* which is יִנָּשֵׂא, but *Kal* with the latent undetermined subject הַנֹּשֵׂא, Ges. § 137. 3) the treasures of Damascus and the trophies (*i.e.* spoils taken from the flying or slaughtered enemy) of Samaria before the king of Assyria, and he will therefore leave the territory of the two capitals as a conqueror. It is true that Tiglath-Pileser only conquered Damascus and not Samaria; but he wrested from Pekah, the king of Samaria, the land beyond the Jordan and also a part of the land on this side. The trophies which he took home from there to Assyria were not less שְׁלַל שֹׁמְרוֹן than if he, as Shalmanasar-Sargon afterwards did, had conquered Samaria. The birth of Mahershalal took place about three-quarters of a year later than the preparation of the tablet (for there is no need to take וָאֶקְרַב in the sense of a plupf.); and the interval defined from the birth of the boy till the chastisement of the allied kingdoms amounts to about one year. Now, as the Syro-Ephraimitish war did not begin later than in the first year of Ahaz, and as the chastisement by Tiglath-Pileser occurred during the lifetime of the allies, whereas Pekah was murdered soon thereafter (2 Kings xv. 30), there elapsed from the beginning of the war to the chastisement of the allies at most three years, and the setting forth of the tablet cannot consequently be assigned a much later date than the scene with Ahaz. The inscription on the tablet adopted as the name of the child was not a purely consolatory prophecy, since the prophet had shortly before prophesied that the same Assyria would devastate Judah as well as the two allied countries. It was only a practical proof of the omniscient omnipotence of Jehovah shaping the history of the future. The prophet has indeed the melancholy vocation of

the prophet takes to wife the young woman spoken of;" but this and other forced hypothetical explanations—such as that Ahaz may have adopted Mahershalal—convict themselves.

having to make obdurate, to harden. Hence his discoursing and acting are so enigmatical in relation to both the king and the people. Jehovah foreknows the consequences which the calling in of the help of Assyria will have for Syria and Israel. This knowledge He writes down with the certification of witnesses. If this is fulfilled, it is at the same time a termination to the rejoicing of the king and people in their self-obtained deliverance.

But Isaiah does not find himself surrounded merely by the very wide circle of an incorrigible people ripe for judgment. He does not stand alone, but is surrounded by a small band of believing disciples, who need consolation, and are worthy of it. It is to these that the promising other side of the prophecy of Immanuel belongs. Mahershalal cannot comfort or console them; for they know that when Assyria has done with Damascus and Samaria, the troubles of Judah are not over, but are only really about to begin. The prophecy of Immanuel is destined to be the stronghold of the believers in the terrible judgment time of the worldly power which was then commencing; and to turn into the light and unfold the consolation it contained for the believers, is the purpose of the discourses which now follow.

The Esoteric Discourses, Chaps. VIII. 5–XII.

A.—*Immanuel's consolation in the coming darknesses,* chap. viii. 5–ix. 6.

The heading and introduction: "*And Jehovah continued further to speak to me as follows,*" extends to all the following discourses as far as chap. xii. They all tend to consolation. But consolation presupposes need of consolation. Hence the prophet must also begin here with threatening of judgment. Vers. 6, 7: "*Forasmuch as this people despises the waters of Siloa that go softly and hold with delight to Rezin and the son of Remaliah—therefore behold! the All-Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, the mighty and the great ones, the king of Assur and all his host; and it rises up over all his channels, and goes over all his banks.*" The Siloa has the name שִׁלֹחַ, or, according to a well-supported reading, שִׁלֹּחַ

(the resolved open form like צִינֹק, קִיטֹר is interchangeable with the sharpened form like מִלֹּוּא, צִנּוֹר, כִּיּוֹר, and the full writing with the defective as in שִׁחֹר, שִׁיחוֹר), *ab emittendo*, either in an infinitive sense as shooting forth, or in a concretely coloured participial sense (after the form גִּבּוֹר) as *emissus* (*ἀπεσταλμένος*, John ix. 7), bubbling forth; cf. Talm. בית השלחין, land to be artificially irrigated (*oppos.* בית הבעל, fertilized by rain).[1] The "waters of Siloa" streamed from what is now called the Mary-spring, and they were brought from there to the western city by means of a canal sunk in the rocks; and they served besides for watering the gardens lying at the outlet of Tyropœon and the valley of Kedron (see Mühlau, Art. "Siloah" in Riehm's *Dict.*). The canal had a slight slope; the fall, therefore, was moderate; and, further, the spring was intermittent. These still-flowing waters[2] present an image of the invisible ruling of God which does not always appear sensibly to the eye,—that God whom Israel and the royal house with which He had connected His promise might call their own. The beautiful figure was the more appropriate, that the Siloa passage ran through the Ophel from the north-east to the south-west, and the Siloa water therefore to a certain extent streamed from Zion. But Zion and the mount of the temple are one, and hence Jerome has good ground for representing the *fons Siloe* as flowing *ad radices montis Sion*, and again *in radicibus montis Moria*. The reproach of

[1] Since Athias, the written form הַשִּׁלֹחַ (without Dagesh) has come in. But all the editions from Soncin and the Complutensian to the Venetian of 1521 (as well as Nissel, Lombroso, and Hutter) have הַשִּׁלֹּחַ. The Cod. Babyl. also writes it thus with Dagesh (although a later hand has erased it), and the Targum has שִׁלּוֹחָא. It is true that Kimchi also erroneously quotes (under the form פִּעוּל) שִׁילוֹחַ; but there is not a single text which presents this double *plena scriptio* with ל *raphatum*.

[2] Rabban Simon b. Gamaliel—as we read in *Erachin* 10*b*—taught that the Siloah poured forth water only to the extent of an *as*, that is, so that the opening of the spring had only the circumference of an *as*. Then the king ordered that it (the Siloah) was to be enlarged, that it might give more water. But, on the contrary, it gave less, so that they again made it smaller, and it then ran as before; in order thus to confirm what is said in Jer. ix. 13: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might."

despising the waters of Siloah applies to Judah as well as to Ephraim, and not to the latter only (Nägelsbach): to the former, because it trusts in Assyria and despises the less tangible but surer help which the house of David—if it remained faithful—had to expect from the God of promise; to the latter, because it had allied itself with Aram to overthrow the house of David. And yet the house of David, although sunken and deformed, is the God-chosen fountain-head of the salvation which is realized in secret still course. The second reproach applies more especially to Ephraim. אֶת is a prep.: and (because) delighting (is felt) with (see on the form of connection before a following preposition, Ges. § 116. 1), *i.e.* in and by the fellowship with Rezin and Pekah, שׂוֹשׂ אֶת like רָצָה עִם. The substantive clause is preferred to the verbal clause וְשָׂשׂ on account of the antithetical consonance of משׂושׂ with מאס. Knobel and others refer the reproof to dissatisfied Jews who were secretly favourable to the undertaking of the two allies. But although there may have been such under the misgovernment of Ahaz (to which Luzzatto refers the הַלְּאוֹת אֲנָשִׁים), yet chap. vii. 2 speaks of the people of Judah without exception, and הָעָם הַזֶּה, which in Isaiah mostly applies to Judah (*e.g.* chap. xxix. 13), but sometimes also to the whole people, with special reference to Ephraim (chap. ix. 15, cf. chap. ix. 7, 8), will consequently in attachment to chap. viii. 4 comprehend Ephraim. This is also confirmed by ver. 8; and chap. ix. 7 sqq. may be cited in support of it, where sin and punishment are also apportioned to Ephraim and Judah. An explanation which would allow the immediate reference of העם הזה to Judah would be welcome. Such an expedient is furnished by Köhler (*Gesch.* ii. 1, p. 2), who refers 6*a* to Judah and explains 6*b* thus: "And because nothing but jubilation prevails with Rezin and the son of Remaliah about the previous succeeding of their plans." But את after ומשׂושׂ makes the impression that it indicates the object of the delighting. Perhaps מְסוֹס is to be read with Meier and Bredenkamp, following which Reuss also translates: *et perd courage au sujet de Reṣîn;* מְסוֹס, melting away (chap. x. 18), for fear is perhaps pregnant for fearing, and is in virtue of a bold construction, *πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον* (like שׂישׂ, chap. lxv. 18), connected with the

accusative of the object. This melting away would correspond to the trembling like aspen leaves in chap. vii. 2. But however the text is to be taken, what is threatened in vers. 7, 8 must be referred to Ephraim and Judah. The image of the invasion of Assyria is, as in Jer. xlvii. 2, taken from the periodic overflowings of the Euphrates. The overflow of the Assyrian host (כָּבוֹד here used of a heavy massive multitude) strikes Ephraim first, in whose territories it flows over everything. אָפִיק is the channel holding the water, and גִּדְיָה the bank; גִּדוֹת is abbreviated from גִּדְיוֹת. The threat of punishment is introduced by וְלָכֵן; וְ is like the Arab. ف, the mark of sequence (Ewald, § 348*b*). The words אֶת־מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר we take as an elucidation by the prophet himself, as in chap. vii. 17.

Not till then, but certainly then, and irresistibly, this overflowing reaches on to Judah. Ver. 8: "*And presses forward into Judah, overflows, and streams farther, till it reaches to the neck; and the spreadings out of its wings fill thy land, as broad as it is, O Immanuel!*" Ephraim is put wholly under water by the river; it perishes entirely. But in Judah the river rolling on (עָבַר, driving farther or thereover, Hab. i. 11) and pressing forwards (חָלַף), really reaches the most dangerous height; yet if a deliverer is found, there is still a possibility of being saved. Such a deliverer is Immanuel. To him the prophet complains that the land which is his land, and not merely the land of his birth (Gen. xii. 1; Jonah i. 8) but of his dominion (cf. chap. ix. 6), is almost swallowed up by the world-power; the land has become filled in its whole breadth (cf. on וְהָיָה, Ges. § 147*a*) by the outspreadings (מֻטּוֹת, a Hophal noun; cf. similar nominal forms in ver. 23, chap. xiv. 6, xxix. 3, and especially Ps. lxvi. 11[1]) of the wings of the stream, *i.e.* of the masses of water covering the land, pouring from the main stream like two equally broad wings, on either side of the trunk. The figure of wings of the stream is introduced by the fact that the stream represents the army of Assyria, and the wings of the stream are the אֲגַפָּי, the wings of the army of Assyria.

[1] נטה, to spread itself out, applied to a river, corresponds to the Arab. *maddu, yamuddu*, which is also said of the water passing over its bank and the surroundings, and flooding them.

But it also naturally occurs from the nature of the subject to compare the onward hurrying stream to a bird shooting thither; *Ἀετός* is an old name of the Nile.[1] Immanuel, whether it be written masoretically as one word or as two, is here in any case used as a proper name, as in chap. vii. 14 (as Jerome remarks, *nomen proprium non interpretatum*). Bredenkamp makes the apostrophe of Immanuel into an apostrophe of the people of Judah, and takes עמנו אל as the watchword: *With us is God.* But we cannot let this Old Testament invocation of the name of the future Christ (Acts ix. 14; 1 Cor. i. 2) be so easily wrested from us.

The upturned look, imploring help, does not remain unanswered. The lamentation over the threatening destruction is immediately transformed into the jubilation of holy defiance. Vers. 9, 10: "*Exasperate yourselves, O peoples, and break to pieces; and learn it, all distances of the earth! Gird yourselves, and break to pieces; gird yourselves, and break to pieces! Counsel council, and it comes to naught; speak speech, and it does not become real: for with us is God.*" The second imperatives in ver. 9 are threatening words of authority, having a future signification, and alternating in ver. 10 with imperfects: Go on exasperating yourselves (רֹעוּ with the tone on the penult., and therefore not *Pu.* of רָעָה, *consociari*, as the Targum translates, but the *Qal* of רָעַע, *malum esse*), go on equipping yourselves; nevertheless ye are about to fall in pieces (חֹתּוּ from חָתַת, related to כָּתַת, *confringi, consternari*). The prophet classes together all the peoples that are rushing on against God's people, pronounces upon them the sentence of annihilation, and calls upon all the distant lands to hear this ultimate fate of the kingdom of the world spoken to them. The world-kingdom must be shattered to pieces in the land of Immanuel; for with us—as the watchword of believers runs in reference to Him—with us is God!

[1] A. v. G. in the *Lit. CBl.* 1869, Nr. 5, puts forward the conjecture that Αἴγυπτος, which is also used as an original name of the river, is equivalent to *αἰγυπιός*, because the powerful many-armed river made the impression on the first Hellenes of a bird of prey with powerful pinions. Ποταμός is hardly to be derived from *πέτ-ομαι*, but rather from *πι*—Π[Ε]Τ—*ω*, and is therefore synonymous with יַרְדֵּן (see A. Kolbe in the *Zeitschrift für d. Gymnasialwesen*, xx. 927).

There now follows in ver. 11 an explanatory proposition. It seems at first sight to turn away to a different theme, but it stands in the closest connection with the triumphal words of vers. 9, 10. Immanuel is the stronghold, the fortress of the believers in the approaching time of Assyrian judgment. He and in Him God, and not any kind of human support. This is the connection of vers. 11, 12: "*For Jehovah has thus spoken to me, overpowering me with God's hand, and pressing it upon me not to walk in the way of this people, saying: Call not conspiracy all that this people calls conspiracy, and what is feared by it fear not, and do not think terrible.*" הַיָּד, the hand, is the absolute hand which, when it is laid upon a man, overpowers all his perception, feeling, and thinking; חֶזְקַת הַיָּד (that is to say, עָלַי, Ezek. iii. 14) is therefore the condition in which God's hand shows itself peculiarly strong on the prophet, the state of a peculiarly pressing and impressive working of God. Luther, like the Syriac, erroneously interprets it: *as if he takes me by the hand;* חֶזְקַת is related to the *Kal, invalescere,* not to the *Hi. apprehendere.* This circumstantial statement, and not the main verb אָמַר, is what is carried on in וְיִסְּרֵנִי; for the latter term is not 3 *p. prf. Pi.*, which would have to be יִסְּרַנִי, as Ps. cxviii. 18 (הוֹרַדְתִּנִי, Josh. ii. 18, is the form of address to a woman, with *ě* instead of *ĭ*), nor does it need to so be corrected; rather is this 3 *p. imperf. Kal* (without suffix יִסֹּר, Hos. x. 10, whereas *impf. Pi.* יְיַסֵּר) closely connected with בחזקת היד, according to the analogy of the usual passing of the participial and infinitive expression into the finite form. With overwhelming influence and instructively warning against going in the way of this people, Jehovah spake to the prophet as follows. The warning runs to the effect that the prophet and those who stand on his side are not to call קֶשֶׁר what the mass of the people call קֶשֶׁר (cf. the cry of Athaliah, קשר קשר, 2 Chron. xxiii. 13). The combination of Rezin and Pekah does not appear to be meant, for that was, in fact, an actual conspiracy or league against the house and people of David. Still less can the warning mean that believers, when they see how the unbelieving Ahaz brings the people into misfortune, ought not to enter into conspiracy against the person of the king (Hofmann, Drechsler); they are not warned, in fact, against making קשר, but from joining in the

popular cry when the people say קשר. Roorda is therefore perhaps right when he explains it thus: *sermo hic est de conjuratione, quae dicebatur prophetae et discipulorum ejus.* The same thing happened to Isaiah as to Amos (Amos vii. 10) and Jeremiah; when the prophets were zealous against calling in foreign assistance, they were treated as being in the service of the enemy, and as having conspired for the overthrow of the kingdom. Those who were honest were not to share in this confusion of ideas. But this explanation of Roorda is seen to be impossible, by the fact that the warning is introduced as addressed to the prophet himself; and even if it is to be regarded as applying mainly to the disciples gathered around him, yet it cannot exclude himself. No solution of the enigma justifies the transformation of the קשר into קֹדֶשׁ, as held by Secker, Grätz, and Cheyne; for that Isaiah with his disciples is warned against making the religion of the people theirs, is a thought quite foreign to the connection, nor is it so expressed that the warning could be understood according to ver. 19. We are therefore thrown back upon the explanation which has been commonly adopted since Jerome: *noli duorum regum timere conjurationem.* The prophet and his followers are not to call the enterprise of Rezin and Pekah conspiracy; and they are generally not to join with cowardly political newsmongers (Nägelsbach) in the worldly ways of judging and speaking of the people who look upon things apart from God, nor in the hue and cry (2 Kings xi. 4) of the rabble who deny the higher hand in all things (Knabenbauer); they are not to fear (מוֹרָאוֹ) what is to the people an object of fear (with subj. suffix, which is applied objectively in 1 Pet. iii. 14), nor are they to regard it as terrible, or feel it as terrible (הַעֲרִיץ, as in chap. xxix. 23; Deut. i. 29, and in the Jewish Tefilla נַעֲרִיצְךָ, "we shudder before thee").

The object of its fear was a very different one. Vers. 13–15: "*Jehovah of hosts, Him sanctify; and let Him be your fear, and let Him be your terror; so will He become a sanctuary, but a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, a snare and trap to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many among them will stumble and will fall, and break to pieces, and be snared, and taken.*" With וְהָיָה commences

the logical apodosis to ver. 13. If ye actually confess Jehovah the Holy One as such a one (הִקְדִּישׁ, as in chap. xxix. 23, for which there is only once *Pi.* in Deut. xxxii. 51), and if it is He whom ye fear, and who fills you with terror, (מַעֲרִיץ, used of the object of the terror as מוֹרָא of the object of the fear, and therefore it is that which terrifies in a causative sense), then He will become a מִקְדָּשׁ. מִקְדָּשׁ may indeed also denote the sanctified object or the object to be sanctified, as Knobel understands it here according to Num. xviii. 29 (cf. the plural in Lev. xxi. 23; Ezek. xxviii. 18, *res sanctae*); but keeping to the idea of the word, this gives an unmeaning apodosis. Usually מקדש means the sanctified place, the sanctuary, with which the idea of an asylum is easily associated, because the temple was also regarded among the Israelites as an asylum, and was also generally respected as such (1 Kings i. 50, ii. 28; 1 Mac. x. 43; cf. Ex. xxi. 14). This is the explanation given here by most expositors; and the punctuators also took it in this sense, seeing that they have divided the two halves of ver. 14, as antithetical, by *athnach;* and thus מקדש is to be understood really, and to be translated sanctuary (Driver), and not asylum or refuge, which would be too narrow. The temple is not only a place of shelter, but also of grace, of blessing, of peace. Whoever sanctifies the Lord of lords, him He encompasses like temple walls; He hides him in Himself while death and tribulation dwell without, and He comforts, feeds, and blesses him in his fellowship. והיה למקדש must thus be explained, as I still always think, according to such passages as chap. iv. 5, 6; Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 21, and Prov. xviii. 10; for the sequence makes us expect the expression of what Jehovah will become for those who sanctify Him. Another view is held by Reuss, who understands מקדש to mean an unapproachable *ἄδυτον* (حرم) (see Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 89), and similarly Bredenkamp, and v. Orelli: "Sanctuary, He showing Himself as the destroying one whom one does not profane unpunished;" Cheyne, "and He shall show Himself as holy." But this gives an idea that is not germane to the following series of synonyms, and a thought that is not to be expected in relation to ver. 13. One expects the statement that He will become

a sanctuary to those who sanctify Him, also on His side. The antithesis follows: to the two houses of Israel, on the contrary, *i.e.* to the mass of the people of the two kingdoms as a whole, which neither sanctifies nor fears Jehovah, He becomes a rock and snare.[1] The synonyms are intentionally accumulated (comp. xxviii. 13) in order to make the impression of a manifold but always inevitable fate of death. The first three verbs of ver. 15 refer to אֶבֶן (stone) and צור (rock), and the last two to פַּח (snare) and מוֹקֵשׁ (springe).[2] All those who do not give the honour to Jehovah are dashed to pieces by His ruling as on a stone, and they are caught in it as in a trap. Accordingly, בָּם might refer to אבן and צור (on them, as Gesenius, Hitzig, and Cheyne explain it); but why then not בו on Him? We take בם, with Ewald and Nägelsbach, partitively like בו in chap. x. 22.

The words that follow in ver. 16: "*Bind up the testimony, seal the doctrine among my disciples*," is either a prayer of the prophet addressed to God (Drechsler and others), certainly not to Immanuel (Vitringa), or a command of God to the prophet. As the word of God to the prophet has preceded this, and as God is not expressly addressed, it is such an instruction as we find in Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9, Rev. xxii. 20, and elsewhere, addressed to the seers of things in the far future. The explanation of Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others, namely, by bringing in God-taught men (*adhibitis viris piis et sapientibus*), is grammatically impossible. As keeping safely requires a place, the immediate local significance of the בְּ has to be maintained. People tie together (צָרַר, imper. צוֹר, instead of צֹר, the more orthographic mode of writing it, not infin. absolute, which would be צָרוֹר) what they wish not to get separated and to be lost; men seal (חָתַם) what is to be kept secret, and is only to be opened by one entitled to do it.

[1] As Jerome on this passage informs us, the "two houses" were referred by Jewish Christians (*Nazaraei qui ita Christum recipiunt ut observationes legis veteris non admittant*) to the schools of Shammai and Hillel.

[2] Malbim correctly remarks: "פח catches but does not injure; מוקש catches and injures [*e.g.* by breaking off the legs or by crushing the nose, Job xl. 24]; the former is the simple snare [like the simple snare or gin for catching fieldfares]; the latter is the springe [a rod bent like a bow, of a flexible nature, which easily springs back], and the snare which catches by means of the springe (Amos iii. 5)."

And so the testimony of the prophet which relates to the future, and his instruction designed to prepare for this future—that תְּעוּדָה and תּוֹרָה which the great mass in their obduracy do not understand, and spurn in their self-hardening—has to be deposited by him well secured and well preserved, as if by band and seal, in the hearts of those who with believing obedience receive the prophetic word (לִמּוּד, of the same form as עִוֵּר, ready to learn and learned, common to both halves of the collection of prophecy, chap. l. 4, liv. 13). For it would be all over with Israel unless a community of believers continued to exist; and it would be all over with this community if the word of God, which is the ground of their life, escaped from their heart. There is here already announced the great idea which the second part of the Book of Isaiah carries out in the grandest style. The command in ver. 16 stands unconnected without וְאַתָּה like the beginning of a new discourse, and in ver 17 the prophet continues to speak of himself without וַאֲנִי; וְחִכִּיתִי is the perf. of sequence. Ver. 17: "*I wait then upon Jehovah who conceals His face from the house of Jacob, and I hope on Him.*" There is a lacuna perceptible between vers. 17 and 16, and the supposition that something has fallen out (Cheyne) suggests itself. חִכָּה gets from the fundamental meaning of "making fast" the meaning of firmly directing, of straining the mind towards something future, just as קָוָה, قَوِىَ, originally means to be strained, firm, strong, and קִוָּה therefore signifies strained expectation, confident hope. With the î form וְחִכִּיתִי, the older ê form וְקִוֵּיתִי interchanges (Ges. § 75, 9). A time of judgment has now commenced which will last for a long time yet; but the word of God is the pledge of Israel's continuance in the midst of it, and of Israel's renewed glorification beyond it.

The prophet therefore hopes in the grace which has now hidden itself behind the wrath. The future is his home, and he also serves it with his whole house. Ver. 18: "*Behold, I and the children whom Jehovah has given me for signs and types in Israel from Jehovah of hosts, who dwelleth upon Mount Zion.*" He presents himself to the Lord with his children; he devotes himself with them to Him. His bodily children are meant, not his spiritual children (his disciples, as Jerome

Calvin, Vitringa, and Bredenkamp explain it). It is not the latter, for the obvious reason that it would then be expressed by הבנים, according to the analogy of בני הנביאים and בְּנִי, the "my son" of the Proverbs. They are indeed Jehovah's gift, and certainly given for a higher purpose than the common everyday happiness of the family. They serve as signs and types ministering to the purpose of the history of salvation. אוֹת is a preindication and token, σημεῖον, in word and deed, which (whether it is itself something miraculous or natural) points to the future and is a pledge of it. מוֹפֵת (after the form מֹאסֵר = מוֹסֵר and מָאֵן, from אָפַת, or after the form מוֹעֵד, מוֹקֵשׁ from יָפַת = אָפַת, أَفَتَ = חָפַךְ, أَفَكَ) is a miraculous work, τέρας, which refers to a supernatural cause or type, τύπος (*prodigium = porridigium*), which points beyond itself to something future and concealed, literally turned round, that is, opposed to the common, paradoxical, striking, standing out; Arab. أُفْتَة, *res mira*, δεινόν τι. His children are signs and enigmatic images of the future, and that from Jehovah of hosts who dwells on Zion. In accordance with His counsel (to which the עם in מֵעִם points), He has set up these signs and types, He who can realize the future which they represent as certainly as He is Jehovah of hosts, and who will realize it as certainly as He has chosen the hill of Zion for the place of His gracious presence on earth. Shear-jashub and Mahershalal are indeed figures of future wrath no less than of future grace, but the name of their father יְשַׁעְיָהוּ declares that the salvation of Jehovah is the ultimate end. Isaiah and his children are figures and emblems of the redemption which is making way for itself through judgment. The Epistle to the Hebrews in chap. ii. 13 puts the words of Isaiah into the mouth of Jesus, because the spirit of Jesus was in Isaiah,—the spirit of Jesus which in this holy family, bound together by bands of the shadow, pointed to the New Testament community, bound together by bands of the substance. Isaiah and his children, together with his wife, and the believing disciples gathered around this family, form upon the ground and soil of the present

massa perdita of Israel the stock of the community or church of the Messianic future.

To this *ecclesiola in ecclesia* is directed the admonition of the prophet in ver. 19: "*And when they shall say to you, Inquire ye of the necromancers and of the soothsayers who chirp and whisper—shall not a people inquire at their God? for the living at the dead!*" It is unnecessary to take 19*a* as an anacolouthon (as Cheyne does): 19*b* is the apodosis, as כה תֹאמְרוּ לָהֶם easily .completes itself. Those who are demanding are Jews of the existing stamp; for, from chaps. ii. 6, iii. 2, 3, we know that all kinds of heathen superstition had found their way into Jerusalem, and were practised there as a trade. Those to whom the prophet assigns the answer are his children and disciples. The circumstances of the time were critical. People were going to wizards to obtain information about the gloomy future. אוֹב (from אוב, to be bellied or hollow, to sound indistinctly) means primarily the spirit of sorcery or witchcraft, then the possessor of such a spirit = בַּעַל אוֹב, and more especially the necromancer or conjurer of the dead. יִדְּעֹנִי means primarily the possessor of a spirit of soothsaying (πύθων or πνεῦμα τοῦ πύθωνος), Syr. *jâdûa* (after the intensive form פַּעֹּל with unchangeable vowels), then also the soothsaying spirit itself (Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 11), which may have been called יִדְּעוֹן, just as δαίμων is, according to Plato, = δαήμων. These people, designated by the LXX. here and elsewhere as ἐγγαστρόμυθοι, *i.e.* ventriloquists (οἳ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν), imitated (as Isaiah ironically introduces into the summons itself) the chirp which was ascribed to the shades of Hades, whose voice as well as their whole being had become a mere phantom, according to Homer a τρίζειν, *Il.* xxiii. 101, *Od.* xxiv. 5–9; and, according to the Assyrian descent into hell of Istar, a bird-like existence (cf. the Arabic name for magicians, *zamâzimu*, whisperers; Aruch, מנש, *s.v.*).[1] What an unnatural thing that Jehovah's people do

[1] The Mishna, *Sanhedrin* 65*a*, defines it thus: "בעל אוב is the Python (פיתום), *i.e.* soothsayer (= πνεῦμα πύθωνος ἔχων), who speaks from his armhole; ידעוני, he who speaks with his mouth." The בעל אוב, in so far as he deals with the bones of the dead, is called in the Talmud אוֹבָא טָמְיָא, *e.g.* the witch of Endor, *Shabbath* 125*b*. On the history of the etymological explanation of the word, see Böttcher's *De inferis*, § 205–217.

not go to ask their God, but such heathenish demoniacal deceivers and deceived ones! (דָּרַשׁ אֶל, to turn oneself to any one to inquire, chap. xi. 10, synonymous with שָׁאַל בְּ, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6). What blindness to consult the dead in the interest of the living! The word of the prophet is the echo of the divine prohibition in Lev. xix. 31. הַמֵּתִים here do not signify the idols, as in Ps. cvi. 28, but the dead, as is proved by Deut. xviii. 11; cf. 1 Sam. chap. xxviii.; and בְּעַד is to be taken neither here nor elsewhere as equivalent to the substitutive תַּחַת, "instead" (Knobel), but, as in Jer. xxi. 2, as "for" = for the benefit of, as "for" elsewhere is equivalent to "on account of," Prov. xx. 17. The nekyiomancy (necromancy, medieval *nigromatia*, whence black art), which makes the dead teachers of the living, is a gloomy deception.

In opposition to such a falling away to miserable superstition, the watchword of the prophet and those who stood with him is thus given in ver. 20: "*To the doctrine of God and to the testimony! Or shall they not thus speak who are without a dawn?*" The summons: To the instruction and to the testimony, that is to say, to those of Jehovah of which His prophet is the medium, ver. 17, is like a watchword formed in time of war, Judg. vii. 18. In this formation the following אִם־לֹא gives the presumption of a conditional sense: he who has not this word is to be regarded as Jehovah's enemy, and will suffer the fate of such a one. This is to all appearance the meaning of the apodosis אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לוֹ שָׁחַר. Luther has given the rendering correctly thus: If they will not say this, they will not have the morning dawn; or, as he previously translated it, keeping more closely to Jerome: they shall never overtake the morning light, really, they are those for whom no dawn rises. But if we take אם לֹא וגו' as a conditional protasis, then אשר, as opening the apodosis, is and remains hard in style whether it is taken relatively: thus they are a people to whom, etc. (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 4), or as an alternative for the affirmative and recitative כִּי, of which there is no certain example (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 20). On the other hand, אִם לֹא also signifies "truly" (Ps. cxxxi. 2), according to which Luzzatto and Cheyne and Driver explain it: truly they shall speak thus when (אשר, *quum*, as, *e.g.*, in Deut. xi. 6) no dawn shows itself to them:

but this watchword is not suited for the people which is too late in thinking of something better, and that assertative meaning is got by אם לא only by means of the suppression of a principal clause (Ges. § 155. 2 f.), which would be insipid here. But it also means *annon, numne;* and this meaning suggests itself the more readily here since there is a preceding question with הֲלֹא (cf. chaps. x. 9, xl. 28); and accordingly we adopt the explanation given by Knobel and Reuss: Or, will those who are without a dawn not agree with this word, this people whose present and future is surrounded by night, and which can hope for no breaking of light which could benefit them, inasmuch as they do not turn themselves to God's teaching and God's testimony, of which His prophet is the bearer?[1]

There now follows the description of the people which is without a dawn, and the description proceeds in the singular, into which the plural of the interrogative clause has changed (the individuals being thrown together into one mass). Vers. 21, 22: "*And they will enter thereinto hard pressed and hungry; and it comes to pass when hunger comes upon it, it is roused to anger and curses by its king and by its God, and it turns itself upwards and looks down to the earth, and, behold, distress and darkness, the anguish of night around, and thrust out into darkness.*" Cheyne, agreeing with Siegfried, changes the order of these verses (arranging thus, vers. 20, 22, 21, 23). Diestel and Nägelsbach begin, without changing the order, by taking ver. 21 as the apodosis to ver. 20. According to the syntax this is possible, but it more naturally occurs to take it so that the description of those who are without a dawn is further carried on by וְעָבַר: those who are without a dawn, and who will enter into . . . The singulars attach themselves to לוֹ in ver. 19; בָּהּ refers in the neuter to the land, as עָדֶיהָ in Job vi. 20 to the place. The people roam about in the land—so far will it come in the approaching Assyrian oppressions — נִקְשֶׁה, pressed by hard misery, and רָעֵב, hungry, for all provisions are gone, and the fields and vineyards are laid waste. As often as it again becomes

[1] Strangely enough, vers. 19, 20 are regarded in *Lev. Rabba*, c. 15, as words of Beeri, the father of the prophet Hosea, incorporated in the Book of Isaiah.

sensible of hunger, it falls into rage (וְהִתְקַצָּף, with ו of the apodosis and pausal *a* with *Rebiah*), and curses by its king and by its God, *i.e.* by its idol. We must thus explain the passage according to 1 Sam. xvii. 43 and Zeph. i. 5, if we would keep by the authenticated usage of the language, which shows no קִלֵּל בְּ corresponding to the Latin *execrari in aliquem* (Gesenius, Cheyne, and others, following LXX. Symm. and Jer.); the object of the cursing is rather everywhere expressed in the accusative. The connection, king and God, refers to one and the same object, as in Ps. v. 3 and lxxxiv. 4 (otherwise than in 1 Chron. xxix. 20): they curse by the idol who is regarded by them as king and God;[1] they curse with, as they consider it, this most effective curse their unhappy condition, without recognising in it the just punishment of their apostasy, and humbling themselves penitently under the all-powerful hand of Jehovah. Consequently, all this reacting of their exasperation and of their rage avails nothing—whether they turn themselves upwards to see if the black sky is not unclouding itself, or look down to the earth, there meets them everywhere only distress and darkness, only, as מְעוּף צוּקָה expresses in a sort of summary, a surrounding night of anguish (מְעוּף, a connective form of מָעוֹף from עוּף, غف, *obtegere*, the veiling round, darkening). The judgment of God does not convert them, but only heightens their badness; just as in Rev. xvi. 11, 21, after the pouring out of the fifth and the seventh vials of wrath, men utter blasphemies and do not penitently cease from their works. After this statement of what the people sees when it turns up its eyes or casts them down, the participial closing clause of ver. 22 *fin.* tells how it sees itself: *in caliginem propulsum.* There is no need to supply a completing הוּא, but from the preceding הִנֵּה there is easily repeated הִנּוֹ or הִנֶּנּוּ, *en ipsum*; אֲפֵלָה, *acc. loci*, stands with emphasis first, as in Jer. xxiii. 12, בָּאֲפֵלָה. What next follows would be directly connected if ואפלה מנדח could mean *at caligo dispellitur* (more exactly, *est aliquid quod dispellitur*). This is the view of Hitzig and of Chr. A. Crusius. But the verb נדח, the *part. Pual*, the shrill interruption of the

[1] Menahem b. Seruk in his Lexicon (written *c.* 950), under the word אמן, assumes the reading בִּכְלְבוֹ.

gloomy night-image whose close is expected, is altogether opposed to this interpretation. And yet the reason-giving כִּי, which now follows, assumes the thought that it will not always continue thus; but as it remains unexpressed we must seek to get it by looking back to אשר אין לו שחר.

The prophet gives the reason for the assumption involved in the words he has used, namely, that a renewed dawning of light is to be expected, although not for that present generation. Ver. 23: "*For it does not remain dark where there is now distress: at the first time he has brought into ignominy the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali, and in the last he brings to honour the road by the sea, the other side of the Jordan, the circle of the heathen.*" Is כי לא to be understood as interrogative with Abravanel and Luzzatto? (cf. 2 Kings v. 26); for is it not surrounded with night . . .? Such a form of address expressed by לא with the accent of interrogation, is the style of Hosea, but not of Isaiah. Or is כי, by supplying the intermediate clause, "it will not so continue," to be translated by "but" or "nay, rather, *immo*," Ewald, § 330*b* (Cheyne, 1870, "*nay*," now, "*surely*")? This would be a harsh ellipsis. We have not to read between the lines what is grounded by כי; but the statement that the unbelieving people of Judah is passing into a night without a morning, is grounded on the fact that a morning is coming whose light, however, does not rise first over the land of Judah, but over other regions of the land. The transition is harsh, however explained. Reuss remarks: *Transition brusque* (chap. iv. 2, vi. 13) *à la prédiction d'un changément heureux.* מוּעָף and מוּצָק, because formed from עוק and צוק, cannot have arisen from מְוּעָף and מֻוּצָק (as מוּצָקָה, a tube for pouring through, from מְוּצָקָה), and are therefore to be regarded as Hophal nouns, like מֻטָּה in chap. viii. 8. They indicate that which (ὅ, τι) is darkened, oppressed, and then also that (ὅτι) it is darkened, oppressed, and therefore the fact or circumstance of darkening and oppression; and they thus pass into the meaning of abstract verbal terms, being darkened, being oppressed. The meaning is that there is not, *i.e.* there does not continue, a state of surrounding night on the land (לָהּ, like בָּהּ in ver. 21, to be referred to אֶרֶץ) which is now in a state of distress, and, moreover, those very regions which God formerly made to

experience deep humiliations, will be brought by Him in the future to honour (הֵקַל=הֵקַל, *opp.* הִכְבִּיד, as in chap. xxiii. 9). The height of the glorification will correspond to the depth of the ignominy. The noun עֵת, however it be construed, is used as masculine, although it is originally feminine, however it may be derived. It is not correct to translate with Knobel: as in the former time, etc., so that עֵת is *acc. temp.*, and כַּאֲשֶׁר=כְּ for כְּ is never used conjunctionally in this way (see on Ps. xxxviii. 15) and in chap. lxi. 11, Job vii. 2, the verbal clauses after כְּ are elliptical relative clauses. The rendering adopted by Rosenmüller and many others is also wrong: *sicut tempus prius vilem reddidit*, etc. Hence, too, the וְ of וְהָאַחֲרוֹן is not the *waw* of sequence used in place of כֵּן of comparison, Ewald, § 360*a*. Both כָּעֵת הָרִאשׁוֹן and האחרון are adverbial determinations of time. The prophet intentionally designates the time of ignominy with כְּ, because this is a period in which the same fate should occur again and again. And, on the other hand, he indicates the time of the glorification with *acc. temp.*, because it comes in at once in order to continue unchangingly. It is undoubtedly possible also that האחרון is regarded as the subject, but the antithesis thereby become incongruent. The region (אַרְצָה, *localis*, with the signification obliterated, as in Job xxxiv. 13, xxxvii. 12, cf. Ezek. xxi. 31) of Naphtali is the later Upper Galilee, and the region of Zebulon is the later Lower Galilee. In the antithetical parallel clause what is meant by the two regions is specialized: (1) דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם is the tract of land on the western side of the יָם כִּנֶּרֶת (Rashi, יַמָּהּ שֶׁל טְבֶרְיָא); (2) עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, the country east of the Jordan; (3) גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, the northern border district of Palestine, only a part of the later so called *Γαλιλαία*. All these regions were exposed from the time of the judges, by their local position, to the disintegration of heathen influences, and to subjection by heathen enemies. The northern tribes on this side, along with those on the other side, suffered most in the almost incessant war of Israel with the Syrians and in the later war with the Assyrians; and the deportation of their inhabitants went on increasing under Phul-Tiglathpileser and Shalmanasar until it gradually came to utter depopulation (Caspari, *Beitr.* pp. 116–118). It is these very regions which will be remembered before all

others when that dawn of glory arises. How this has been fulfilled in the commencement of the Christian era, is stated in Matt. iv. 13 sqq. On the ground of this prophecy of Isaiah, and not, as Renan in chap. xiii. of his *Life of Jesus* says, of a "considerably erroneous exposition of it," the Messianic hope of the Jewish people was actually directed to Galilee.[1] The Nazarenes, indeed, according to Jerome on this passage, referred ver. 23*b* to the light of the gospel spread *in terminos gentium et viam universi maris* by the Pauline preaching. In the time of the crusades, the *via maris* was still the name of the way passing by the Mediterranean from Acco to Damascus; but it is impossible to take הַיָּם here as referring to the Mediterranean, for it was the Philistines and Phenicians who inhabited the דרך הים in this sense. But the prophet intends to designate the regions belonging to the Israelitish people which have suffered ignominy and affliction above all others.

The prophecy now takes together the inhabitants of those rejected and degraded regions, while at the same time the range of vision is widened. Chap. ix. 1: "*The people who walk in darkness see a great light; they who dwell in a land of the shadow of death—a light shines forth over them.*" The horizon is enlarged, not, however, to the heathen, but to the whole of Israel. Salvation does not break forth till it has become entirely dark along the horizon of Israel, as in chap. v. 30, till the land of Jehovah, on account of the falling away of its inhabitants from Him, has become a land of the shadow of death. צַלְמָוֶת is modified[2] in the manner of a composite

[1] It is a Jewish tradition that the Messiah will appear in Galilee, and that the redemption will break forth from Tiberias; see *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1843, Col. 776; cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 747.

[2] The shadow, צֵל, Arab. *ẓill* (radically different from *ṭall* = טַל, dew), gets its name *ab obtegendo*; and, according to the idea attached to it as the opposite of heat or of light, it was used as a figure of what is beneficial, shading (chap. xvi. 3—ظلّ الموت in a poetical passage of the Jâḳût of the thick terebinth-shadow of a valley), or of what was dark and horrible (cf. Targ. טַלְּנֵי, a night-demon). The verb צָלַם, in the sense of the Arabic *ẓalima*, bears the same relation to צָלַל as בָּהַם to בָּהָה, עָרַם, to be naked, to עָרָה. Another verbal stem is the צָלַם, from which comes צֶלֶם.

word (צֵל=צַל as, *e.g.*, in בְּצַלְאֵל), like the proper name עַזְמָוֶת in 2 Sam. xxiii. 31, being modified from צַלְמוּת according to the form קַדְרוּת (from צלם, Aeth. *ṣalĕma*, Arab. *ẓalima*, to be dark). The apostate mass of the people is to be regarded as swept away; for if death has cast his shadows over the land, it must be quite desolate. In this state of things those remaining in the land behold a great light which breaks through the sky hitherto covered with blackness. The people which turns its eyes upwards in vain, because with cursing, chap. viii. 21, is no more; it is the remnant of Israel which sees this light of spiritual and material redemption rise above their heads.

The prophet, in what follows, tells what this light consists in, first describing the blessings and then the star of the new time. He tells it in a thanksgiving of prayer and praise. Ver. 2: "*Thou makest the nation numerous, preparest for it great joy; they rejoice before thee like the joy in harvest, as men rejoice when they divide spoil.*" הַגּוֹי is doubtless the Israel that has melted down to a small remnant. That God makes this again into a numerous people, is a leading feature in the picture of the time of glory (chap. xxvi. 15, lxvi. 8; Zech. xiv. 10, 11), which in this respect is a counterpart of that of Solomon in 1 Kings iv. 20. If our explanation is so far correct, then the *Chethîb* לֹא, taken negatively, can only be understood if we translate, with Hengstenberg, Hitzig, and Schegg, thus: Thou increasest the nation to which Thou formerly didst not give great joy, which must signify *per litoten*, which Thou hast sunk into deep sorrow. But it is unnatural to take one of the prophetic preterites commencing with הִכְבִּיד in chap. viii. 23 in any other than a future sense. We must therefore give the preference to the *Kerî* לוֹ,[1] and translate: *magnum facis numerum gentis, ei ingens gaudium paras.* לוֹ stands first without special emphasis, as in chap. xlv. 24; Lev. vii. 7–9; 1 Sam. ii. 3, *Kerî;* Job xxix. 21; Ps. vii. 14, cxxxix. 17; Dreschler gives it such emphasis, rendering thus: To *it*, in which there was not any appearance at all of such an issue. And it is intentionally that הִגְדַּלְתָּ and הִרְבִּיתָ stand beside each

[1] On the passages in which לא *Chethîb* is לו *Kerî*, see commentary on Ps. c. 3, and in Job xiii. 15. הַגִּילָה is an ingenious conjecture by Selwyn and others for הגוי לא (הרבית).

other, in order to co-ordinate the intensity of joy with the extensiveness of the multitude. This joy is a holy joy, as לְפָנֶיךָ indicates; the expression is the one used in Deuteronomy for the joy that is experienced at the meals connected with the sacrifices and tithes (chap. xii. 7, xvi. 11, xiv. 23, 26). It is a joy כְּשִׂמְחַת בַּקָּצִיר, like the joy in the harvest-time (the temporal בקציר operates here as a virtual genitive), just as men exult when they divide spoils. It is therefore joy over good things that have been obtained, and, moreover, in consequence of evil that has departed. For the division of spoil is a thing that is done by conquerors. This second figure is not merely a figure. The people so gladdened is actually a victorious and triumphant people. Ver. 3: "*For the yoke of its burden, and the stick of its neck, the stick of its driver, thou hast broken to pieces, as in the day of Midian.*" The suffixes refer to הָעָם. Instead of סֻבְלוֹ from סֵבֶל, the more vigorous form סֻבֳּלוֹ is intentionally used with *Dag. dirimens* and *Chateph-Kamez*, under the influence of the previous *u*. The rhythm of the one-membered verse is anapaestic. סֻבֳּלוֹ and נֹגֵשׂ בּוֹ both recall the Egyptian bondage (Ex. ii. 11, v. 6). The future deliverance which the prophet celebrates is the counterpart of the Egyptian deliverance. But as at that time the whole of the great people of Israel was redeemed, whereas only a remnant participates in the final redemption, he compares it to the day of Midian, when Gideon broke the seven years' dominion of Midian, not with a great army, but with a handful of undismayed warriors strong in God (Judg. vii.). One asks here: Who is the hero, Gideon's antitype, through whom this is to happen? The prophet does not say this yet, but building a clause with כִּי upon the others, he first of all gives a reason in ver. 4 for the ceasing of the despotic sway of the world-power from the annihilation of all the equipments of war. Ver. 4: "*For every boot of booted tramplers in the tumult of battle, and cloak rolled in blood—all is for burning, a food of fire.*" The complex subject stands first in the way of a protasis, for the predicate begins in the way of an apodosis with וְהָיְתָה; cf. chap. xliv. 12; Ex. xxx. 33, 38 (Driver, § 123*a*). All the equipments of war are meant, wherever they may be found; but while in Zech. ix. 10 the representation referring to the fratricidal wars between the separated kingdoms applies primarily

to the whole of Israel, here it is applied by reference to the previous subjugation by the universal power primarily to the foreign enemies from whom the possibility of conquering Israel henceforth shall be withdrawn. What becomes לִשְׂרֵפָה מַאֲכֹלֶת אֵשׁ is not merely kindled and burned out, but entirely burned away; it is consumed by the fire until it disappears without leaving a trace behind. This closing statement requires for סְאוֹן the concrete sense of a thing that can be burned; and this at once excludes the meaning, noise or din (=שְׁאוֹן, Jer. Syr. Rashi, Malbim, and others). On the other hand, the meaning, equipment of arms, given by Knobel and others, is admissible; it is obtained by comparison of the derivatives of the Aramean זין, זַיֵּן and the Arabic *zâna*, Impf. *yazîn* (to deck, to equip); nevertheless the interchange of ס and ז in this word cannot be philologically established by the dialects. Jos. Kimchi has rightly referred to the Targumic סְאָן סִין (Syr., also *sâûn*), which means shoe (see Bynaeus, *De calceo Hebraeorum*, p. 83), which is rather an Aramean than a Hebrew word, and the application of which in this place is explained from the fact that the prophet has in his mind the annihilation of the Assyrian forces. One would, indeed, rather expect סָאוֹן (*sâûn*), σανδαλούμενος, instead of סֹאֵן; but the denominative verb סָאַן may mean the appearing or coming up in the soldier's shoe or soldier's boot, *caligatum venire*, although the primary meaning is undoubtedly *calceare se* (Eph. vi. 15; Syr.). Accordingly we translate it: Every boot of the booted strider in the tumult of battle. Thus we do not take רַעַשׁ (which Grätz, after the Targum, would transform into רֶשַׁע), with Drechsler, as indicating the noise of the warrior proudly tramping in his war-boots, nor do we take it, with Luzzatto and Nägelsbach, as applying to the war-boot itself, for which, notwithstanding the *clavi caligares* of Pliny, *H. N.* ix. 8, the word is too strong; but we take it as referring to the noise of battle (as in Jer. x. 22), amid which the warrior, booted for military service, appears. סֹאֵן is genitive and מְגוֹלָלָה is attributive; rolled in דָּמִים, that is, in violently shed blood, in which the mortally wounded warrior rolled about. The prophet intentionally names boot and cloak. The destruction of the hostile weapons is viewed as a matter of course, when even every single shoe which a soldier of the enemy

has worn, and every soldier's cloak lying on the battle-field, is given up to the fire.

The prophet upon the two sentences with כִּי now rears a third. The ground of the triumph is the deliverance, and the ground of the deliverance is the annihilation of the enemy, and the ground of all the joy, of all the freedom, of all the peace, is the new great king. Ver. 5: "*For a child is born to us, a son is given to us, and the government rests upon His shoulder, and they call His name: Wonder, Counsellor, Strong God, Eternally Father, Peace Prince.*" He whom the prophet foretells in chap. vii. as the Son of the virgin, who was to grow up in a troublous time, is here beheld by him as born (but the words do not say that this is now seen only in the vision of the prophet), and as having entered upon possession of the government. In the former passage he appeared as a sign, and here as a gift of grace. The prophet does not say expressly here, any more than in chap. vii., that he is a descendant of David. But this follows of itself from the fact that he bears הַמִּשְׂרָה (from שָׂרַר=שָׂרָה, שׂוּר), the government with its official right, chap. xxii. 22, upon his shoulder; for the promise of eternal kingship, of which the new-born child is the fulfilment, has been bound up with the seed of David in the course of the history of Israel since 2 Sam. vii. In chap. vii. it is the mother who names the child; here it is the people, or any one who rejoices in him. וַיִּקְרָא, "they name, he is called," as Luther correctly translates, but under the mistaken idea that the Jews, in order to efface the Messianic sense of the passage, had altered the original וַיִּקָּרֵא into וַיִּקְרָא. The active ויקרא has, in fact, been misused by Jewish expositors with this object in view, as Rashi, Kimchi, Malbim, and others, following the example of the Targum, explain the passage thus: The God who is called, and is פלא יועץ אל־גבור אבי־עד, calls his name שר־שלום; but this explanation evidently tears asunder the connection in the clause from a motive or tendency. And Luzzatto rightly observes that one does not here expect attributes of God, but such as characterize the child; and therefore he translates thus: God, the Strong, the Eternally-Father the Peace-Prince, resolves upon something wonderful. He thus persuades himself that the whole of this long clause is meant to be the

proper name of the child, as, indeed, other proper names thus consist of whole verbal clauses, not merely in Arabic (as, for example, the giant's name, *baraka nahruhu*, his collar-bone flashes), but also in the Hebrew, as, for instance, the names of the two sons of the prophet. But granting such a sesquipedalian proper name to be possible, how unskilfully would it be formed, since the long-winded sentence, which yet should have to be spoken in one breath, would resolve itself in this form into separate clauses which are again names, and, moreover, contrary to expectation, names of God! This holds also against Cheyne, who maintains that what follows שמו is one name, although not, as Luzzatto thinks, in the form of a connected proposition. There are, however, in any case five, or if, with Cheyne, Wonderful-Counsellor is taken together, four names, forming one name. According to Luzzatto's way of taking it, the name would also be one name as regards its form. Luzzatto frankly confesses what prompted him to his view. He formerly attempted, like Aben Ezra, to take the words from פלא to שר־שלום as the name of the child, regarding אל גבור as well as אבי־עד as a hyperbolical expression, like the words applied to the king in Ps. xlv. 7*a*; but afterwards he could not help taking the view that it was absolutely impossible for a human child to be called אל גבור, as God Himself is in chap. x. 21. The accentuators likewise appear to have shrunk from making אל גבור be regarded as a human name. For if ויקרא שמו was to be the introduction of the following string of names, then שְׁמוֹ would not have been marked with *geresh*, but with *zakeph*. It is inter-punctuated as if אבי־עד שר־שלום were the name of the child, and what precedes from פלא were the name of the God who assigns to him these two names of honour. But wherefore should there be just here in connection with the naming of the child such a periphrastic designation of God, seeing that this is not Isaiah's habit elsewhere, and generally it is unexampled, especially in this form, without a prefixed ה'? Moreover, the names of God, in order to mark them off in contrast to the two names of the child, should at least be determined thus: הַיּוֹעֵץ פֶּלֶא הָאֵל הַגִּבּוֹר. Supposing then that, according to the accentuation, the translation would be: "And He who is a Wonder of a Counsellor, or (as in this case we

expect a connective accent instead of the *telísha*, although the least separative accent) He who resolves upon something wonderful, the Strong-God, calls his name: Eternally-Father, Peace-Prince:" we must yet reject it as resting upon misunderstanding and misinterpretation. We take the whole from פלא—as the connection, expression, and syntax require—as a governed accusative predicate to the ויקרא שמו, which stands at the head: "they call his name" (cf. קרא, they name, it is called, Gen. xi. 9, xvi. 14; Josh. vii. 26, and *supra* chap. viii. 4, ישׂא, they will carry; chap. vii. 24, they will come, Ges. § 137. 3). If it be objected to the Messianic interpretation of chap. vii. 14, 15, that the Christ who appeared has not been called Immanuel, but Jesus, this objection is removed by the fact that neither did He bear as a proper name the five names by which He is to be called according to this second prophecy. Moreover, this objection does not less apply to the interpretations adopted by Jewish expositors, such as Rashi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Abravanel, Malbim, Luzzatto, and others, and also by such Christian expositors as Grotius, Gesenius, and Hendewerk, who are in favour of referring the prophecy to Hezekiah,—a view which is chronologically untenable, as has been shown in connection with chap. vii. 14. The name Jesus is a combination of all the Old Testament designations of the one to come, according to His nature and works. The designations given in chap. vii. 14 and chap. ix. 5 have not, however, disappeared in it; they continue to be in the mouth of all believers from Mary downwards; and there is none of these names under which worship and homage have not been paid to Him. The first name is פֶּלֶא or פֵּלֶא,[1] which is not to be taken along with יוֹעֵץ, as might seem recommended according to chap. xxviii. 29, הִפְלִיא עֵצָה. This is the view of the LXX., *A S*[2]: *θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος*,[2] Theodoret: *θαυμαστῶς βουλεύων*. Explaining it

[1] To be written here with *zere*, according to Abulwalid, *Rikma*, p. 57, and Kimchi, *Michlol*, 202*a*. The codices vary (see Norzi).

[2] The *μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος* of the LXX. is evolved out of פלא יועץ אל from the view that not only בני אלהים and בני אלים, but also אלהים in Ps. viii. 6, and אל in Job xx. 15, can mean "angels." In *A* and *S*[2] there is interpolated after *μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος* a new independent translation of the five names: *θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστὴς ἄρχων εἰρήνης πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*. *S*[2] has also *θεὸς* before *ἰσχυρός*, which again is

in this way, פלא יועץ may be regarded as an inverted form for יועץ פלא: One counselling wonderful things; and the possibility of this inversion is proved by chap. xxii. 2, תשאות מלאה, *i.e.* full of tumult. Or we may, with Ewald, § 287*g*, after the analogy of פרא אדם, Gen. xvi. 12, take the connection as genitive or appositional (Nägelsbach): a Wonder of a Counsellor; in which case the separating *telîsha gedola* in פלא would have to be exchanged for a connecting *mahpach*. Both combinations have their weak points, and their meaning would rather lead us to expect מַפְלִיא עֵצָה; whereas to take פלא and יועץ as two separated names has nothing opposed to it (not even the accentuation, which, in this combination of *pashta* with *telîsha gedola*, is without a parallel elsewhere, and is therefore unique). As the Angel of Jehovah answers Manoah in Judg. xiii. 18, when he asks how he is named, that his name is פֶּלִי (פֶּלְאִי), and therefore that his nature is incomprehensible by mortals, so the God-given Ruler is פֶּלֶא (√ פל, to split, separate) a phenomenon lying beyond human comprehension and natural occurrence. Not merely is this or that in him wonderful; he is himself entirely a wonder, παραδοξασμός, as Symmachus translates it. The second name is יֹעֵץ, Counsellor, because in his royal office (Micah iv. 9), by virtue of the spirit of counsel which he possesses (chap. xi. 2), he always knows how to find and to bring counsel for the best good of his people; he does not need to surround himself with counsellors; but without being counselled he counsels those who are without counsel, and he is the end of all lack of counsel for his people. The third name, אֵל גִּבּוֹר, ascribes to him a certain divine nature. This indeed is not so if we translate the words with Luther: "power, hero;"[1] or with Meier: "hero of strength;" or as Hofmann formerly did: "a God of a hero;" or with Ewald: "hero-God," *i.e.* he who combats and conquers like an invincible God. But all these and similar renderings break

a double translation of אֵל. This interpolation of the LXX. is older than Irenaeus and Origen; see Field's *Hexapla*, *in loc.*

[1] Luther would have "power" understood in the sense of absolute might, but translated it more correctly in 1542 as *Deus fortis*. His accepted rendering is like the ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός of Aquila and Symmachus, and Theodotion's ἰσχυρὸς δυνάστης. Only Syr. and Jerome give אל its meaning "God;" and S^2 has, as stated, θς ισχυρος εξουσιαστης.

down in connection with chap. x. 21, where he to whom the remnant of Israel again penitently turns is called אֵל גִּבּוֹר. Moreover, we cannot take אֵל (which in the sense of "mighty" only occurs in the plural, with the exception of Ezek. xxxi. 11, where the Orientals write אֵיל) in this name of the Messiah otherwise than in עִמָּנוּאֵל. And, in addition to this, אֵל in Isaiah is always a name of God, and he is strongly conscious of the contrast between אֵל and אָדָם, as is shown by chap. xxxi. 3 (cf. Hos. xi. 9). Finally, אֵל גִּבּוֹר is everywhere else a designation of God, as in Deut. x. 17; Jer. xxxii. 18; Neh. ix. 32; and the noun גִּבּוֹר is used in the designation adjectively, like שַׁדַּי in אֵל שַׁדַּי. The Messiah is therefore here called "Strong God" (and so the designation is understood by Knobel and others), but he is thus named as a hero equipped with divine power; or according to Kuenen, who compares Zech. xii. 8, as a mighty God surpassing the children of men, and not as a supernatural ruler. We compare יהוה צדקנו in Jer. xxiii. 6 —a Messiah name which even the synagogue cannot call in question (see *Midrash Mishe* 57*a*, where it is cited as one of the eight names of the Messiah), and whose significance for the conscious faith of the Old Testament was that the Messiah would be the image of God as no other man (cf. אֵל, Ps. lxxxii. 1), and would have God dwelling in him (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 16). Who shall lead Israel to victory over the hostile world but God the Strong? The Messiah is the bodily presence of this Strong God; for He is with him, He is in him, He is in him with Israel. From the third name arises the fourth name: אֲבִי־עַד (according to *Ochla weochla* and some manuscripts אֲבִיעַד, in one word), Eternally-Father; for it is just what is divine that is eternal. He is thus named not merely as the possessor of eternity (Hengstenberg) in the same sort of way that the pre-Islamic Arabians called their time-god ابو عوض,[1] nor as creating a continued existence (Junilius, *Instituta regul.* i. 15: *Causa et genitor beatitudinis nostrae*), but as the tender, faithful, and wise trainer, guardian, and provider of his own in eternity (chap. xxii. 21). He is Eternally-Father as the eternal loving King, as Ps. lxxii. describes Him; the primitive word for king is Sanskr. *janaka*, begetter, *i.e.* father (see Max Müller's *Chips*, vol. ii.). He is

[1] See v. Orelli, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, p. 107.

Strong God, as the man in whom God exhibits Himself, and he uses his divine strength in a philanthropic gentle manner for ever for the good of his people. And he is accordingly, as the fifth name says, שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם, a Prince who removes all peace-disturbing powers, and secures peace among the peoples, Zech. ix. 10, as it were the embodied peace which has come down to the world of the nations (Micah v. 4). If אבי־עד signified, according to Gen. xlix. 27, "father of booty" (as held by Hitzig, Knobel, Kuenen, Schultz, and others), then the advance to שׂר־שׁלום would only express that he leads through a conflict rich in booty (Micah v. 3, 4; Isa. liii. 12) to peace; but אב has, when a ruler is in question, presumptively the same sense in its favour as in chap. xxii. 21, and in genitive connections עד always represents the adjective *aeternus* (*e.g.* chap. xlv. 17, lvii. 15).[1] He will therefore be thus named on account of the devoted protection and tender provision which he bestows upon his people, and which he indeed vouchsafes to them for ever. But the goal and the fruit of his dominion is peace. Intentionally the five names die away in שׁלום, like the three utterances of the Aaronic blessing. To elevate the Davidic government to a government of eternal peace is the end for which he is born, and for this end he proves himself to be what he is named and is.—Ver. 6: "*For increase of the government, and for peace without end upon David's throne and over his kingdom, to establish and support it through judgment and righteousness from now onwards for everlasting — the jealousy of Jehovah of hosts will accomplish this.*" לְםַרְבֵּה (with מ״ם סתומה)[2] is here not a participle but a substantive, according

[1] Among the names of persons compounded with אבי (see Nestle, *Eigennamen*, pp. 182–188), hardly one is found elsewhere in which the relation is genitival and the genitive has an attributive sense, for אבישׁלום, אבשׁלום means, in fact, not father-of-peace, but the Father (God) is peace.

[2] In the Talmud the *Mem clausum* is represented as a mystery. When Bar-Kappara says (*Sanhedrin* 94*a*) that God designed to make Hezekiah the Messiah, and Sennacherib Gog and Magog, but that Hezekiah was not found worthy of this, and therefore the *Mem* of למרבה was closed נִסְתְּתַם, there is so far some sense in this, since the Messianic hopes really could cleave for a certain time to Hezekiah; whereas the assertion of a certain Hillel (*ib.* 98*b*), that Hezekiah was actually the Messiah of Israel, and no other was to be expected, is an absurd (perhaps antichristian) idea. Compare the beautiful Midrash on Neh. ii. 13, הם פרוצים, that

to the form מַעֲשֵׂה מַרְאֶה, and not from הַרְבֵּה but from רַבָּה, an infinitive noun expressing abstract action or its actual result. The august king's child brings an always more widely extending dominion and endless peace when he sits upon David's throne and rules over David's kingdom. He is a *semper Augustus, i.e.* one always increasing the kingdom, yet not by war, but by peaceful spiritual weapons. Internally he gives the kingdom מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה, as the foundations and pillars of its continuing existence: legal right which he pronounces and ordains, and justice which he himself practises and transmits to the members of the kingdom. This new time of the Davidic monarchy is as yet still a thing of faith and of hope, but the jealous zeal of Jehovah guarantees its realization. The accentuation is here misleading, since it gives the appearance as though the words מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם belonged to the closing clause, whereas the perspective which they open applies directly to the government of the great descendant of David, and only indirectly to the work of the divine jealousy. קִנְאָה (properly glow, cf. Deut. iv. 24) is one of the deepest conceptions of the Old Testament.[1] It is double-sided; the glow of love has for its obverse the glow of wrath. For jealousy is jealous for the object of its love in opposition to everything which trenches upon it and this love. Jehovah loves His people. That He leaves it to such bad Davidic kings as Ahaz, and gives it up to the world-power, is not compatible with this love in the long run. His love flames up, consumes all that is adverse to it, and gives His people the true king, in whom that which was typified in David and Solomon culminates as in its antitype. With this same expression: the jealousy of Jehovah of hosts, etc., Isaiah seals the promise in chap. xxx. 32.

the broken walls of Jerusalem will be closed in the day of salvation, and that the government will then be opened, which has been closed up to the time of King Messiah (סתומה עד מלך המשיח).

[1] See my Introduction to Ferd. Weber's treatise on the Wrath of God, 1862, p. xxxv.

B.—*The punishing hand reaching out to inflict still more strokes*, chap. ix. 7–x. 4.

The great light will not arise before the darkness has reached its deepest. The gradual increase of this darkness is prophesied in this second section of the esoteric discourses. Many difficult questions rise in connection with this section: (1) Is it directed only against the northern kingdom, or against the whole of Israel? (2) What is the historical standpoint of the prophet in time? Most commentators answer that the prophet is here only prophesying against Ephraim, and particularly after Syria and Ephraim had been already chastised by Tiglathpileser. The former position is incorrect; the prophet indeed starts from Ephraim, but he does not stop with Ephraim. The fates of both kingdoms, causally connected as in reality they are, flow into one another here, as in chap. viii. 5 sqq. And it is not merely this or that point, but all that is expressed historically in this section which the prophet has lying behind him from the standpoint he occupies. We know from chap. ii. 9, v. 25, that he uses the *imperf. cons.* as the preterite of the ideal past. We translate here in the present throughout, for our mode of representation is familiar with making a past event present, but not with this historicizing of the future. In its external arrangement, no section of Isaiah is so symmetrical as this one. We have had approximations to strophes with the same beginning in chap. v., and with the same ending in chap. ii. In this section chap. v. 25*b* is made the recurring refrain of four symmetrical strophes. In translating we shall always take a whole strophe at once.

Strophe 1, vers. 7–11: "*The All-Lord sends out a word against Jacob, and it descends into Israel. And the people altogether must make expiation, Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria speaking in arrogance and pride of heart. 'Bricks have fallen, and we build up with hewn stones; sycamore trees are hewn down, and we put cedars in their place.' Jehovah raises high Rezin's oppressors over him, and goads on his enemies. Aram from east, and Philistines from west, they devour Israel with full mouth,—for all that His anger does not turn*

away, and His hand is stretched out still." The word דָּבָר is the messenger of the Lord in nature and history; it runs quickly through the earth (Ps. cxlvii. 15, 18); sent by the Lord, it comes to men to destroy or to heal (Ps. cvii. 20), and never returns to its sender with its object unaccomplished (chap. lv. 10, 11). Thus does the Lord even now send a word against Jacob (בְּיַעֲקֹב, not used otherwise than in chap. ii. 5). And this heavenly messenger passes down into Israel (נָפַל, as in Dan. iv. 28, and like the Arab. *nazala*, the term used of the coming down of divine revelation), turning to lodge, as it were, in the soul of the prophet. Its first commission is directed against Ephraim, which is so little humbled by the misfortunes experienced under Jehu (2 Kings x. 32) and Joahaz (2 Kings xiii. 3), that they are presumptuous enough to substitute for bricks and sycomores (*ficus sycomorus*,[1] which furnishes an excellent wood for building, but is a very common tree, 1 Kings x. 27) hewn building stones (גָּזִית, Cod. Babyl. גָּזִית from גז, like בְּרִית from ברר) and cedars. הֶחֱלִיף is not used here as in Job xiv. 7, where it means *nova germina emittere*, but as in chap. xl. 31, xli. 1, where it means, with כֹּחַ, *novas vires assumere*, so that in this passage, where the object is something external to the subject, it means *substituere*, like the Arab. *achlafa*, to restore, to replace. The poorest style of building in the country is contrasted with the best, for "the sycomore is a tree which only flourishes in the plain, and there the most wretched dwellings are still built in the present day of bricks dried in the sun, and of knotty beams of sycomore."[2] If the war has destroyed these, then more lasting and stately dwellings will be raised in their place. Ephraim is to be brought to feel this defiance of the judgments of God (יָדַע as in Hos. ix. 7; Ezek. xxv. 14). Jehovah gives to the adversaries of Rezin supremacy over Ephraim (שִׂגֵּב), and spurs on the enemies of Ephraim. סִכְסֵךְ, as in chap. xix. 2, from סָכַךְ, in the root meaning, which is dialectically guaranteed, means to prick, *figere* (which has nothing to do with the meaning to plait and to cover); from which

[1] As distinguished from *συκόμορος* or *συκάμινος*, the sycomore, תּוּת, means the mulberry-tree, *morus*; see Imm. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, Nos. 332 and 338.

[2] Rosen, "Topographisches aus Jerusalem," in *DMZ.* 1860, xiv. 612.

we have שֵׂךְ, סֵךְ, شَكَّة, a prickle, a nail, peg, and the Aramaeo-Heb. שַׂכִּין, سِكِّين, a knife: and therefore the *pilpel* is to be translated to goad, to incite, according to which the Targum translates this passage and chap. xix. 2 and the LXX. chap. xix. 2. It is not necessary to adduce the Talmudic סִכְסֵךְ, to kindle (by friction), which never occurs in the metaphorical sense of to excite; our סכסך would be better taken as an intensive form of סָכַךְ, in the sense of the Arab. شَكَّ, "to provide oneself with weapons, to arm;" but this is properly a denominative from that *šikka* which means an offensive weapon, from stabbing and spearing, from which the transition is easy to the meaning of spurring on and instigating. The "oppressors of Rezin" (צָרֵי רְצִין, like הוֹי גּוֹי in chap. i. 4) are the Assyrians who were called in by Ahaz against Rezin. The indirect designation of them is peculiar, but neither does the striking out of the צרי (Lagarde) nor its transformation into שרי (Ewald, Cheyne) commend itself; most in its favour has the conj. צרריו with רצין expunged (Bredenkamp), so that צרריו (צריו) and איביו are specialized in ver. 11. The range of vision here widens to the whole of Israel; for the northern kingdom has never had to suffer from the Philistines, whereas an invasion of Philistines into Judah actually belonged to the punitive judgments of the time of Ahaz, 2 Chron. xxviii. 16–19. Ephraim is overrun by Aram, that is to say (if רצין is not expunged), by Aram as subjugated by Assur, and now tributary to it, and Judah is invaded by the Philistines, and becomes a fat prize of both. But this extreme distress is still far from being the end of God's punishments. Because Israel does not turn (לא שב), God's wrath also does not turn (לא שב).

Strophe 2, vers. 12–16: "*But the people turneth not unto Him that smiteth it, and they seek not Jehovah of hosts. Therefore Jehovah rooteth out of Israel head and tail, palm-branch and rush, in one day. Elders and the right honourable, this is the head; and prophets, teachers of lies, this is the tail: the leaders of this people have become mis-leaders, and their followers swallowed up ones. Therefore the All-Lord will not rejoice in their young men, and will not have compassion on their orphans and widows: for altogether they are impious and evil-*

doers, and every mouth speaketh blasphemy,—with all this His anger is not turned away, and His hand is stretched out still." The ו of והעם corresponds to the Latin *autem*. שׁב עד is used of thorough conversion that does not stop half way. הַמַּכֵּהוּ, the smiter of it, or he who smiteth it, is Jehovah (compare, on the other hand, chap. x. 20, where Assur is meant). The article and suffix are used as in chap. xxiv. 2; Prov. xvi. 4, and elsewhere. It might be thought that the ו of המכהו was inadvertently appended from the following ואת; but the article could rather be dispensed with than the suffix; the case is similar to what we have in הַמַּעֲלֵם מִיָּם, chap. lxiii. 11, *q.v.* There is now coming a great day of punishment, like several which Israel has experienced in the Assyrian oppressions and Judah in the Chaldean oppressions; and in it head and tail, or, according to another proverbial expression, palm branch and rush are rooted out. One might think that by this is meant the upper and the lower classes, high and low; but ver. 14 makes another application of the first double figure by giving it a turn different from its popular sense (cf. Arab. *er-ru'ûs w-al-ednâb* = high and low, in Dietrich, p. 209). Since Koppe this ver. 14 has been almost universally held to be a gloss (Hitzig, Ewald, Dietrich, Knobel, Cheyne, Diestel), and, moreover, a *sotte glose* (Reuss). But in opposition to this is to be put the habit of Isaiah (chap. i. 22, 23), and also of the other prophets and poets of interpreting their figures themselves (Hos. xiii. 15; Ps. xviii. 17, 18, cxliv. 7); against it also is the Isaianic conception in chap. iii. 3, xxx. 20; against, too, is the mediating relation of this verse to ver. 15; and against it further is the wit of the interpretation. The chiefs of the people are the head of the people as a body; and behind it sit the prophets, like the wagging tail of a dog, flattering the people,—prophets who love, as Persius says (iv. 15), *blando caudam jactare popello.* The prophet drops the figure of כִּפָּה, the palm-branch forming the crown of the palm (which has its name from the fact that it is formed like the palm of the hand, *instar palmae manus*), and אַגְמוֹן, the rush which grows out of the marsh.[1] It signifies the rulers of the people

[1] The noun אֲגַם is used in the Old Testament as well as in the Talmud to signify both a marshy place (see *Mezia* 36*b*, and more especially *Aboda sara* 38*a*, where גילוי אגמא signifies the laying bare of the marshy soil

and the rabble of the people. Accordingly, the demagogic prophets form the ignoblest extremity. For so far has it come, says ver. 15, that those who promise to lead by a straight way (אִשֵּׁר) lead astray, and they who allow themselves to be led by them are as good as already swallowed up by hell (cf. chap. v. 14, iii. 12). Therefore the All-Ruler will not rejoice over the young men of this people, *i.e.* He will let them be smitten by their enemies without going forth with them into the conflict, and he will deny his wonted compassion even to widows and orphans, for they are all utterly corrupt on all sides. The alienation, obliquity, and dishonesty of their heart is indicated by חָנֵף[1] (from חנף, which has in itself the indifferent root-idea of inclination, whence, in the Arabic, *ḥanîf* conversely signifies one who is decided for right); the badness of their conduct is indicated by מֵרַע, a sharpened form, as in Prov. xvii. 4, for מֵרֵעַ, *maleficus*,[2] and the vicious infatuation of their words is indicated by נְבָלָה. This they are and this they continue to be; and consequently the wrathful hand of God continues stretched out over them for the inflicting of new strokes.

Strophe 3, vers. 17–20: "*For the wickedness blazes up like fire: it consumes thorns and thistles, and kindles in the thickets of the wood; and they roll upwards in a high whirl of smoke. Through the wrath of Jehovah of hosts the land is charred, and the people has become like the food of fire: one does not spare his brother. They hew on the right, and are hungry; and devour on the left, and are not satisfied: they devour the flesh of their own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: these together over Judah,—with all this His anger is*

by the burning up of the reeds), and also the marsh grass (*Shabbath* 11*a*, "if all the אגמים were kalams, *i.e.* writing reeds, or pens;" and *Kiddushin* 62*b*, where אגם signifies a stalk of marsh-grass or reed, a rush or bulrush, and is explained, with reference to Isa. lviii. 5, לישנא דבוצלנא הוא, "it means a tender, weak stalk"). The noun אגמון, on the other hand, means only the stalk of the marsh-grass, or the marsh-grass, like the Aramaean חִישְׁתָּא, the marsh-growth, from خاس, to rot, to fust = אגם, أَجَمَ.

[1] On the extra-biblical use of the חנף, see *DMZ.* xxiii. 635, 636.

[2] The reading מֵרַע is wrong; the Masoretic reading is מֵרֵעַ, and the interpretation ἐκ πονηροῦ is therefore excluded.

not turned away, and His hand is stretched out still." The standpoint of the prophet is at the farthest end of the course of judgment, and from there he looks back; consequently this link of the chain is also past in his view, and hence the consecutive imperfects. The curse, which the apostasy of Israel carries within itself, now breaks fully out. Wickedness רִשְׁעָה, *i.e.* the constant willing of evil, is a fire which man kindles in himself. And when the grace of God, which stifles and checks this fire, is at an end, it breaks forth; the wickedness flames forth like fire (בָּעַר, as in chap. xxx. 27, is used of God's wrath). So it stands with the wickedness of Israel, which now consumes first thorns and thistles, *i.e.* the individual evil-doers who are the most ripe for judgment on whom the judgment begins, and then the thicket of the wood (סְבְכֵי or סִבְּכֵי, as in chap. x. 34, from סְבַךְ, Gen. xxii. 13 = סֹבֶךְ), that is to say, the mass of the people knit together by bands of iniquity, is set on fire (וַתִּצַּת, not reflexive Niphal, as in 2 Kings xxii. 13, to kindle, but *Qal:* to kindle into something = to kindle up, from יָצַת, related to יָצַג, literally to set on [fire]). The distinction which the two figures intend is therefore not the high and low (Ewald), not the useless and useful (Drechsler), but the individuals and the whole people (Vitringa). The fire into which the wickedness breaks out seizes individuals first, and then like a forest-conflagration it seizes the people in all its ranks and members who whirl up (roll forth) the ascending of smoke, *i.e.* they roll forth in high ascending smoke. הִתְאַבֵּךְ, *ἀπ. λεγ.*, a synonym of הִתְהַפֵּךְ, Judg. vii. 13, to turn oneself or roll (cf. Assyr. *abâku*, to turn); the smoke itself has the name עָשָׁן, عثن, from the pillars of smoke curling into one another (cf. عثنون, used of the felted beard of the camel). This fire of wickedness is nothing else but God's עֶבְרָה, for so wrath is called as breaking forth from within and spreading itself inwardly more and more, and then passing outwards into word and deed; it is God's own wrath; for all sin carries this within itself as its own punishment. By this fire of wrath the soil of the land is gradually and wholly burnt out, and the people of the land entirely consumed; עָתַם, *ἀπ. λεγ.*, to glow (LXX. *συγκέ-*

καυται, and similarly also in Targum), and to be dark, black (Arab. *'atama*, late night), for what has burned out becomes black (cf. חום, Aram. שְׁחִים). Fire and darkness are correlates throughout the whole of Scripture. Thus far do the figures go in which the prophet unveils the inner nature of this stage of judgment. In its historical manifestation it consists in the most inhuman self-destruction during an anarchical civil war. Devoid of any gentler feeling (חָמַל אֶל for עַל, as in Jer. li. 3), they devour each other without being satisfied; גָּזַר, to cut, to hew into (whence the Arab. جزّار, the butcher), זְרֹעוֹ, according to Jer. xix. 9 = רֵעֵהוּ, a member of his family and tribe, who, as being a natural defence and support, is figuratively called his arm, Arabic *'adud* (see Ges. *Thes.* p. 433). The Talmud in reading זַרְעוֹ testifies to the defective mode of writing זרעו (see Norzi). This interminable self-slaughtering and the king-murder conjoined with the jealousy of the tribes, shook the northern kingdom again to its destruction. And how easily the unbrotherliness of the northern tribes towards each other can turn into united hostility against Judah, has been sufficiently proved by the Syro-Ephraimitish war, whose consequences are always still going on, even now when the prophet is prophesying. This hostility of the brother kingdoms will still increase. But even this is not yet the end of the judgments of wrath.

Strophe 4, chap. x. 1–4: "*Woe unto them that ordain godless ordinances, and to the writers who prepare trouble; to force away the needy from demanding justice, and to rob the suffering of my people of their rightful claim, that widows may become their prey, and they plunder orphans. And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the storm that cometh from afar? To whom will ye flee for help, and where will ye deposit your glory? There is nothing left but to crouch down under captives, and they fall under the slain—with all this His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still.*" This last strophe is directed against the unjust authorities and judges. The woe upon them, as we have already several times seen, is the *ceterum censeo* of Isaiah. חָקַק (to cut in, originally to mark, chap. xxx. 8; Job xix. 23) is their deciding of decrees; and כִּתֵּב (Piel occurring only here, and

in the perf. according to Ges. § 126. 3) is their official subscribing and writing (not scribbling, scrawling, Ewald, § 120*b*). Their decrees are חִקְקֵי אָוֶן (an open plural from a principal form חֵק=חֹק, as in Judg. v. 15, cf. גִּלְלֵי, הֲרֲרֵי, עֲמְמֵי, צִלְלֵי),[1] inasmuch as their content is nothingness, *i.e.* is the direct opposite of moral reality: and what they write out is עָמָל, trouble, *i.e.* unjust (cf. πόνος, πονηρός) oppression of the people.[2] Poor people who wish to enter upon legal proceedings are not allowed by them to do it; widows become their prey—that is, the object of their spoil, and they plunder the orphans entirely (compare on the diversion into the finite verb, chap. v. 24, viii. 11, xlix. 5, lviii. 5). For this the judgment of God cannot be escaped by them, and this is told them in ver. 3, the statement being clothed in three questions (beginning with וּמָה, *quid igitur*). The noun פְּקֻדָּה of the first question always means simply a visitation of punishment. שׁוֹאָה from שָׁאָה is empty and waste, emptiness and wasteness, then the rumbling of what has fallen down into an empty deep; and more generally it is a catastrophe, destruction, and here "coming from afar," because a distant people (Assur) is God's instrument of wrath. The second question runs thus: Upon whom will ye throw yourselves when seeking refuge (נוּס עַל, *constr. praegnans* only here)? Third question: Where, *i.e.* in whose hand, will ye deposit your wealth in money and property (כָּבוֹד, what is weighty in value and imposing in its appearance)? עָזַב with אֶל, as in Job xxxix. 11, or לְ, Job xxxix. 14, is to leave anything with a person as property in trust. No one receives from them their wealth as a deposit; it is irretrievably lost. To this negative answer there is attached the following בִּלְתִּי, which as a preposition after a preceding negation signifies *praeter*, as a conjunction *nisi* (בִּלְתִּי אִם, Judg. vii. 14), and when it governs the whole proposition, as in this case (cf. Gen. xliii. 3; Num.

[1] On the punctuation of חִקְקֵי with vocal *Shebâ* (without *metheg*) see Kimchi, *Michlol*, 79*b*. In like manner Deut. xxxiii. 17 has רִבְבוֹת, not authenticated like רִבֲבוֹת in Num. x. 36.

[2] The current accentuation, וּמכתבים, *mercha*, עמל, *tiphchah*, is wrong. The correct accentuation is וּֽמְכַתְּבִים, *tiphchah* (and *metheg*), עמל, *mercha*; then עמל כתבו is an attributive clause.

xi. 6; Dan. xi. 18), *nisi quod;* and here, where the previous negation is to be supplied in thought, it signifies *nil reliquum est nisi quod.* The singular כָּרַע is used contemptuously, the high persons being taken together in the mass; and תַּחַת does not mean *aeque ac* or *loco* (Ewald, § 217*k*), but *infra* in its primary local sense (cf. בְּתוֹךְ, Ezek. xxxii. 20). Some crouch down in order to find more room at the feet of the prisoners who are crammed closely together in the prison; or if this is to be taken as referring to a scene of deportation, they sink under the feet of the other prisoners, being unable to bear their hardships. The others fall in war; and as the carnage lasts long, in such a way that when corpses themselves they are covered by the corpses of the other slain (cf. chap. xiv. 19).[1] And even with this God's wrath is not yet satisfied. The prophet, however, does not follow out the terrible gradation further. The exile to which this fourth strophe points also actually forms the close of a period.

C.—*The annihilation of the imperial kingdom of the world and the rising of the kingdom of Jehovah in His Anointed,* chap. x. 5–xii.

The law of contrast which rules in the history of salvation also holds good in prophecy. When distress culminates, the course of events takes a turn and it is changed into help; and when, as in the previous section, prophecy has become black as night, it suddenly becomes as bright as day, as in the section which now begins. The הוֹי spoken over Israel now becomes a הוֹי over Assyria (*Assur*).[2] Assyria, proud of its own power, after having served for a time as a rod of the wrath of Jehovah, itself now falls under the power of that wrath; its attack upon Jerusalem becomes its overthrow, and

[1] Lagarde (*Symmicta*, i. 105; *Mittheilungen*, i. 210) reads בֵּלְתִּי כֹּרַעַת חַת אֹסִיר: "Beltis sinks down, Osiris is crushed" (according to xlvi. 1; Jer. l. 2). But the following ותחת הרוגים יפלו has then no connection; and I still hold that it cannot be shown that Egyptian gods were worshipped in Judah in the time of the kings.

[2] [Dr. Delitzsch uses "Assur" rather than Assyria, and it is retained in the renderings of the Hebrew text.—Tr.]

on the ruins of this imperial kingdom of the world there rises up the kingdom of the great and righteous son of David, who rules in peace over his redeemed people and over the people who rejoice in him. This is the counterpart of the redemption from Egypt, and one rich in material for songs of praise, like that which happened on the other side of the Red Sea. The Messianic prophecy, which in chap. vii. turns the side of its curse towards unbelief, and the substance of whose promise breaks through the darkness in chap. viii. 5–ix. 6, like a great light, is standing now upon its third and highest stage. In chap. vii. it is like a star in the night; in chap. viii. 5–ix. 6 it is like the breaking in of the morning; and now the sky becomes entirely cloudless, and it appears like the noonday sun. The prophet has now penetrated to the fringe of the light of chap. vi. The name Shear-jashub, having emptied itself of the curse it contained, is now transfigured into a pure promise. And it now becomes as clear as day what the name "Immanuel" means, and what Immanuel's name אל גבור declares: the remnant of Israel turns itself to God the Strong, and God the Strong is henceforth with His people in the sprout of Jesse, who has the seven spirits of God dwelling in him. As regards the date of the composition of this third section of the esoteric discourses, most modern commentators agree in assigning it to the time of Hezekiah, because chap. x. 9–11 represents the conquest of Samaria as having already taken place. Now if the prophet had, in fact, already foretold in chap. vii. 8 and viii. 4, 7 that Samaria, and with Samaria the kingdom of Israel, would succumb to the Assyrians, he might presuppose it here as ideally a past. But vers. 9–11 really require us to assign the composition of this section, at least in its existing form, to the time of Hezekiah, and is opposed to the view that would assign its composition to the time of Ahaz, whether before or after the punishment inflicted on the two allies by Tiglath-pileser (Vitringa, Caspari, Drechsler).

The prophet begins with הוי, which is always used as an expression of indignant pain in opening a proclamation of judgment over the party named; although this proclamation, as in the present case (cf. chap. i. 4, 5–9), does not always

immediately follow, but there may be prefixed to it a statement of the sin by which the judgment is brought about. First of all, Assyria is more definitely indicated as the chosen instrument of divine judgment upon all Israel. Vers. 5, 6: "*Woe to Assur, the rod of mine anger and a staff is he in their hand—mine indignation. Against a reprobate nation will I despatch them, and against the people of my displeasure will I direct them to prey prey, and to spoil spoil, and to make it trodden down like street mire.*" What follows הוֹי is not necessarily vocative, but it may be the designation of the object (without לְ, אֶל, עַל), as shown by chap. i. 4. זַעְמִי is either permutative of the predicative הוּא, which is placed emphatically in front (cf. the אַתָּה־הוּא, similarly with *makkeph*, in Jer. xiv. 22), as we have translated it; or הוּא בְיָדָם stands elliptically for אֲשֶׁר הוּא בְיָדָם, the staff which they use is my indignation (Aben Ezra, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, and others), in which case, however, we should rather expect ומטה בידם הוא זעמי. It cannot, however, be rendered: "And a staff is he, in their hand is my indignation," as Knabenbauer gives it, for this breaks up the half verse too much. Nor is it permissible, following Knobel's view, to take זעמי as a separated genitive to מטה, and to punctuate מַטֵּה, which is altogether without an example in the Hebrew language.[1] Hitzig, Ewald, Diestel, and others eliminate הוא בידם as a gloss; but a glossator would have written אשר בידם, and what remains would be a tautology. Instead of וּלְשִׂימוֹ the *Keri* gives וּלְשׂוּמוֹ, as the infinitive combined with a suffix appears everywhere else; compare, on the other hand, 2 Sam. xiv. 7. Further, the manuscripts waver between מִרְמָס and מִרְמַס like מִבְטַח (Ewald, § 160*c*). Assyria is to be a means of inflicting the divine wrath on Israel; for Israel, and particularly (in accordance with the standpoint of this prophetical discourse) Judah, is the reprobate nation, the people which had become the object of the overflowing divine wrath.

The instrument of punishment, however, exalts itself and

[1] In Arabic this separation of the governed word from the governing word with a genitive relation (even apart from the allowable interposition of a word expressive of an oath) is a poetical licence; see de Sacy, *Gramm.* t. ii. § 270.

makes itself out of a mean into an end in itself. Ver. 7: "*Nevertheless he meaneth not thus, nor doth his heart think thus: for to destroy is his striving, and to cut off nations not a few.*" Assyria thinks לֹא־כֵן, not as he ought to think, in consequence of the fact that he is conditioned in his power over Israel by Jehovah. For what filled his heart (בִּלְבָבוֹ instead of the usual עִם־לְבָבוֹ) is the striving peculiar to the imperial power, not tolerating any independent people beside itself, to destroy peoples not a few (לֹא מְעָט in apposition, as in Neh. ii. 12, cf. Num. ix. 20), *i.e.* as many peoples as possible, in order to extend the range of its dominion, and to deal with Judah as with all the rest; for Jehovah is to Assyria only as one of the idols of the peoples. Vers. 8–11: "*For he saith, Are not my generals all kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish, or Hamath as Arpad, or Samaria as Damascus? As my hand has reached the kingdoms of the idols—and their graven images were more than those of Jerusalem and Samaria—shall I not, as I have done to Samaria and her idols, likewise do to Jerusalem and her idols?*" The king of Assyria bore the title of the great king (chap. xxxvi. 4); in Assyrian *šarru rabbu*, or even (cf. Ezek. xxvi. 7) of the King of kings; in Assyrian, *šar šarrâni* (*šarru*, not *malik*, because the former, in the political linguistic usage of the Assyrian,[1] is a higher title than the latter). The generals in his army he can call kings, because the satraps[2] who led their contingents were like kings in the extent and splendour of their dominion, and some of them were also really subjugated kings (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 28). He proudly asks whether one of the cities named was not as incapable of resistance as the other, and yet had fallen before him. כַּרְכְּמִישׁ (even after a connecting accusative, not כְּכַרְכְּמִישׁ, but כְּכַרְכְּמִישׁ,[3] on account of the incompatibility of

[1] In the titular designations of the gods, *šarru* (*šarratu*) and *malik* (*malkatu*) interchange, as Schrader has shown against Stade.

[2] Σατράπης (cf. σατρα in the Persian sense in the Acharnanians of Aristophanes), in Theopompus ἐξατράπης, in inscriptions ἐξαιθραπεύων, is the old Persian (cuneiform) *khshatra pâvan*, *i.e.* government-keeper (*pâvan*, in neo-Persian abridged as بان in شهربان, *šarbân*, city-keeper, باغبان, *bâghbân*, garden-keeper), plur. Hebraized into אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים.

[3] Cf. on the rule, *Luth. Zeitschrift*, xxiv. (1863) p. 414. The punctuation adopted is כְּכ, בְּב, even after אה״וי; whether בְּמ may also be adopted

the aspirates) is not Circesium nor Mabug, but the ruined site Girbâs (plur. Gerâbis), lying to the north-east of Aleppo, a name corrupted from Εὐρωπός (Ὠρωπός), or the right bank of the Euphrates, right over against the town of *Biredgik* (Assyr. *Garkamiš*), lying on the left bank. כַּלְנוֹ is usually regarded as the later Ctesiphon, on the left bank of the Tigris.[1] (Was it the same as כַּלְנֵה, Gen. x. 10, and כַּלְנֵה, Amos vi. 2 ?) As to Arpad, which is now an uninhabited heap of ruins named *Tel Erfâd*, in the Pashalic of 'Azâz, about three German miles north from Haleb, see *DMZ.* xxv. 258, 259, 655. Hamâth = Epiphania, on the river Orontes (which is now called العاصى, *el-'Aṣi*), is still a large and rich place. The king of Assyria had also conquered Samaria at the time when the prophet introduces him speaking. Samaria received its death-blow in 722 through Salmanassar, who died during the siege, and through Sargon, who succeeded in his place after the kingdom had been shorn of a great part of its territory in 734 by Tiglath-pileser. Damascus had been taken and plundered in 732 by Tiglath-pileser; and Carchemis, and with it the kingdom of the Hittites, whose capital it was, was subdued by Sargon in 717.[2] Neither, then, will Jerusalem hold out against him. As he had got idolatrous kingdoms into his power (מָצָא לְ, to attain, as in Ps. xxi. 9, and הָאֱלִיל with the generic article), which had stronger idols than Jerusalem and Samaria, he will likewise overcome Jerusalem like Samaria, Jerusalem having equally powerless idols. מִן, *prae*, implies only a "more than" (as *e.g.* in Ezek. v. 6), which may be either a more in number, or, what is more directly suggested, a more in power (compare the similar question in Amos vi. 2). Note here that ver. 11 is the apodosis to ver. 10, and that the comparative clause of ver. 10 is repeated in ver. 11 in order to bring Samaria and Jerusalem specially into comparison. The king of Assyria calls the gods of the peoples by the name of idols without the prophet transferring to him his Israelitish standpoint. On the contrary, the chief sin of the Assyrian lies in this. For

(cf. Ps. xxvi. 12, cvi. 7, cxxix. 2, ed. Baer) is questionable; see Strack, *Proleg.* p. 116, *Liber Psalmorum Hebr. atque Lat.* p. ix.

[1] See on this *Chald. Genesis*, p. 293. *Paradies*, p. 225.

[2] See Schrader, *KAT.* 2 Auf. p. 385.

while he recognises no other gods than his own national gods, he places Jehovah along with the idols of the heathen cults which had been introduced into Samaria and Jerusalem. For the worshippers of Jehovah this fact brings the consolation that such blasphemy of the one living God cannot remain unavenged. For the idolaters, however, it brings a bitter teaching; for their gods really deserve nothing better than to be spoken of with scorn. The prophet has now characterized Assyria's sin. It is ambitious self-exaltation above Jehovah, carried even to blasphemy; and yet he is only Jehovah's rod, which it was in His power to use.

And when He has used this rod so far as He would, He throws it away. Ver. 12: "*And it will come to pass, when the All-Lord shall bring to an end all His work upon Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, I will come to punish on the fruit of the pride of heart of the king of Assur, and on the haughty glancing of his eyes.*" The statement about the Lord suddenly changes into a direct utterance of the Lord. When He will consummate His whole work, a work which, as in chap. xxviii. 21, is punitive (Cheyne, Orelli, and Bredenkamp), this will be done in Zion and Jerusalem, where He calls to Assyria "thus far and no farther," with the judgment on Assyria, the instrument of punishment which has become presumptuous and further unusable. בִּצַּע, *absindere* = *absolvere*, Lam. ii. 17, Zech. iv. 9, is a metaphor derived from the loom, as in chap. xxxviii. 12. There is no reason for taking יְבַצַּע as *fut. exactum*, which would be expressed in the perfect in accordance with chap. iv. 4. The "whole work" is that which has been carried out to the utmost. The end of the work of punishment passes into the judgment upon the instrument of punishment, and therefore into the deliverance of Jerusalem from extreme distress. The פְּרִי of the pride of the heart of Assyria is his vainglorious blaspheming of Jehovah, in which his whole disposition is concentrated, as the internal quality of the tree is in the fruit which hangs aloft amid the branches. תִּפְאֶרֶת, as in Zech. xii. 7, is the self-glorification which expresses itself in the lofty look of his eyes (Prov. xxi. 4). A considerable number of genitives are intentionally brought together in order to express that Assyria is greatly puffed up, even to bursting. But Jehovah, towards whom humility is the soul

of all virtue, will visit and punish this pride. When He has punished so far that by further punishing He would annihilate Israel, which is inconsistent with His grace and truth, He then turns His punishing against the instrument of punishment, which falls under the curse of all that is selfishly opposed to God. Vers. 13, 14: "*For he has said: By the strength of my own hand I have accomplished it, and by my own wisdom, for I am prudent, and removed the boundaries of the peoples, and I plundered their stores, and, as superior, put down enthroned ones, and my hand took out the possessions of the peoples like a nest; and as men gather forsaken eggs, I have gathered up the whole earth,—there was no one who stirred a wing and opened the mouth and chirped.*" The imperfects ruled by the preterites express what happened several times. The second of these preterites, שׁוֹשֵׂתִי (= שׁוֹסֵיתִי), is the only example of a *perf. Poel* of verbs ל״ה, and is only in appearance a mixed form from שׁוֹסֵם (Po. of שָׁסַם) and שִׁסָּה (Pi. of שָׁסָה). The object to this is עֲתִידוֹת (*Chethîb*) or עֲתוּדוֹת (*Keri*), which means *parata* in the sense of τὰ μέλλοντα (Deut. xxxii. 35), or, as here, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. According to the *Keri*, it is further to be translated: and put down, a mighty one, enthroned ones; כַּבִּיר, as in Job xxxiv. 17, 24, and xxxvi. 5. The Mishna (*Yadayim* iv. 4) has עתידותיהם (*Chethîb*), שׁוסיתי, and כביר (*Keri*). But the *Chethîb* כְּאַבִּיר is suitable if the כ is taken, as in chap. xiii. 6, as כ *veritatis:* as a strong one (superior in strength), not: as a bull (Bredenkamp); for אַבִּיר can be shown to have this meaning only in the plural (Ps. lxviii. 31, xxii. 13, l. 13), although it would give a relevant sense. It is possible, however, that what is indicated by אביר, according to Ps. lxxviii. 25, is a superhuman power (Cheyne), as the bull-god (*alpu*, and also κατ' ἐξ. *šêdu*) appears in the inscriptions as a power marching through the enemy's lands and trampling everything down. In ver. 14 the stiffer ו *consec.* appears before the 3rd pers. fem. The kingdoms of the peoples are here compared to birds' nests, which the Assyrian seizes upon and harries (אָסַף, as in Hab. ii. 5; cf. שׂפה in chap. v. 7); and their possessions are compared to lonesome eggs, the mother bird being away. And thus there is not even an appearance of resistance, and in the nest not one of the little birds stirs a wing to defend itself,

nor does any one open its beak to scare away by its chirping. Seb. Schmid correctly renders it thus: *nulla alam movet ad defendendum aut os aperit ad terrendum.* Thus proudly does Assyria look back upon his course of victory, and thus contemptuously does he look down upon the subdued kingdoms.

This self-exaltation is a senseless sin. Ver. 15: "*Dare the axe boast itself against him who hews with it, or the saw magnify itself against him who draws it? As if a staff were swinging those who lift it up, as if a stick were to lift up not-wood.*" What madness lies in this self-deification is indicated by the two questions. The boasting of the Assyrian is the bragging of an axe against (literally, over) him who hews with it (הַחֹצֵב בּוֹ, without moving back the tone, which is not usual, especially in participles of *Kal*, excepting ל״ה and ל״א), or of a saw (מַשּׂוֹר from נָשַׂר, نشر, Aramean נְסַר, in Mishna נָסַר, *serr-are*) against him who wields it (הֵנִיף, to move rhythmically, *i.e.* to and fro according to a determinate measure and time). Then follow two exclamations of astonishment at the absurdity of such a conceit of greatness; כְּ represents here a whole clause, as in the Arabic كَأَنَّ: it is the same as that, . . . it is as if. לֹא־עֵץ is one word, as in chap. xxxi. 8.[1] The stick is wood, and nothing more, a thing that is motionless in itself; the man is not-wood, an incomparably higher living being. In order to lift up wood there must be not-wood; and in like manner, where a man accomplishes something extraordinary there is always a superhuman cause behind, namely, God, who stands in the same relation to the man as the man to the wood. The plural מְרִימָיו points to the fact that by him who lifts up the stick there is symbolized Jehovah, the Cause of all causes, the Power of all powers.[2]

Next follows the punishment provoked by such self-deifica-

[1] Cf. لا نطق as not-speech. There is used even the expression *el-la-ilâhîya*, the not-deity; the لا is to be regarded as *pars vocabuli.*

[2] The reading accepted by Baer, וְאֶת־מְרִימָיו, notwithstanding the imposing evidence in its favour, is certainly not the original one; it can be explained only in a way by taking ו as explicative: as if a staff were to swing, and indeed (were to swing) those who raise it; see my treatise, *Complutensische Varianten zum alttest. Texte*, 1878.

tion (cf. Hab. i. 11). Ver. 16: "*Therefore will the Lord, the All-Lord of hosts, send forth consumption against his fat men, and there burns under Assur's glory a brand like a fire-brand.*" There are three designations of God used here according to His unlimited, all-ruling omnipotence: הָאָדוֹן, which in Isaiah is always used in connection with manifestations of punitive power; אֲדֹנָי צְבָאוֹת, a combination not met with elsewhere, similar to the expression found in the Elohimic Psalms, אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת; cf. on the other hand, chap. iii. 15, x. 23, 24. However, the expression אדני צבאות wants the evidence of the Masora,[1] while many codices and editions give ה׳ צבאות. רָזוֹן (chap. xvii. 4) is a disease contained in the register of curses in Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. xxviii. 22. Galloping consumption comes like an angel of punishment upon the fleshy lumps of the well-fattened Assyrian grandees; מִשְׁמַנִּים is personal, as in Ps. lxxviii. 31. And under the glory of Assyria, *i.e.* its expensively equipped army (כָּבוֹד, as in chap. viii. 9), He who makes His angels flames of fire, puts fire so that it passes away in flames. This is expressed in such a way that one seems to hear the crackling and cracking, the spluttering and hissing of the fire as it lays hold round about. This fire, whatever it may be in its natural phenomenal appearance, is essentially the wrath of Jehovah. Ver. 17: "*And the light of Israel becomes a fire, and its Holy One a flame, and it sets on fire and devours its thistles and thorns in one day.*" God is fire, Deut. ix. 3, and light, Ps. xxvii. 1; 1 John i. 5; and in His self-life the former is taken up into the latter. קָדוֹשׁ stands here parallel to אוֹר; for that God is holy, and that He is absolutely pure light, is essentially one and the same thing. The nature of all creatures, and of the whole cosmos, is a mixture of light and darkness. The nature of God alone is absolute light. But light is love. In this holy light of love He has given Himself to Israel to be its own, and He has taken Israel to Himself as His own. But He has also in Himself a principle of fire which sin stirs up against itself, and which now breaks forth as a flaming fire of wrath against Assyria, when committing sin against Him and His people.

[1] For this passage is not included among the 134 instances of וַדָּאִין enumerated by the Masora, *i.e.* "real" instances of אדני (not merely instances to be read, but actually written).

To this exterminating power of His penal righteousness the splendid host of Assyria is nothing but a crop of thistles and a tangle of thorns (here this pair of words, peculiar to Isaiah, שָׁמִיר וָשַׁיִת, is given in reversed order), and as such they deserve to be burned, and are easily made to burn. According to the external appearance it is a forest and a park, but yet irretrievably lost. Vers. 18, 19: "*And the glory of his forest and of his garden field it shall destroy, both soul as well as flesh, that it is as when one mortally sick dies; and the remnant of the trees of his forest will let themselves be numbered, and a boy could write them.*" A forest, יַעַר, and a gardenfield, כַּרְמֶל, represent the army of Assyria, which resembled the former in being composed of many and various peoples, and the latter as glittering in the beauty of its men and armour; it is a forest of men and a park of men, and hence the idea of *penitus* is expressed by the proverbial מִנֶּפֶשׁ וְעַד־בָּשָׂר (which is to be understood in accordance with Gen. xiv. 23; Deut. xxix. 10; Num. v. 3; 1 Sam. xv. 3). This gives occasion for a leap to the figure of the pining away of a נֹסֵס (*ἀπ. λεγ.*, the wasting one, from נָסַס, which comes from the same root-idea in נוּשׁ, אָנַשׁ, Assyr. *énêšu*). Bredenkamp puts the words from מנפש to נסס after חוח, and thus obtains two figures that are more distinct from each other (consumption and forest-burning). The two words כִּמְסֹס נֹסֵס depict the melting away, *i.e.* the dying out in the consuming fire of fever, and the representation is not only indicated by their slow movement, but also by their consonance and their accumulated sibilants, in which heavy-breathed expiring life becomes audible. By resuming the first figure the prophecy leads us from the death-bed to the scene of the burning of the forest. The proud beautiful forest is burned down, and only here and there does an isolated tree still tower over the desolate surface. Only a few trees of the forest, easily countable (מִסְפָּר, as in Deut. xxxiii. 6; cf. Isa. xxi. 17), will remain; a boy could count up their numbers, and write them down (compare the lad who is represented as doing much more in writing in Judg. viii. 14), as would be the figures representing the larger cedars of Lebanon which still remain. And so it actually came about; only a remnant of the army that marched against Jerusalem escaped.

The prophet now contrasts with this remnant of a large

destroying power the remnant of Israel, which is the seed of a new power that is rising. Ver. 20: "*And it will come to pass in that day: the remnant of Israel and what has escaped of the house of Jacob will not continue to stay itself upon its chastiser, and will stay itself upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in truth.*" Behind the judgment on Assyria lies the restoration of Israel. מַכֵּהוּ is the Assyrian. Supporting itself upon the Assyrian, Israel was smitten, Jehovah making Israel's supporting stick the rod of His wrath. Thereafter, however, Israel will sanctify the Holy One of Israel by putting its trust in Him and not in man; בֶּאֱמֶת, purely and faithfully, and no longer with hypocrisy and wavering. Then will be fulfilled what the name Shear-jashub promises after there is fulfilled what He threatens, as is seen in the following verse. Ver. 21: "*The remnant will turn itself, the remnant of Jacob, to God the Strong.*" אֵל גִּבּוֹר is He who has become historically manifest in the heir of David, chap. ix. 5. Whereas Hosea (chap. iii. 5) puts Jehovah and the other David side by side, Isaiah thus beholds them in each other.

So then the remnant of Israel will return, but only the remnant to the God who dwells in that son of David (according to the New Testament mode of expression, to God in Christ). Vers. 22, 23: "*For although thy people were as the sand of the sea, the remnant thereof will turn itself: extermination is strictly determined, flowing in righteousness; for a thorough and strictly determined finish the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts, executes within the whole earth.*" As there is no preceding negation, כִּי אִם do not go together in the sense of *sed* or *nisi*; but, as belonging to two clauses, the words mean *nam, si*. Were the highest number of the people of Israel attained according to the promise, yet will only the remnant among them or of them (בּוֹ, partitively, like בָּהּ in Zech. xiii. 8; 2 Kings ix. 35) be converted; or seeing that the more definite determination *ad Deum* is wanting, come again into their right position. With regard to the mass, extermination is irrevocably decided (חָרַץ, τέμνειν, and then to determine something ἀποτόμως, 1 Kings xx. 40); an extermination which is overflowed by righteousness, or better, which flows along (שׁוֹטֵף, as in chap. xxviii. 18), *i.e.* which flowing brings along righteousness, and therefore comes like a swelling

billow of divine righteousness, *i.e.* penal justice. It is not (as Luther translates) uprightness as the fruit of the penal judgment,—a thought which, though appropriate in itself, would not be expressed merely by one word, and it is excluded by the reason given in the following clause. On שָׁטַף with the acc., see Ges. § 138. 2. That כִּלָּיוֹן, as in Deut. xxviii. 65, is not used in the sense of perfecting, is shown by ver. 23, where כָּלָה (fem. of כָּלֶה, that which vanishes, then the vanishing, the thorough ending) interchanges with it, and נֶחֱרָצָה designates the judgment as a thing inexorably decided (as in chap. xxviii. 22, and borrowed thence in Dan. ix. 27, xi. 36). Such a judgment of extermination the Almighty Judge is about to execute (עֹשֶׂה in the sense of a *fut. instans.*) within the whole land (בְּקֶרֶב, within, not בְּתוֹךְ, in the midst of), or rather of the whole earth (LXX. ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ)—a judgment of the nations of which the judgment on Israel is a central constituent.

In these esoteric discourses it is not, however, the intention of the prophet to threaten and terrify, but to comfort and encourage. Therefore he turns to that portion of the people which is in need of consolation and is receptive of it, and he draws the inference from the element of consolation in what has been prophesied that they may be consoled. Ver. 24: "*Therefore thus saith the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts: Fear not, my people, which inhabitest Zion, before Assur if it will smite thee with the rod and lift up its stick against thee in the manner of Egypt.*" לָכֵן never means in Hebrew, nor consequently here, *attamen* (Gesenius, Hitzig), but *propterea*. Already the address contained in the words: My people which inhabits Zion, is indirectly encouraging. Zion is, in fact, the site of the divine gracious presence, and of the kingdom which is imperishable according to the promise. Those who dwell there, and who are God's people (God's servants), not merely by their calling but by their inner qualities, are also heirs of the promise; and if the Egyptian bondage becomes renewed in an Assyrian bondage, they may be certain of this to their consolation, that the redemption of Egypt will also be renewed. בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם, in the way, *i.e.* in the manner of the acting of the Egyptians. דֶּרֶךְ is the course both of active procedure and also (as in ver. 26 and Amos iv. 10) of passive endurance.

The encouraging address is now based upon new reasons by taking up again the grounds of consolation from which the לָכֵן derives it. Vers. 25, 26: "*For yet a very little, then is the indignation past, and my wrath turns to destroy them, and Jehovah of hosts shakes over him the scourge as He smote Midian at the rock of Oreb, and His staff reaches out over the sea, and He lifts it up in the manner of Egypt.*" The phrase: a very little (as in chap. xvi. 14, xxix. 17), is meant from the point of view of the ideal present, when Israel is threatened by Assyria with destruction. Then will the indignation of Jehovah at His people suddenly have an end (כָּלָה זַעַם, borrowed in Dan. xi. 36, and to be interpreted according to chap. xxxvi. 20); and Jehovah's wrath becomes or goes forth עַל־תַּבְלִיתָם. Luzzatto recommends the conjectural reading: וְאַפִּי עַל־תֵּבֵל יִתֹּם: and my wrath against the world will cease; תבל being taken, as in chap. xiv. 17, with reference to the οἰκουμένη as enslaved by the empire. It would be better explained as: "and my wrath at the world will fulfil itself," תֵּבֵל being taken for the sinful world represented by the empire. But the traditional text gives an easier connection for ver. 26. We are not, however, to be misled by the עַל into explaining it as: my wrath (burns) at the destruction inflicted by Assyria on the people of God, or at the destruction endured by that people. It is the destruction of the Assyrians to which Jehovah's wrath is now directed; עַל is used here, as frequently, of that to which the look is directed, that to which the intention points (Ps. xxxii. 8, xviii. 42). When taken thus, ver. 25*b* leads on to ver. 26. The destruction of Assyria is here prophesied in two antithetical figures founded on facts of the olden time. The almighty criminal judge will brandish the scourge over Assyria (עוֹרֵר, *agitare*, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 18, in assonance with the following עוֹרֵב), and will smite it after the manner of the smiting upon Midian, chap. xxvii. 7, or of the blow (overthrow) which Midian experienced. The rock of Horeb is the place where the Ephraimites slew the Midian king Oreb (Judg. vii. 25). Then will His staff be over the sea, *i.e.* will be stretched out, like the miraculous staff of Moses, over the sea of tribulation into which the Assyrians have driven Israel (יָם, an emblem borrowed from the type, see Köhler on Zech. x. 11; cf. Ps.

lxvi. 6), and He will lift it up, commanding the waves of the sea that they swallow Assyria. בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם, a Janus-word, as Cheyne calls it, indicated in ver. 24 how the Egyptians raised it, but here how it was raised over the Egyptians. The expression is intentionally conformed to that in ver. 24: Because Assyria had raised the rod in the Egyptian manner over Israel, Jehovah will also raise it in the Egyptian manner over Assyria.

The yoke of the world-power must then burst asunder. Ver. 27: "*And it will come to pass in that day, its burden will remove from thy shoulder and its yoke from thy neck, and the yoke will be destroyed from the pressure of the fat.*" There are two figures here: in the first (*cessabit onus ejus a cervice tua*), Israel is represented as a beast of burden; in the second (*et jugum ejus a collo tuo*), as a beast of draught; and this second figure divides again into two divisions. For יָסוּר only states that the yoke, like the burden, will be taken from Israel; but חֻבַּל, that it will itself spring the yoke by the counter pressure of its fat strong neck. Knobel, who alters the text, remarks against this view that the yoke was a cross piece of wood and not a collar. And undoubtedly the simple yoke is a cross piece of wood, but it lies upon the back of the neck of the ox (usually of two beasts yoked together, *jumenta* = *jugmenta*, like *jugum* from *jungere*), where it often rubs deep broad wounds on the nape, and is fastened under the neck by means of a cord, which at the same time connects it with the beam of the plough.[1] It is derived from עָלַל = עָלַל, *inire*, غلّ, *immittere*, to let in and close (as by a sort of stoppel, which the Kâmûs explains by حشا, to stop up). The conj. חֻבַּל עֹל is therefore in accord with the thing. But that פְּנֵי שֶׁמֶן means "face of the fat," and refers to the head of the fat bullock, is contrary to the linguistic usage, according to which מִפְּנֵי must designate that before which the yoke must yield (cf. *e.g.* Ps. lxviii. 3). We therefore do not get away

[1] Professor Schegg wrote to me after his return from a visit to Palestine, in the year 1866, in these terms: "I saw many oxen at the plough in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and at Ephesus; and the yoke (نير) was always a cross piece of wood laid on the back of the neck of the beast, and connected by a rope under the neck with the beam of the plough."

from the view that what is expressed is a bursting of the yoke produced by the increasing fatness of the ox, the yoke being a cross piece of wood with its connecting rope or strap. Undoubtedly חֻבַּל is not the most natural word for it; it means a *corrumpi*, but such as has been produced by means of a *disrumpi*, which has resulted, lit., if we compare the Arabic خَبْل, by means of a crumpling, a crushing together, a wrenching. Probably the word was chosen by reference to חֶבֶל, the yoke-rope, although there is no denominative *Pual* in the privative signification of being unroped (Nägelsbach). Kimchi makes the striking remark on this passage, that the yoke usually becomes hurtful to the fat flesh of the ox by pressure and rubbing, but that here the converse case occurs, that the fatness of the ox becomes the means of destroying the yoke (compare the figure of grafting in Rom. xi. 17, to which Paul there also gives a turn *παρὰ φύσιν*). There is no need for a correction of the text by removing חֻבַּל (Robertson Smith, Bredenkamp). The deliverance comes from within (27*b*) and from without (27*a*). It is no less a consequence of the world-overcoming power which is at work in Israel than a miracle performed for Israel upon the enemy.

The prophet now describes how the Assyrian army advances against Jerusalem without halting, and spreading terror around; and how, like a towering forest planted there, it breaks to pieces before the omnipotence of Jehovah. Eichhorn and Hitzig declare this prophecy to be a *vaticinium post eventum*, because it is too special for any other view. But the Assyrian army when it marched against Jerusalem did not come directly from the north, but from the way to Egypt out of the south-west. Sennacherib had conquered Lachish, then besieged Libnah, and marched thence against Jerusalem. The prophet, however, does not mean to give a piece of military history, but to present vividly the future fact that the Assyrian will advance to Jerusalem after devastation of the land of Judah. One need not object to calling the description ideal, or even poetical (see Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 73). It is not, however, on that account a chimera; for ideas are the essential roots of the real, and reality is their historical and external form. This external formation, their essential manifestation, may,

without detriment to their essentiality, be presented in particular momenta either in one form or in another form. The Assyrian has really come with the storm strides of a conqueror from the north, and the cities named have been really struck by the dangers and terrors of war. The description here given, when looked at aesthetically, is one of the most picturesque and magnificent representations that human poetry has ever produced. Vers. 28–34: "*He comes upon Ayyath, marches through Migron, in Michmash he leaves his baggage. They march right across the ravine;—let Geba be our night-quarters! Ramah trembles; Gibeah of Saul flees; Scream loud, O daughter of Gallim! O only listen, Laysha! Poor Anathoth! Hurries Madmena, the inhabitants of Gebim rescue. To-day he still makes a halt in Nob,—swings his hand over the mountain of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.—Behold, the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts, lops down the branches with terrible force, and those of towering growth are hewn down, and the lofty are laid low. And He fells the thickets of the forest with the iron; and Lebanon, by a majestic One it falls.*" The Assyrian suddenly assails עַיָּת, or as the two St. Petersburg MSS. write it, עַיַּת (= עַיָּה, 1 Chron. vii. 28, עַיָּא, Neh. xi. 31, usually הָעַי or עַי), about six German miles to the north-east of Jerusalem (בּוֹא עַל comes hostilely upon, in the same sense as, *e.g.*, Judg. xviii. 27), and in doing so he here steps for the first time upon Benjamite territory that was under the sway of Judah. The name of this 'Ay, which means a heap of stones, agrees with the name of *Tell el-hagar* (van de Velde), which lies at the distance of forty-five minutes' walk south-east from Beitîn = Bethel; but such Arabic translations of the original names of a place as reproduce their recognised original meaning are not to be expected from tradition. Schegg,[1] who made a three days' excursion from Jerusalem for the sake of exploring this Assyrian marching route, and who returned by Teyyiba. Michmash, Geba, Anata, and Isawiya, puts Ay more probably (as the march would then be straightforwards) on the site of the present Teyyiba, six hours' journey to the north of Jerusalem, 2700 feet above the sea, upon an isolated hill from whence a wide view opens up

[1] See the notice of my Commentary in Reusch's *Theolog. Literaturblatt Jahrg.* ii. 80, 81.

towards the lowlands of Jaffa, to the hill of the Franks, over the Gor, and a great part of the Dead Sea, so that the deep blue mirror of its waters and the limestone hills encompassing it are seen nowhere else to such extent from one point of view. The hill, upon which lies the Christian village with about one thousand inhabitants, contains many ruins and the strong foundation walls of ancient fortresses and deep vaults, which point back to early pre-Roman antiquity. We give the preference to this determination of the situation of the place, as there is found in the neighbourhood of Teyyiba a small village with the name of *Chirbet 'Ai*. At this point the Assyrian army could survey the whole of the land yet to be conquered to the south. Instead of turning to the usual great north road (the "Nablus road"), the army marches straight by Michmash to Jerusalem without allowing itself to be delayed by the difficulties of the unlevelled way which led over mountain and valley. From Ay they pass MIGRON, the name of which appears to be preserved in the ruins of *Burg Macrûn*, which lies some eight minutes' walk from Beitìn. MICHMASH (מִכְמָשׁ, according to Norzi, but in 1 Sam. xiii. מִכְמָשׂ, while in Ezra ii. 27 and Neh. xi. 31 it is מִכְמָס, with ס) still exists as a small village with ruins on the eastern side of the Migron valley under the name of Michmâs. Schegg says of Michmâs: "It lies, like Jerusalem, upon a neck of land between two valleys, the one of which separates it from the tableland on the west and the other from that on the south, on which Geba lies and over which the road to Jerusalem goes. The latter valley running from west to east is not narrow, but it is difficult to cross, deep, and so furrowed, especially near the bottom of the valley, that it requires effort to pass over it. The stream of this Wadi es-Suweinit has scooped through the rock a deep narrow frightful bed about ten minutes' walking to the east of Michmâs. On the right and left, rocks—some of them 100 feet high, perpendicular, naked, and dingy red—form such a narrow outlet that the foaming waters of the winter torrent must still, it appears, struggle to escape. The rocky clefts of Kedron at Mar Saba are roomy valleys compared with this Suweinit. I did not see a rock outlet like it even on Lebanon with all its numerous ravines. Hence this Wadi has been called from of old מַעֲבָר

מִכְמָשׂ, as in 1 Sam. xiii. 23." After the Assyrians had deposited (הִפְקִיד, Jer. xxxvi. 20) in Michmâs as much of their baggage as they could dispense with—whether in order to leave it there or to have it sent after them by the easier road —they passed over the ford (מַעְבָּרָה, as in chap. xvi. 2), namely, that of the Wadi es-Suweinit. If they had marched through this rocky valley lengthwise, this would have led them to the Dead Sea; but they wished to go to Jerusalem, and therefore they cut through the valley and river crosswise. On their difficult march they encourage each other by saying, "Geba be our night-quarters!" "The beautiful tableland between Geba and Hizma," Schegg further remarks, "was thoroughly fitted for this, and quite inviting; for it is large, fruitful, and even to-day is well cultivated. For the first time I saw here in Judah wide-stretching wheat-fields and beautiful groups of trees which picturesquely shade the surroundings of the little village of Geba." This Geba is now almost universally regarded, according to the view given by Gross, as not the Gibeah of Saul; but the latter is recognised in the towering *Tell* (*Tuleil*) *el-Fûl* which lies more to the south (Robinson, Valentiner, Keil, and others). And rightly so. For this mountain, the name of which signifies "bean-hill," presents a strong position suiting the Gibeah of Saul; and for the view that there were two Benjamite places of the name of גבע, גבעה, or גבעת, there is the evidence of Josh. xviii. 21–28, where גֶּבַע and גִּבְעַת are distinguished from each other. Besides, this mountain, which lies to the south of er-Râm, and therefore between ancient Ramah and Anathoth, fits into the marching route of the Assyrian as here indicated; and it is at least improbable that Isaiah should have named one and the same place first גֶּבַע and then (without any visible reason) גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל. The Assyrian army therefore took up its night quarters in Geba, which still bears this name; and from there it spread terror to the west and east, and especially to the south. In the morning, having emerged from the deep valley between Michmash and Geba, they leave on their flank the Benjamite Rama, now er-Râm, which lay half an hour's march west from Geba, and which, trembling, sees them march on. The inhabitants of Gibeath of Saul, lying on the summit of the

"bean-hill" commanding the whole surrounding region, take to flight as they march past. Every station on their route brings them nearer Jerusalem. The prophet lives through it all in the spirit. It is so objectively present to him that it puts him into anguish and pain. The cities and villages of the region are lost. He calls upon the daughter, *i.e.* the inhabitants of GALLIM, to set up a far shrilling cry of woe with their voice (adv. acc. Ges. § 138. 1, R. 3); and to the near-lying LAYSHA (cf. on the two places which have now disappeared, Judg. xviii. 29; and on the personal names, פַּלְטִי בֶּן־לַיִשׁ אֲשֶׁר מִגַּלִּים, 1 Sam. xxv. 44) he calls out sympathetically: O, only listen, nearer and nearer come the enemy; and over ANATHOTH (the still existing *'Anâtâ*, which lies three-quarters of an hour's walking to the north-east of Jerusalem, a name which Cheyne regards as that of the Babylonian goddess *Anat*, the wife of *Anu*) he makes this lamentation, taking its name as an omen of its fate: "O, for the poor, Anathoth!" No change of the text is required. עֲנִיָּה, as in chap. liv. 11, is an exclamation, and עֲנָתוֹת follows according to the same order of words as in chap. xxiii. 12; it is a prefixed apposition as in Jer. iii. 6, מְשֻׁבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל (compare in the Persian text اى فاخرة بخارا, O, noble Buchârâ, *DMZ.* xxxviii. 330, 331). Ever nearer now to Jerusalem draws the crisis so much to be feared. MADMENA ("dung-heap," see on *Job*, pp. 62, 63) flees in anxious haste; the inhabitants of GEBIN ("water-pits") run off with their belongings; הֵעִיז from עוּז, عاذ, to flee (cf. חוּשׁ, and also חָסָה),[1] and therefore to carry away in flight, to bring hastily into safety, Ex. ix. 19, cf. Jer. iv. 6, vi. 1, synonymous with הֵנִיס, Ex. ix. 20, Judg. vi. 11; different from הֵעֵז (Prov. xxi. 29, vii. 13), from עָזַז, عزّ, to be firm, strong, defiant, from which is derived מָעוֹז, *mā'ōz*, a fortification, in distinction from the Arabic معاذ, *ma'âd*, refuge; cf. chap. xxx. 2, "to flee to Pharaoh's fortress," עוּז בְּ, like عاذ ب. Neither of these places has left any certain trace

[1] Hardly, however, עוּשׁ, John iv. 11, which probably means, according to LXX. and Targ., *congregari*, and with which Gesenius compared the Arab. غشّ in the erroneously accepted sense of "to hasten."

behind.[1] The passage is usually held to mean further that the army rested another day in Nob. But this is not conformable to the intention of surprising Jerusalem by the suddenness of the destroying blow. Hence we explain it thus: Even to-day he will make a halt in Nob (*in eo est ut subsistat*, Ges. § 132. R. 1) in order to gather up new strength in sight of the city doomed to destruction, and to arrange the plan of attack. The view held, that NOB is the still inhabited village of *el-ʿIsawîya* to the south-west of Anata, fifty-five minutes to the north of Jerusalem, is at variance with the situation as described by Jerome: *Stans in oppidulo Nob et procul urbem conspiciens Jerusalem.* "ʿIsawîya," says Schegg, "lies at the commencement of the valley of that name, which is turned towards the Dead Sea; it is a very lovely place, but is so sunk in the valley, and surrounded on three sides by mountains, that one cannot think at all of identifying it with Nob." Perhaps what is meant is the height which rises on the north of Jerusalem, and which is called *Ṣadr* from its breast-like prominence or convexity. From this height the way leads down into the valley of Kedron, and the city spreads out at a short distance before one going down. It may have been here where the Assyrian is represented as halting in the vision of the prophet. Nor is it long (which is expressed by the יְנֹפֵף which follows ἀσυνδέτως) till, stretching out his hand for a blow, chap. xi. 15, xix. 16, he swings it over the mount of the daughter of Zion (chap. xvi. 1, not בית, in connection with which the writer has thought of הַר בֵּית יְהוָֹה), over the city of the holy hill. What will Jehovah then do, the only one who can save His threatened dwelling-place from such a host?—Up to ver. 32*a* the discourse has moved in rapid stormy steps; then it begins to linger, and, as it were, to beat with anxiety, and now it breaks forth in dactylic vibrations like a long rolling thunder. The hostile army stands before Jerusalem like a broad thick forest. Then it is shown that Jerusalem has a God who does not allow Himself to be taunted with impunity, nor does He leave His city at the decisive moment in the lurch, like the gods of

[1] A writer in the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1880, p. 108, supposes that Gebim is in the neighbourhood of the caves of the six hundred Benjamites (*Mughâret-el-Gai*).

Carchemish and Calno. Jehovah is the Lord, the God of the spiritual and starry hosts. He smites down the branches of this forest of an army; סֵעֵף is a so-called *Piel privativum:* to lop off (literally, to deal with the branches, cf. סִקֵּל, chap. v. 2), and פֻּארָה = פֹּארָה (in Ezekiel פֹּארָה) means, like the Latin *frons*, both branch and foliage, the leafy branches as the adornment of the tree, or the branches as adorned with leaves. His instrument is מַעֲרָצָה, His terrifying crushing power (compare the verb in chap. ii. 19, 21). And even the lofty stems of the forest, thus stripped of branches and foliage, do not remain standing; hewn down, they lie there, and the tall ones must go down. It goes with the stems, *i.e.* the leaders, as with the branches and the foliage, *i.e.* with the great crowded mass. The whole thicket of the forest (as in chap. ix. 17) He hews down (נִקַּף, 3 *p. Piel*, although it may be also *Niphal*), and Lebanon, *i.e.* the army of Assyria, which now stands over against Mount Zion, like Lebanon with its forest of cedars, falls down through a gloriously powerful One, אַדִּיר, *i.e.* through Jehovah (chap. xxx. 21; Ps. lxxvi. 5, xciii. 4). In the history of the fulfilment given in xxxvii. 36, the מַלְאַךְ ה׳ is this אדיר as the organ of the present divine government.

So it goes with the imperial kingdom of the world. When the axe is laid to it, it falls without hope. But in Israel it becomes spring. Chap. xi. 1: "*And there goes forth a sprout out of the stump of Jesse, and a shoot out of its roots brings fruit.*" If the world-power is like the cedar forest of Lebanon, on the other hand the house of David, on account of its falling away, is like the stump of a felled tree (גֶּזַע, *truncus*, from גָּזַע, *truncare*), like a root stock without stem, branches, or crown. But while the Lebanon of the world-power is overthrown so as to remain lying, the house of David becomes young again; and while the former, when it has reached the height of its glory, is suddenly laid low, the latter, when it has reached the utmost danger of destruction, is suddenly exalted. What Pliny says of certain trees in L. xvi. 44: *inarescunt rursusque adolescunt, senescunt quidem, sed e radicibus repullulant,*[1] is fulfilled in the tree of the

[1] The cedar is unlike the oak in that when it is felled it does not send up any shoots. The pine resembles the cedar in this respect according to Herodot. vi. 37: "to destroy like a pine-stem."

Davidic dominion, which has its root in Jesse. Out of the stump of Jesse, *i.e.* out of the remnant of the chosen royal family, which had sunk down to the insignificance of the house from which it sprang ("the fallen tabernacle of David," as Amos expresses it in chap. ix. 11[1]), there goes forth a sprout, חֹטֶר (خَطَر, from חָטַר, to swing, to sway, *balancer*), which promises to fill up the place of the stem and crown; and below in the roots, covered by the earth and only rising a little above it, there shows itself a נֵצֶר, a little fresh green twig (from נָצַר, نضر, to glance, to blow). The history of the fulfilment has here alluded even to the sound or ring of the prophecy; the at first insignificant and undistinguished נֵצֶר, was a poor despised *Nazarene* (Matt. ii. 23). But that this lowliness of the beginning will not continue is already indicated by the יִפְרֶה, from פרה, to break out and up, to unfold itself, to be or become fruitful, Ex. xxiii. 30. In the humble beginning there lies a power which carries it up to the height with certain progress (Ezek. xvii. 22, 23). The sprout shooting out below the soil becomes a tree, and this tree gets a crown with fruits; and thus a state of exaltation and completion follows the state of humiliation.

Jehovah acknowledges him and consecrates and equips him for his high work with the seven spirits. Ver. 2: "*And the spirit of Jehovah descends upon him, spirit of wisdom and of understanding, spirit of counsel and of power, spirit of the knowledge and fear of Jehovah.*" רוּחַ ה' is the Divine Spirit as the bearer of the whole fulness of divine powers. Then follow in three pairs the six spirits comprehended by רוח ה', the first pair of which relate to the intellectual life, the second to the practical life, and the third to the direct relationship to God. For חָכְמָה is the faculty for recognising the essence of things through their appearances, and בִּינָה is the faculty for recognising the distinctions of things through their appearances; the former is σοφία, the latter διάκρισις or σύνεσις. עֵצָה is the gift which enables man to form right resolutions, and גְבוּרָה

[1] The Messiah is therefore emblematically called בר נפלי, *Sanhedrin* 96*b*: "when will *Bar nafli* come?" Cf. Dalman, *Der leidende und sterbende Messias der Synagoge* (1888), p. 13.

that of putting them energetically into action. דַּעַת ה' is the knowledge that is founded in fellowship of love, and יִרְאַת ה' is the fear of Jehovah giving itself up to adoration. There are seven spirits which are enumerated from above downwards; for the spirit of the fear of God is the basis of all (Prov. i. 7; Job xxviii. 28; Ps. cxi. 10), and the spirit of God is absolutely the heart of all; it corresponds to the shaft of the seven-flamed candlestick, and the three pairs to the arms that stretched out from it. In these seven forms (see my *Psychology*, pp. 188, 203) the Holy Spirit descends upon the second David for abiding possession; as is expressed here by the *perf. consec.* וְנָחָה, which is accented on the last syllable on account of the following guttural in order to guard against its indistinct pronunciation (cf. Gen. xxvi. 10); נוּחַ, like *καταβαίνειν καὶ μένειν*, John i. 32, 33. The seven torches before God's throne in Rev. iv. 5, cf. i. 4, burn and illumine in his soul. The seven spirits are his seven eyes (Rev. v. 6).

His royal mode of ruling is then also determined according to this his divinely produced, spiritual equipment for his office. Ver. 3: "*And fear of Jehovah is fragrance to him, and he judges not according to outward seeing, and he determines justice not according to outward hearing.*" The translation should not be: His smelling is smelling of the fear of God, *i.e.* the penetrating of it with deep judicial insight (Hengstenberg, Umbreit, and others);[1] nor: His breathing is in the fear of Jehovah (Cheyne), for הֵרִיחַ does not mean "to breathe," and with בְּ it does not mean "to smell something" (as with a following accusative), but "to smell with pleasure" (v. Orelli), like רָאָה בְּ, to see with pleasure, or as in Gen. xxix. 32, to see with inward sympathy (Ex. xxx. 38; Lev. xxvi. 31; Amos v. 21). It is not meant that he has as regards himself pleasure in fear of God, but that fear of God when he perceives it in men is fragrance to him (רֵיחַ נִיחֹחַ, Gen. viii. 21); for the fear of God is a sacrifice of adoration, continually ascending to God. Brilliant or repellent external qualities do not determine his favour or disfavour; he judges not by the external appear-

[1] So also in *Sanhedrin* 93*b*, whereas R. Alexandri combines הריחו with רחים, and explains it: He (God) has loaded him with duties and sufferings as with millstones (see Dalman, *op. cit.* p. 38).

ance, but by the relationship to his God in the depths of the heart.

This is the standard according to which he will judge in saving and will judge in punishing. Vers. 4, 5: "*And judges with righteousness the insignificant, and passes sentence with equity on the humble in the land, and smites the earth with the staff of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he slays the transgressor. And righteousness is the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his hips.*" The main thing in ver. 4 lies in the objects there presented. He will do right to the דַּלִּים, the weak and helpless, by incorruptibly just procedure against their oppressors; and he will decide with straightness for the humble or meek of the land; עָנָו, like עָנִי, from עָנָה, to bend, the latter meaning one who is bowed down by misfortune, the former one who is bowed down inwardly or emptied of all selfness; הוֹכִיחַ לְ, as in Job xvi. 21. The πτωχοί and πρᾳεῖς will be the very special object of his royal care; just as the first beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount really apply to them. But the earth, *i.e.* the antichristian world and the wicked one (רָשָׁע, not collective, but used as also in Ps. lxviii. 22, cx. 6, Hab. iii. 13, 14, of one in whom the hostility against Jehovah and His Anointed One satanically culminates),[1] will come to experience the force of his punitive righteousness. The very word of his mouth is already a staff which shatters to pieces (Ps. ii. 9; Rev. i. 16), and the very breath of his lips, no further means being required, exercises an annihilating influence (2 Thess. ii. 8)—a feature in the Bible which, as Cheyne remarks, brings the Messiah near the Deity. As the girdle around the loins, מָתְנַיִם (LXX. τὴν ὀσφύν), and forward on the hips, חֲלָצַיִם (LXX. τὰς πλευράς), holds the clothes together,—the unity of the designation, אֵזוֹר, showing that it is not two kinds of girdles that are meant,—so all the qualities and activities of his person have as their connecting bond צְדָקָה, which follows the inviolable norm of the divine will, and הָאֱמוּנָה, which keeps immovably to the relationship which is instituted by God, and in accord-

[1] In this sense the Targum translates ארמילוס, *Armilus*, *i.e.* Ῥωμύλος, *Romulus* (*DMZ.* xxxix. 343), and according to another reading in the *Cod. Reuchlin*, ארמלגס (ארמלגוס), which perhaps, as Bucher supposes, means the incarnated *Agramainyus* (Ahriman).

ance with the promise (chap. xxv. 1). The אֱמוּנָה is specially made prominent by the article: he is the true and faithful witness (Rev. i. 5, iii. 14).

The trilogy of the prophetic figures of the Messiah — as about to be born, as born, and as ruling—is now complete. Isaiah was not the creator of Messianic prophecy, as Guthe (in his *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*, 1885) tries to prove, forcing the proof by negativing all the Messianic prophecies before Isaiah. An ideal king was hoped for before the expectation was attached to the house of David. But Isaiah and his contemporary Micah raised the outline to a living richly-coloured picture, for which the opening period of the secular empires furnished the basis. With the virgin's son, the five-named king's child, the son of David anointed without measure with God's spirit, there begins a new time in which this king's righteousness attains to a world-conquering position, and finds a home in a humanity which, like him, has risen up out of deep humiliation.

The fruit of righteousness, however, is peace, which now reigns under the government of the Prince of Peace, not only in humanity, but, without being disturbed from any quarter, also in the animal world. Vers. 6–9: "*And the wolf dwells with the lamb, and the pard lies down with the kid, and the calf and lion and fattened ox together—a little boy drives them before him. And cow and bear go to the pasture, their young lie down together; and the lion devours chopped straw like the ox. And the suckling plays on the hole of the adder, and the weaned child stretches his hand to the pupil of the basilisk-viper. They will not become bad, and will not commit destruction in all my holy mountain: for the land has become full of knowledge of Jehovah like the waters covering the sea.*" The Sibyllines, iii. 766 sqq., paraphrase this, and Virgil in his Eclogue perhaps stands unconsciously under the influence of Isaiah through the medium of that paraphrase (Cheyne). The Church Fathers, Luther, Calvin, Vitringa, Schmieder, regard these images from the animal world as symbolical. Rationalistic expositors take them literally, but as a beautiful dream and wish. In the Midrash on Ecclesiastes at chap. i. 9, a real transformation of the animal world is already rejected with אין חדש תחת השמש; but

we have here really a prophecy before us the full realization of which is certainly conditioned by a re-creation, and it therefore belongs to the new earth under the new heaven. Even Reuss refers here to Rom. viii. 19 sqq., remarking that "the idea, at once poetical and sublime, of nature sighing for its glorification, is at bottom only a more ideal form of this same conception." There now reigns in irrational nature, from the greatest beings in it down to the invisibly least, a malevolent strife and fierce delight in carnage. But when the son of David shall have entered upon the full possession and exercise of his royal inheritance, then will the peace of Paradise be renewed, and the truth contained in the popular legends of an *aurea aetas* will be authenticated. It is this which the prophet depicts in charming images. The wolf, formerly scared away from the flock, now keeps good neighbourhood (גָּר) with the lamb; the leopard lets the frisky kid lie down beside it. The lion between calf and fatted ox neither seizes upon the weak neighbour nor lusts after the fat one; a little boy rules the whole three together with his driving staff (נהג, according to Stade, √ נג, *stimulo propellere*). The cow and bear graze with each other, while their young lie together on the meadow. The lion thirsts no more for blood, but, like the ox, is satisfied with chopped food, *i.e.* with cut and crushed straw. The suckling has its delight, *i.e.* enjoys itself (*Pilpel* in the same reflexive sense as in Ps. cxix. 70, from שָׁעַע, to stroke, to caress, to smoothen, *mulcere*) on the hole of the adder; and the child hardly yet weaned boldly and safely stretches his hand to מְאוּרַת צִפְעוֹנִי.[1] From Jer. viii. 17 it is clear that צפעוני is the name of a species of snake; it is, according to Aquila and Jerome in the passage, the βασιλίσκος, *serpens regulus* (with which also agrees the Targum and Syr. חוּרְמָן, *charmana*), according to Schultens from צפע=سفع, to singe by means of the hot breath, but according to Gesenius and Fürst from √ צף, to pipe, to hiss, for which Isidore (*Origg.* xii. 4), *sibilus idem est qui et*

[1] This trait of the Messianic time has been borrowed by a tradition cited by Damîre under the rubric حنش (serpent): "till it come to this that the child puts his hand into the mouth of the serpent without its harming him."

regulus; sibilo enim occidit, antequam mordeat vel exurat. It is hardly equivalent to צִבְעוֹנִי, as it appears according to Saadia, who translates it *er-rakdâ*, the spotted (speckled). הָדָה is a ἀπ. λεγ., and the meaning of it is secured by the Arabic هدى, *dirigere, tendere;* it is cognate in root with יָדָה, *projicere,* from which comes יָד (*hand*). So much the more uncertain is the meaning of the ἀπ. λεγ. מאורה. Corresponding to the parallel חֻר, it appears to mean the hole (Syr. Jerome, LXX. κοίτη), whether from אור = עור, from which comes מְעָרָה, مغارة (there is no word in Arabic of this meaning from a verb beginning with ا); or from אוּר, the light-hole (as מָאוֹר occurs in the Mishna, *Ohaloth* xiii. 1), or the opening where the hole appears. But it is more probable that מאורה is something that exercises an attractive power on the child, such as the play of colour, or better, the apple of the eye (Targum), as the fem. of מָאוֹר, the light of the eye (*Erubin* 55*b* = power of seeing). The glance of snakes, and not merely that of the basilisk-lizard but also that of the basilisk-viper, was regarded as having a paralysing and fascinating power. But this terrifying hurtfulness of snakes has now ceased, chap. lxv. 25; the basilisk has become so gentle that he lets children catch at his sparkling eyes as if they were precious stones. The prophet thus represents as in an idyl the state of peace of the glorified time which was about to come, and it is requisite to take the thought of the promise in a spiritual sense without adhering literally to the media through which it is expressed. But the representation is more than a drapery thrown around the object; it is the refraction of the beheld future in the soul of the prophet. But are the animals still to be taken as the subject in ver. 9? The subject most naturally suggested is the animals, some of which have just been named as terrible and destructive to men; and that they are actually thought of as the subject is confirmed in chap. lxv. 25, where chap. xi. 6–9*a* is compendiously repeated. That יָרֵעוּ requires men as the subject is refuted by the usual חַיָּה רָעָה (compare the parallel promise in Ezek. xxxiv. 25, which rests upon Hos. ii. 20). That יַשְׁחִיתוּ can be said of animals is evident from Jer. ii. 30, and is at once understood. But if the animals are the subject, then הַר קָדְשִׁי

here is not the hill of Zion (Cheyne), upon which wild beasts never had their lair in historical times, but, as כל indicates, the holy mountain land of Jehovah; and this is just the sense of הר קדשי in chap. lvii. 13; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 54; Ex. xv. 17. Further, the fact that peace prevails in the animal world, and that there is also peace between the animals and man, is founded upon the universally prevailing knowledge of God, in consequence of which has ceased that destructiveness of the animal world in relation to man by which alienation from God and apostasy had been previously so often punished (2 Kings xvii. 25; Ezek. xiv. 15, and other passages; see also remarks on chap. vii. 24). The meaning of בכל־הר קדשי also determines the extent of the signification of הארץ; it is the land of Israel, the more restricted domain of the government of the son of David, that is meant (Hofmann), which is henceforward, like the paradisiacal centre of the whole earth, a prelude of its future total and perfect glorification (chap. vi. 3, כל־הארץ). It has become full of דֵּעָה את־ה׳, of that experienced knowledge of Jehovah which consists in fellowship of love (דֵּעָה like לֵדָה, a collateral form of דַּעַת), like to the waters covering the sea, *i.e.* the bottom of the sea (cf. the borrowed passage in Hab. ii. 14, where לָדַעַת is a virtual accusative: full of the knowing). כִּסָּה לְ (like סָכַךְ לְ in Ps. xci. 4) means to afford covering to something; the *Lamed* with a participle readily comes in as a designation of the object, particularly (in Arabic it holds regularly in this case) when it precedes the participle (Ewald, § 292*e*). The omission of the article in the case of מְכַסִּים is an immediate consequence of the inverted order of the words; and generally the attributive participle, when it is in any way more closely determined, can dispense with the article.

The prophet has now described in vers. 1–5 the just ruling of the son of David, and then in vers. 6–9 the peace which under his government extends to the animal world, and which is the consequence of the living knowledge of God having become universal, and which therefore follows from a spiritual transformation of the people subject to him. The matter here indicated is variously enigmatic, and the detail of what it contains and presupposes is unfolded in what follows.

Ver. 10: "*And it will come to pass in that day, the root-*

sprout of Jesse which stands as a banner of the peoples, for it shall nations ask, and its resting-place is glory." The proud tree of the Davidic kingdom is hewn down, and only the root has still remained; the new David is שֹׁרֶשׁ יִשַׁי, and therefore in a certain sense that root itself, because it would have long since perished if it had not borne within itself from the beginning Him who now springs forth out of it. But when he who was the One hidden in the root of Jesse as its sap and its power shall have become himself the rejuvenated root of Jesse in the springtide (cf. Rev. xxii. 16), he will be exalted out of this lowly beginning and raised לְנֵס עַמִּים, as a banner, attracting the peoples and uniting them around himself. Thus visible to all the world, he will draw the attention of the heathen to himself; they will turn zealously to him; and his מְנֻחָה, *i.e.* the place where he has settled down to dwell and reign (for the word in this local sense, see Num. x. 33; Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14; the Vulgate, *et sepulchrum ejus*, is contrary to connection and to history), is glory, *i.e.* the dwelling and reigning seat of a king who shines over all, and rules all, and gathers all the nations around him. The people, however, from which and for which this One is primarily king, will, according to the revelation in chap. vi., be scattered away from its native land to a far distance.

How will he be able to reign in the midst of this people? Vers. 11, 12: "*And it will come to pass in that day: again will the All-Lord a second time stretch out His hand to ransom the remnant of His people which will be left remaining, out of Assur, and out of Egypt, and out of Pathros, and out of Ethiopia, and out of ʿElam and out of Sinʿar, and out of Hamâth, and out of the islands of the sea. And He lifts up a banner to the nations and fetches home the outcasts of Israel, and the dispersed of Judah will He gather from the four borders of the earth.*" Assyria and Egypt stand first as the two great powers of the time of Isaiah, and side by side (cf. vii. 18–20). The following were dependencies of Egypt: 1. פַּתְרוֹס, in the hieroglyphics *torēs*, and with article *petorēs*, the southland, *i.e.* Upper Egypt, so that מִצְרַיִם in the narrower sense thus signifies Lower Egypt (see, on the other hand, Jer. xliv. 15); and 2. כּוּשׁ, the country lying still farther south than Upper Egypt on both sides of the Gulf of Arabia. The

following were dependencies of Assyria: 1. עֵילָם, the high land (Assyr. *elamu*), the old Êran (Old Pers. *Airyama, Aryama*) to the east of the Tigris; and 2. שִׁנְעָר, the old *Sumêr*, from which the Assyrian kings designated themselves as kings of Sumêr and Akkad (southern and northern Babylonia). These are followed by the Syrian Hamath at the northern foot of the Lebanon, and last of all by אִיֵּי הַיָּם, the islands and coast lands of the Mediterranean with the whole island part of the world (Targ. נְגָוַת יַמָּא, or merely נְגָוַת, cf. Assyr. *nagû*, district, land). There was not yet any such diaspora of Israel at the time when the prophet prophesied, nor even after the dissolution of the northern kingdom; the specialization is prophetical. The redemption which the prophet here prophesies is, in fact, a second redemption, after which there is no third; the banishment therefore out of which Israel is redeemed is the final form of what is threatened in chap. vi. 12; cf. Deut. xxx. 1 sqq. It is the second redemption, the counterpart of the Egyptian one. He will then again stretch out (יוֹסִיף, supply: לִשְׁלֹחַ) His hand, and as He once delivered Israel out of Egypt, so will He now ransom and reacquire it (קָנָה, *opp.* מָכַר) out of all the countries named. The מִן of the names of countries is to be construed with לִקְנוֹת, which the LXX. translate τοῦ ζηλῶσαι (τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ), by which it is meant that He will be zealous in His care for the diaspora; but in the sense of this ζηλοῦν τινα (2 Cor. xi. 2), קִנֵּא is not used *seq. acc.*, but קִנֵּא לְ. In ver. 12*a* it is indicated that the conversion of the heathen becomes the means of the redemption of Israel: the heathen will at Jehovah's beck let His people free and accompany them (chap. xlix. 22, lxii. 10), and thus He will again gather (אָסַף with reference to the one gathering point, and קִבֵּץ referring to the dispersion of those who are to be gathered) even from the uttermost four ends of the world, נִדְחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּנְפֻצוֹת יְהוּדָה (= נִדְּחֵי, with the *Dag.* dropped before the following guttural as in תִּקְחוּ, שִׁלְחוּ), the outcasts of the kingdom of Israel, and the dispersed of the kingdom of Judah, men and women. This recalls the fact of the present rupture in the unity of the people; but the people brought home again will be a single people in brotherly union. Ver. 13: "*And the jealousy of Ephraim is removed, and the*

adversaries of Judah are extirpated; Ephraim will not act jealously against Judah, and Judah will not be hostile to Ephraim." As a suffix and genitive after צֹרֵר are elsewhere always objective (*e.g.* Amos v. 12), צֹרְרֵי יְהוּדָה does not mean those who are hostile in Judah (Ewald, Knobel, and others), but those who are hostile to Judah (Umbreit and Schegg). On the other hand, the genitive after קִנְאַת may be the *gen. obj.* as well as the *gen. subj.*; but to understand קנאת אפרים of the disinclination of Judah against the more powerful Ephraim (Nägelsbach and Cheyne) is yet hardly possible, as קנאת with the objective genitive is only found in the sense of zeal about something (chap. xxvi. 11; Ps. lxix. 10), and not in the sense of zeal against something. Accordingly we render it thus: the jealousy (passionate hostility) of Ephraim will cease, and if there should nevertheless be found those who oppress (are hostile to) Judah, they fall under the punishment of the הִכָּרֵת, *i.e.* God's immediate judgment יִכָּרֵתוּ.

Another question turns upon the relationship of this Israel of the future with the neighbouring peoples: with the warlike Philistines, the predatory nomad tribes of the East, the unbrotherly Edomites, the boastful Moabites, and the cruel Ammonites. Will not these disturb and contract the new Israel as they did the old? Ver. 14: "*And they fly upon the shoulder of the Philistines seawards, unitedly they plunder the sons of the east, of Edom and Moab they take possession, and the sons of Ammon are subject to them.*" כָּתֵף is the proper name of the coast land of Philistia sloping seawards (Josh. xv. 11, כֶּתֶף עֶקְרוֹן); but here alluding thereto it is represented as the shoulder of the body of the Philistine people (בְּכָתֵף = בְּכֶתֶף, see on the cause at chap. v. 2), on which Israel sweeps down from the height of his mountain-land like an eagle. "Object of the outstretching of their hand" is the same as object of their seizure. Whenever henceforth any one of the neighbouring peoples here named attacks Israel, Israel will act in common. But how does this warlike prospect accord with the previous promise of paradisiacal peace, and the end of all war presupposed by it (cf. chap. ii. 4)? This is a contradiction, the solution of which lies in this, that they are only figures,— figures drawn from the present relations of the peoples and their warlike actings, in which the

dominion of the future united people over the neighbouring lands comes into the vision of the prophet.

He lingers still upon the miracles in which the antitypical redemption will resemble the typical one. Vers. 15, 16: "*And Jehovah pronounces the ban upon the sea-tongue of Egypt, and swings His hand over the Euphrates in the glow of His breath, and strikes it asunder into seven brooks, and makes it that men pass through in shoes. And thus a road is made for the remnant of His people which will have remained out of Assur, as there was made for Israel on the day of its marching out of the land of Egypt.*" The two countries of the diaspora which are here first named are Assyria and Egypt. To those who are returning from both and through both, Jehovah miraculously makes a way. The sea-tongue (לָשׁוֹן, as in Josh. xv. 5) of Egypt (יָם־ with *ā* retained in the construct state, as is mostly the case),[1] stretching between Egypt and Arabia, is the Red Sea (*sinus Heroopolitanus*, the Gulf of Suez, not as Cheyne supposes, *sinus Aelaniticus*, *i.e.* the Gulf of Akaba). This he lays under the ban (הֶחֱרִים, corresponding in meaning to the pouring out of the vial of wrath in Rev. xvi. 12, and a stronger expression than גָּעַר, *e.g.* Ps. cvi. 9), the consequence of which is that it furnishes a dry passage for those who are returning. As הֶחֱרִים from חָרַם = حرم (with the radical meaning to cut off, to separate, to consecrate), gives a meaning that is unobjectionable, it is unnecessary to read הֶחֱרִיב from חָרֵב = خرب, or to follow Meier and Knobel, who take הֶחֱרִים in the meaning of to split (from חָרַם, Lev. xxi. 18 = خرم). And in order that the cleaving of the Jordan may also have its antitype, Jehovah swings His hand to smite the Euphrates, while He breathes upon it at the same time with glowing breath, so that it is split into seven shallow brooks through which one

[1] The rule is already found in Kimchi, *Michlol*, 205*a*, and following him in Luzzatto (*Gramm.* § 870). The following are the forms both written and spoken, יָם־הַמֶּלַח, יָם־כִּנֶּרֶת, יָם־מִצְרַיִם, יָם פְּלִשְׁתִּים, whereas it is יַם־סוּף on account of the immediately following tone-syllable. It would certainly be correct according to rule to write instead of יָם־, יָֽם־ with *Metheg;* see Norzi on Gen. iv. 25; Num. xxxiv. 3; and on the placing of *Metheg*, § 11.

can go in sandals. בַּעְיָם stands, according to the law of euphony, for בְּעְיָם, and the ἀπ. λεγ. עְיָם (with fixed *Kamez*) from עים = חום, חָמַם, to glow, means a glow, a meaning which, besides, is so well supported by the two Arabic verbs *med. Ye* عام and غام (*inf. 'aim, ġaim,* inner glowing, burning thirst, also violent raging), that the conjecture of בְּעֹצֶם (Luzzatto, Gesenius, and Cheyne) is not required. The LXX. translate *πνεύματι βιαίῳ* as if it was written בְּאִים; the Syriac renders it only according to the general sense by *b'uhdānā,* with a display of might. Saadia, however, renders it with etymological correctness by *suhūn,* from *sahana,* to be hot, kindled. Thus in the (singeing, parching) hot glow of His breath, transforming the Euphrates into seven shallow Wadis, Jehovah makes a free way for His people who come out of Assyria. This is the idea which thus presents itself to the prophet.

Now, as the Israel that was redeemed from Egypt raised songs of praise on the other side of the Red Sea, so likewise does the Israel of the second redemption when brought not less miraculously over the Red Sea and Euphrates. Chap. xii. 1, 2: "*And thou wilt say in that day: I thank Thee, Jehovah, that Thou wast angry against me, | Thine anger has turned itself away, and Thou hast comforted me. | Behold, the God of my salvation, | I trust, and am not afraid; | for Jah Jehovah is my pride and song, | and He became salvation to me.*" The address is directed to the people of the future as contained in the people of the present. They give thanks for the wrath experienced, inasmuch as it was followed by all the richer consolation. The formation of the sentence after כִּי is paratactic; the principal tone falls upon 1*b* (see on Job iv. 2), where יָשֹׁב is equivalent to וַיָּשָׁב, or, more correctly, where this modal form, followed by וּתְנַחֲמֵנִי, has included in it a past meaning (cf. Deut. xxxii. 18; Ps. xviii. 12). Driver, § 175, maintains that it is to be translated as an optative: May Thy anger turn away, and mayest Thou comfort us; but it is not till 2*b* that the object for which thanks are given comes to be fully expressed. As יַךְ in Hos. vi. 1 means "he struck," ruled by טָרָף, so here both imperfects are ruled by אנפת, as Cheyne translates: "Thy wrath turned back, and Thou comfortedst me." We hear the sound of the ex-

pressions in Ps. xc. 13, xxvii. 1, breaking through here, but 2*b* is an echo of Ex. xv. 2 (from which also comes Ps. cxviii. 14). עָזִּי (a collateral form of עֻזִּי) means here the lofty self-consciousness that is combined with the possession of power: pride and its expression, glorification; זִמְרָת is the extended ground form of זִמְרַת = זִמְרָה, and is therefore only in sense equivalent to זמרתי, the suffix of the first word also holding for the second (cf. חֵפֶץ in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5 = חֶפְצִי). Peculiar to this echo of Ex. xv. 2 is the doubling of the יָהּ into יָהּ יהוה, which corresponds to the surpassing of the type by the antitype.

Attaching itself to the introduction in ver. 1, a prophetic promise again appears. Ver. 3: "*And ye will draw water with rapture out of the wells of salvation.*" As Israel drank miraculous water in the wilderness, so will the God of salvation, who has become your salvation, also open to you springs (מַעַיְנֵי, with auxiliary Pathach instead of the otherwise usual מַעְיְנֵי, as we have frequently יַעַלְצוּ for יַעְלְצוּ) of salvation, many and manifold, in order to draw therefrom with and according to the heart's delight. ישועה is repeated three times as the most striking and comprehensive designation of what arises out of the gracious work of the future for Israel, and through Israel for all the world. For, having attained to the possession of salvation, Israel seeks to put the other nations too into this same blessed possession, and in this sense the promise contained in ver. 3 changes into the psalm tones of the next three verses. Vers. 4–6: "*And ye will say in that day, Praise Jehovah, proclaim His name, | make known among the nations His deeds, | boast that His name is exalted, | harp to Jehovah, for He has displayed majesty, | let this be known in all lands. | Shout and jubilate, inhabitress of Zion, | for great within thee is the Holy One of Israel.*" The first hymn of six lines is followed here by a second of seven lines, a prophetic word of promise introduced between them separating the one from the other. This second hymn of praise also begins with the well-known tones of a psalm; the passage on which הודיעו בעמים עלילתיו is founded is Ps. ix. 12, which has הגידו for הודיעו. The form in which it is put by Isaiah is repeated in Ps. cv. 1, and in the mosaic of 1 Chron. xvi. 8. The phrase קָרָא בְשֵׁם ה' means to make the name of Jehovah the medium of

calling (Gen. 138. 1, R. 3*), *i.e.* to call to Him, or, as here, to call out, exclaim. גֵּאוּת is high-towering sublimity; here used of God, as in chap. xxvi. 10, with עָשָׂה: to prove such in fact, as with לָבֵשׁ in Ps. xciii. 1, to show oneself publicly in such sublimity. For the *Chethib* מְיֻדַּעַת in ver. 5, the *Keri* substitutes the more appropriate Hophal form מוּדַעַת; מְיֻדָּע means the known = familiar one. According to the previous appeals, the sentence is to be taken as expressing a wish that the glorious self-attestation of the God of the history of salvation may be introduced into the consciousness of the whole of the population of the earth, *i.e.* of mankind. When God redeems His people, He has in view the salvation of all the peoples. It is the Holy One of Israel, the knowledge of whom is spread by the word of proclamation, who becomes salvation to them all. How, then, may the Church of Zion rejoice at having such a God dwelling in its midst! Thus closes this second psalm-hymn of the redeemed people, and with it the *Book of Immanuel*. The name of God, קדוש ישראל, with which it closes, is, as it were, the anagram of the author.

PART III.—COLLECTION OF ORACLES CONCERNING THE HEATHEN, CHAPS. XIII.-XXIII.

THE ORACLE CONCERNING THE CHALDEANS, THE HEIRS OF THE ASSYRIANS, CHAP. XIII. 1–XIV. 27.

Just as in Jeremiah, chaps. xlvi.–li., and in Ezekiel, chaps. xxv.–xxxii., so likewise in Isaiah the oracles concerning the heathen stand together. In this respect the three great books of prophecy have the same kind of arrangement. In Jeremiah these oracles disjoined from their *introitus* in chap. xxv. form the concluding part of the collection. In Ezekiel they fill up that interval of time when Jerusalem at home was lying at the last extremity, and the prophet had become speechless on the Kebar of Chaldea. Here in Isaiah these prophecies indemnify us for the interruption which his public labours appear to have undergone in the latter years of Ahaz.

Moreover, this was their most suitable position, following chaps. vii.–xii.; for the great consoling thought of the prophecy of Immanuel, that all the kingdoms shall become the kingdom of God and of His Christ, is here unfolded. And as the prophecy of the Immanuel is given on the threshold of the period of the great empires in order to rule this whole period with its consolation, the oracles concerning the heathen peoples and kingdoms properly belong to it and go with it.

The fact that with chap. xiii. there begins a new part of the whole book, is indicated by the superscription or heading given in chap. xiii. 1: "*Oracle concerning Babel which Isaiah, son of Amos, has beheld.*" מַשָּׂא from נָשָׂא, *efferre*, then *effari*, Ex. xx. 27, means, as is evident from 2 Kings ix. 25, *effatum*, the utterance, particularly the sentence of God; and the term (without introducing the idea of *onus*, according to which it is translated by the Targum, Syr. Jer. and Luther, although, according to Jer. xxiii. 33, they were only scoffers who connected this idea with the word) commonly, although not always, indicates the judicial sentence of God. We see from this superscription that the משׂא בבל originally formed a whole by itself, and that it was handed down to the redactor of the Book of Isaiah as Isaianic, or, at least, that he had grounds for holding it to be Isaianic. And, in fact, the mode of exposition and the whole external character impressed upon it accords in many respects with those prophecies which are undoubtedly Isaianic; and Zephaniah and Jeremiah appear to stand in a relation of dependence to this משׂא בבל, a relation which cannot be inverted without conflicting with the admittedly mosaic work in Zephaniah and the imitative character of Jeremiah (see on this, Caspari in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1843, 2). Ezekiel, too, in chap. xxxi., where he holds up before the land of Pharaoh the fate of the Asiatic empire as a mirror, appears to fuse together recollections of this משׂא בבל and of other prophecies which are recognised as the genuine productions of Isaiah (cf. *e.g.* chap. xxxi. 16 with Isa. xiv. 8; and chap. xxxi. 10–14 with Isa. x. 33–34). The lamentation and the funeral song over the king of Egypt in Ezek. xxxii. is regarded by Ewald and Cheyne as the original, which has been imitated by the author of the משׂא בבל. But there are reasons for holding to the originality

of the משׂא בבל: Ezekiel may be said to pick particular passages out of it (compare chap. xxxii. 7, 8 with Isa. xiii. 10; and chap. xxxii. 28 with Isa. xiv. 19), and these he expands in his own way of working details into more comprehensive pictures. However, we do not overlook the weight of the one ground opposed to this view, namely, that this prophecy concerning Babylon (Babel) has no historical contemporaneous attachment in Isaiah's own time. It is true that Isaiah had become certain in the time of Hezekiah (as chap. xxxix. shows; cf. Micah iv. 10) that it was not Assyria that would be the executor of the final judgment on Judah, but Babylon, which was already at that time the second capital city of the Assyrian kingdom and the seat of dependent kings who were striving for independence, and that it was thus a Chaldean kingdom. But that Jehovah, as in the case of Assyria, would avenge His people on Babylon through a Median (Medo-Persian) empire, which was to arise after the Chaldean empire, and that He would thus redeem the exiles, is a consolatory hope for which a prophet of the beginning of the Babylonian exile is better fitted to be the organ than Isaiah, for whom, as for Micah, Babylon, as the mistress of the world, formed the farthest bound of his horizon, and who did not yet proclaim the fall of Nineveh, as Nahum and Zephaniah afterwards did for the first time.

The prophet hears a summons to war. From whom it proceeds, and to whom or against whom,—still remains secret; but this makes the anxiety the more intense. Ver. 2: "*On unwooded mountain lift ye up a banner, call to them with loud-sounding voice, shake the hand, that they may enter into gates of princes.*" The pronoun לָהֶם precedes, and the naming of those to whom it refers follows, as, for instance, in Deut. xxxiii. 2, 3. The summons is pressing, and hence a threefold signal: the staff of the banner planted in order to be widely visible on a "bared" mountain (נִשְׁפֶּה, from which comes שְׁפִי, only found in Isaiah and Jeremiah); the voice raised high; and the waving of the hand, which implies a violent beckoning—all three signs being favourite ideas with Isaiah. The destination of this *arrière-ban* is the marching into a city of princes (נְדִיבִים, freemen, nobles, princes, Ps. cvii. 40; cf. cxiii. 8), that is to say, they were to march in as conquerors; for

it is not the princes who call them thither, but He who summons them is Jehovah. Ver. 3: "*I have summoned my consecrated ones, also called my heroes to my wrath, my proudly exulting ones.*" לְאַפִּי is to be explained in accordance with chap. x. 5. To execute his wrath, he has commanded his מְקֻדָּשִׁים, *i.e.* (according to Jer. xxii. 7; cf. the dependent passage, li. 27, 28) those who were already solemnly consecrated to march to battle, and called his heroes whom he had taken into his service, and who, even while exulting in the intoxicating pride of victory, are his instruments (apparently borrowed in Zeph. i. 7; cf. iii. 11). עַלִּיז is a word peculiar to Isaiah (xxii. 2, xxiv. 8); and the combination עַלִּיזֵי גַאֲוָה is so unusual that it is hardly to be expected in two writers who stand out of relation to each other.

The command of Jehovah is speedily executed. The great army is already moving down from the mountain. Vers. 4, 5: "*Hark, tumult upon the mountains after the manner of a great people; hark, uproaring of kingdoms of nations met together! Jehovah of hosts musters an army. Those have come out of a far land from the end of the heaven: Jehovah and His instruments of wrath, to destroy the whole earth.*" קוֹל opens an interjectional proposition, and thereby becomes itself almost an interjection (compare lii. 8, lxvi. 6, and on Gen. iv. 10). On the mountains there is a rumbling uproar (chap. xvii. 12, 13); for they are the peoples of *Eran*, and at their head the Medes, who inhabit the very mountainous part of Eran to the north-east of Babylonia, who descend over the lofty *Shahu* (Zagros) and the mountain chains lying towards the Tigris and stretching down to the Babylonian lowlands; and not merely the peoples of Eran, but generally the peoples of the mountainous north of Asia (Jer. li. 27). It is an army under the guidance of Jehovah, the God of the hosts of spirits and stars, whose wrath it is about to execute on the whole earth, *i.e.* on the kingdom of the world; for the fall of Babylon is a judgment, and it is accompanied with judgments upon all the peoples under the Babylonian government.

Then must all sink into anxious and painful terror. Vers. 6–8: "*Howl, for the day of Jehovah is near, like a destroying force, from the Almighty it comes. Therefore all arms hang slack down, and every human heart melts away. And they*

become disturbed, they fall into cramps and pangs, like a travailing woman they writhe; one stares at the other, their faces are faces of flame." The outcry, הֵילִילוּ (not defectively, הֵלִילוּ), LXX. ὀλολύζετε (cf. Jas. v. 1), is founded on the expression "the day of Jehovah is near," which, from the time of Obadiah and Joel, was the watchword of prophecy. The כְּ in כְּשֹׁד is the so-called כ *veritatis, i.e.* of the comparison of the concrete with its idea (chap. xxix. 2; Song of Sol. viii. 10), or of the individual with the universal or common which is manifested in it (see Ezek. xxvi. 10; Zech. xiv. 3; 2 Sam. ix. 8; Neh. vii. 2); it is a destroying by him who possesses unlimited power to destroy (שֹׁד from שָׁדַד, سدّ, to ram, to attack in a violently destructive way, from which we have שַׁדַּי, according to the form חַגַּי from חָגַג). In this play of sound the prophet repeats words of Joel (i. 15). He himself uses שַׁדַּי nowhere else as a name of God. On that day men let their hands hang down from despondency and helplessness, and the heart, the seat of life, dissolves (chap. xix. 1) in the heat of anguish. Universal consternation ensues, as is here expressed by the וְנִבְהָלוּ standing in half pause (*shalsheleth*, with the mark of separation after it). The following paragogic imperfects increase the energy of the description by their anapaestic rhythm. Men (this is the subject) are seized by cramps and pangs (as in Job xviii. 20, xxi. 6), the force of events compelling them to enter into these states (cf. chap. xxxv. 10). The cramps are called צִירִים from צור = צָרַר, like *tormina*, from *torquere*, and the pangs and throes חֲבָלִים from the חָבַל, حبل, which is related in meaning to צר (cf. حَبِلَ, to be pregnant, literally, *semen in se constrictum habere*). The pains are indicated in their order of succession, which is here expressed by יְחִילוּן (from חִיל = חוּל, حال, to turn oneself, to writhe). Further, their faces are faces of flame. What is here meant is the fever glow of anguish, which drives the blood into their face, so that it becomes deep red and glowing hot (compare the expression for deadly paleness in Joel ii. 6).

Jehovah's day of wrath is coming,—a starless night, a night-like, sunless day. Vers. 9, 10: "*Behold, the day of*

Jehovah comes, a cruel one, and indignation and glowing wrath, to turn the earth into a wilderness; and its sin it abolishes from it. For the stars of the heaven and its Orions will not let their light gleam; the sun darkens itself at its rising, and the moon does not let its light shine." The day of Jehovah comes, cruel and severe (אַכְזָרִי, an *adj. relat.*, fr. the elative form אַכְזָר), as the overflow of inner excitement and as sheer glowing wrath. לָשׂוּם is carried on in the finite verb. It is, indeed, not the judgment of the world which the prophet is describing, but a historical catastrophe of the nations drawing the whole earth afar into sympathetic suffering; הָאָרֶץ is here not merely the land of Babylon (Knobel), but the earth. That the day of Jehovah is a day of wrath is established in ver. 10. Even nature clothes itself in the colour of wrath, the opposite of which is light. The heavenly lights above the earth are extinguished; the moon does not shine; the sun in the act of rising changes its mind. That כְּסִיל, in the sense of "the fool = foolhardy one," indicates Orion, which is according to the old translations (LXX. *ὁ Ὠρίων*, Targum נְפִילֵיהוֹן from נְפִילָא, in the same astrological sense), is more probable[1] than that it indicates in the sense of "the tardy one," *suhêl*, *i.e.* Canopus (see on Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31), although the Arabic *suhêl* occurs as the generic name for stars of prominent splendour (see on Job xxxviii. 7). The comprehensive signification of the term is similar to the use of הַבְּעָלִים in Hos. ii. 15, 19, as applying to Baal, Astarte, and the bull images taken together; or as when in Arabic (according to a figure of speech which is called تغليب, *i.e.* the letting the *pars potior* predominate) "the two late evenings" are used for evening and late evening; "the two Omars" for Omar and Abubekr (*DMZ.* vii. 180–81), and *Sibaweihs* for Sibaweih and the grammarians like him, exactly as in Latin we have Scipiones = men of the greatness of Scipio. Even the Orions, *i.e.* the stars, which at other times beam most brightly (cf. *σείρια παμφανόεντα* in

[1] So when the astronomical R. Samuel of Nehardea, *Berachot* 58*b*, says: "Were it not for the heat of the כסיל, the world could not exist on account of the cold of the עקרב (Scorpion);" and, conversely, he means by כסיל Orion. The sense of the saying is that the constellations Orion and Scorpio, of which the one appears in the hot season and the other in the cold, maintain an equilibrium in the relations of the temperature.

a fragment of Ibykos), withhold their light; for when God is angry, the principle of anger stirs also in the natural world, and indeed primarily in the stars which were created לְאֹתוֹת (compare Gen. i. 14 with Jer. x. 2). Instead of יַגִּיהַּ, Ezekiel in chap. xxxii. 7 says יָאִיר.

The prophet now hears again the voice of Jehovah, which reveals to him what is His purpose—a visitation punishing the wicked, humbling the proud, and depopulating the lands. Vers. 11, 12: "*And I visit on the world the evil, and upon evil-doers their guilt, and sink into silence the pomp of the inflated, and the show of the tyrants I throw to the ground. I make men more costly than fine gold, and people than Ophir-jewels.*" The verb פָּקַד is, as in Jer. xxxii. 2, construed with the accusative of what is punished, and with עַל of him who is punished. Instead of אֶרֶץ we have here תֵּבֵל, which is always used in the manner of a proper noun (never with the article, nor in plural) of the earth without limitation. Instead of נְדִיבִים we have here עָרִיצִים, like רְשָׁעִים in Job xxi. 28; the former means only princes, having only sometimes the collateral sense of despots; the latter signifies primarily ferocious men or tyrants, and it occurs frequently in Isaiah. The typical impress of Isaiah is here unmistakable. "What is high is thrown down" is one of the chief themes of Isaiah's proclamation. It is one of the fundamental thoughts of Isaiah, that the judgment only leaves a remnant (שְׁאָר); and this thought also runs through the oracles concerning the heathen (chap. xvi. 14, xxi. 17, xxiv. 6), and is variously represented (chap. x. 16–19, xvii. 4–6, xxiv. 13, xxx. 17). Here the thought is expressed by indicating that men will be as scarce as the finest kinds of gold. כֶּתֶם from כָּתַם = كتم, to conceal, is literally hiding, and then, what is kept hidden on account of its preciousness. Isaiah is fond of painting in tones, and the אוֹפִיר, which resembles אוֹקִיר in sound, is—according to what is still always the most probable view—the gold region of India, which lay nearest the Phoenicians, the coastland of *Abhîra*, east of the mouths of the Indus (see Comm. on Gen. x. 29; Job xxii. 24; and as to the Egyptianized Σουφίρ of LXX., see Comm. on Job xxviii. 16).

The wrath of God thus rules on earth among men, thus

casting down and rooting out; and the natural world above and below cannot remain unaffected by it. Ver. 13: "*Therefore I set the heavens a-quaking, and the earth trembles away from its place, because of the fury of Jehovah of hosts, and because of the day of His glowing anger.*" In 13*a* there is an echo of Job ix. 6 (cf. xx. 27). The two בְּ (cf. ix. 18) are used causatively. They correspond to the עַל־כֵּן as its explication. Because God's wrathful judgment is inflicted upon men, every creature which is not the object of that judgment of wrath must yet become a means of carrying it out. It is the thought of ver. 9*a* which is here repeated in a sort of refrain (similarly as in chap. v. 25). Now follow the several fatalities. The first is flight. Ver. 14: "*And it happens as with a gazelle which is scared, and as with a flock without a gatherer, they turn every one to his people, and they flee every one to his land.*" The subj. of וְהָיָה is כ *instar:* there happens the like of, or the same as with a scared gazelle. Babylon, the "shopkeepers' city of the merchants' land" (Ezek. xvii. 4), was the world market of inner Asia, and therefore a gathering place of the most diverse nationalities (Jer. l. 16; cf. li. 9, 44), the rendezvous of a πάμμικτος ὄχλος, as Aeschylus says in his *Persae*, v. 52. This great and motley mass of strangers scatter hurriedly away on the fall of the imperial city (chap. xlvii. 15; Jer. l. 16, li. 9). The second fatality is violent death. Ver. 15: "*Every one who is found is thrust through, and every one who is overtaken falls by the sword.*" הַנִּמְצָא are those who are found in the city by the inrushing conquerors; and הַנִּסְפֶּה are those who are caught by them in flight (סָפָה, chap. vii. 20, to snatch away). All are slaughtered. The third and fourth fatalities are plundering and ravishing. Ver. 16: "*And their sucklings are dashed in pieces before their eyes, their houses plundered, and their wives ravished.*" Instead of תִּשָּׁגַלְנָה, the *Keri* has here and in Zech. xiv. 2 euphemistically תִּשָּׁכַבְנָה, *concubitum patientur*, a passive which, like the Pual of the *Keri* of Jer. iii. 2, nowhere appears in the Old Testament text itself (see Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 407, 408). The queen's name, שֵׁגָל, and the odalisque's name, שֵׁגְלָת, in Dan. v. 2, 3, show that שגל was not regarded as ignoble in the ancient period of the language.

With ver. 17 there begins a new turn of the prophecy in

which the obscurity thus far lying upon it is completely broken through. We now learn the name of the conquerors. Ver. 17: "*Behold, I rouse upon them the Medes, who regard not silver, and have no pleasure in gold.*" The Medes are called מָדַי, the old Bactrian *Mâda*, the Assyrian *Mada-a-a* (without marking of the first syllable as long). The Persians, who are first named by Ezekiel and Daniel, are not mentioned here; the prophet who ascribes the fall of Babylon (538 B.C.) to the Medes, prophesies, as the statement shows, before Cyrus made himself the master of the Median empire (549 B.C.) by conquering Astyages. The Medes lived till about the end of the reign of Hezekiah, in country districts containing regions (villages) organized in a constitutional way. After they had broken away, in 714 B.C., from the Assyrians, they put themselves, in 709–8 B.C., under a common king, named Deyoces, or more correctly, under a common monarch. But the proper founder of a Median kingdom was Cyaxares, 633–593 B.C., who was followed by Astyages (593–549 B.C.). The "kings of Media" appear, in Jer. xxv. 25, among those who must drink the cup of revelling, which Jehovah presents through Nebuchadnezzar to the peoples. Their expedition against Babylon was thus an act of revenge for the disgrace of servitude brought upon them. The fact that they did not esteem silver and gold (חָשַׁב, *aestimare*, and indeed *magni*, as in chap. xxxiii. 8, and frequently elsewhere) is not meant to mark them as a rude uncivilised people, but the prophet means it in the same way as Cyrus in Xenophon, *Cyrop.* v. 120, when he says to the Medes: *οὐ χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε.* Revenge incites them on even to ignore all morality and humanity. Ver. 18: "*And bows smite down young men; and on the fruit of the body they have no compassion, on children their eye has no pity.*" The bows do not stand exactly for the bowmen (see chap. xxi. 17); but the bows of the latter smite down the youths by means of the shot arrow. The fruit of the body they do not spare, since they kill the sucklings, and even rip up the bodies of women with child (2 Kings viii. 12, xv. 16, and elsewhere). They feel no emotion of pity or consideration even towards children; no such emotion is keeping them back or expressing itself in their look (Prov.

xxi. 10); חוּס, related to حاش, from which comes حَاشَ, *absit* = חָלִילָה, here, as in Ezek. v. 11, used of the eye as the mirror of the soul (cf. 1 Sam. xxiv. 11, where עֵינִי is to be supplied).[1] With such inhuman excesses on the part of the enemy, the capital of the empire becomes a scene of terrible conflagration. Ver. 19: "*And Babel, the ornament of kingdoms, the glory of the pageantry of the Chaldeans, becomes like Elohim's judicial overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.*" The ornament of מַמְלָכוֹת is so called because it is the centre of many subjugated kingdoms which now take their revenge upon her, ver. 4; and she is called the glory or pride (cf. xxviii. 1) because the ancient seat of a mighty and far-ruling people. Its present catastrophe is compared to that of Sodom and Gomorrah; the two אֵת are in the accusative; מַהְפֵּכָה, *καταστροφή*, is used like דֵּעָה in chap. xi. 9 with a verbal force (*τὸ καταστρέψαι*), and the LXX. render it well *ὃν τρόπον κατέστρεψεν ὁ θεός* (cf. on the arrangement of the words, Ges. § 133, 3).

Babylon, like the cities of the Pentapolis, is now an everlasting wilderness. Vers. 20–22: "*She remains unoccupied for ever, and uninhabited to generation of generations; and an Arab does not pitch tent there, and shepherds do not make lie down there. And beasts of the desert lie down there, and hyenas fill their houses, and ostriches dwell there, and field-devils hop about there. And jackals howl in her castles, and wild dogs in palaces of pleasure: and her time is near to come, and her days will not be prolonged.*" A city sits and dwells when it is settled and inhabitable, and has therefore a settled population (cf. *e.g.* Zech. ix. 5). Babylon thus becomes a ruin. The conclusion is similar to the conclusion of the prophecy against Edom in chap. xxxiv. 16, 17; there the certainty of what is prophesied is asserted to the most individual details; here the nearness of the fulfilment is asserted. The fulfilment, however, did not take place so soon as may appear from

[1] This is not connected with خَشْيَةُ العَيْنِ على (*Hariri*, p. 140, *Comment.*), in which العين is not *gen. subjecti*, but *n. act.*, and which means: Anxiety lest his sons should be smitten by the evil eye; literally: Anxiety of ogling for his sons (see the remark above on ii. 6).—FL.

the words of the prophecy. According to Herodotus, Cyrus, the leader of the Medo-Persian army, left the city still standing with its double ring of walls. Darius Hystaspis, who was forced to conquer Babylon a second time in 518 B.C., had the walls taken away all but 50 ells. Xerxes gave the last blow to the glory of the temple of Belus. Conquered by Seleucus Nikator (312 B.C.), Babylon fell in proportion as Seleucia arose, and Seleucia even inherited the name of the city it surpassed.[1] *Babylon*, says Pliny, *ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciae.* In the time of Strabo (born 60 B.C.), Babylon was a complete desert; and he applies to it (xvi. 15) the words of the poet: *ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στιν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις.* Consequently prophecy shows itself here too as subject to the law of perspective foreshortening. But the curse, to the effect that Babylon should never come again to be settled and inhabited (a poetical expression, as in Jer. xvii. 25, xxxiii. 16), proved itself effective when Alexander wished to make Babylon the metropolis of his empire; he was carried off when engaged at it by an early death. Ten thousand workmen were at that time employed for two months in clearing away the rubbish from the foundation of the temple of Belus (the Nimrod Tower). The fact that there is now found, not far from the Birs Nimrud, a considerable and pleasant town named Hilla, is not contrary to 20*a;* for the prophecy means Babylon, the city of imperial power. In ver. 20*b* it is said that no Arab (עֲרָבִי, from the old Semitic עֲרָבָה, عَرَبَة, a steppe, used here for the first time, and then in Jer. iii. 2 = بَدَوِىّ, Bedouin, from بدو, a desert) pitches his tent there (יַהֵל, different from יָהֵל in chap. xiii. 10 and Job xxxi. 26, is syncopated from יַאֲהֵל, *tentorium figet*, like the Assyrian אהל=אאל, to settle down, to camp), is the natural consequence of the great field of ruins which is supplied only with scanty vegetation. General Chesney found at the foot of the Birs Nimrud a tribe of Arabs encamping there; and this is indeed against the letter of the prophecy, but not against its sense;—the field of ruins is not a pasture-land where

[1] Stephanus Byz.: *Βαβυλὼν Περσικὴ πόλις μητρόπολις Σελεύκεια καλουμένη.*

nomads could remain. In depicting this desert field the prophet names all sorts of beasts of the desert and of waste places that make their haunts there. The series opens with צִיִּים (from צִי, dryness = צִיָּה, or from צִיִּי, *adj. relat.* of the noun צִי), *i.e.* inhabitants of the desert, here not men, but, as in most instances, beasts, yet without its being possible to determine those which are specially so designated. It was a plausible conjecture of Aurivillius, that אֹחִים meant long-eared owls (*Uhu's*); but the Assyrian *âḫû* (syn. *barbaru*) is in favour of a four-footed beast.[1] On בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה, see Comm. on Job xxxix. 13–18; Wetzstein combines יַעֲנָה with وَعْنَةٌ, a desert; Ewald, on the other hand, compares the Syriac יענא, greedy, devouring. The feminine plural includes the ostriches of both sexes, just as the אִיִּים (sing. אִי = אִיִּי from אָוָה, عوى, to howl), *i.e.* jackals, are called in Arabic, without distinction of sex, بنات آوى, and in the vulgar dialect واوى. תַּן (see Köhler on Mal. i. 3) has also been regarded since Pocock and Schnurrer as a name of the jackal; for which the Arabic name for the wolf, *tinân* (which is only incidentally so used), gives less authority than the Syriac translation by יָרוֹרָא (*e.g.* in Jer. ii. 24, where the Targum has יָרוֹדָא);[2] it may designate a variety of the species *canis aureus*, from the characteristic mark of its being stretched out long (whether from length of the trunk, or of the snout, or of the tail).[3] The animals named, the quadrupeds (רָבַץ) as well as the birds (שָׁכַן), are actually still found there on the ground and soil of ancient Babylon. When Ker Porter was approaching the Nimrod Tower, lions were sunning themselves quietly upon its walls, and they came down leisurely when alarmed by the cries of the Arabs. And, as Rich heard in Bagdad, the site of the ruins is still regarded as a rendezvous for ghosts; שָׂעִיר, in distinction from עַתּוּד, signifies the full-grown shaggy he-goat, but here שְׂעִירִים (as in

[1] See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language* (1883), p. 34.

[2] Just as strange is the way in which ר and ד interchange in the Talmudic צבחר, and the Palestinio-Aramaean צבחר (a bit, a little). The transition of the ð *spirans* into *r* is also found in the sphere of the Arian languages, *DMZ.* xxxvi. 135, 136.

[3] W. Robertson Smith mentions in the accounts of his journey to Hijaz that the fox is there called *abu-ḥosein*, and the jackal ثعلب.

chap. xxxiv. 14) are demons in the shape of goats to which the heathen offered sacrifices (Lev. xvii. 7; cf. 2 Chron. xi. 15). Virgil, like Isaiah, calls them *saltantes Satyros.* In the present day the nightly howling and yelling of jackals (עָנָה after רָקַד, as in 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7) still produces its weird disconcerting effect upon the traveller there. These are the future inhabitants of the royal אַרְמְנוֹת, which the prophet (cf. Targ. Ezek. xix. 7) with a sarcastic touch calls אַלְמְנוֹת, on account of their witheredness and desolation (although אלמנה is shown to be only different in sound from ארמנה by the Assyrian *almattu* = *almantu*).[1] These are to be the inhabitants of the הֵיכְלֵי עֹנֶג, the luxurious villas and chateaux or pleasure mansions, with their hanging gardens. The fulfilment is put in prospect in ver. 22*b* as in the near future. עֵת (hardly contracted out of עֶנֶת from עָנָה = אָנָה, to meet, a meaning for ענה which has no certain support, but out of עֶדֶת from וָעַד, to determine)[2] signifies the final term of fulfilment. The Apocalypse in chap. xviii. 2 takes up this prophecy of Isaiah and applies it to a then existing Babylon, which has to look at itself in the mirror of the Babylon of old.

It is love to His own people which drives the God of Israel to suspend such a judgment of eternal destruction over Babylon. Chap. xiv. 1, 2: "*For Jehovah will have mercy on Jacob, and will once more choose Israel, and will settle them on their native soil; and the foreigner will associate himself with them, and will attach themselves to the house of Jacob. And peoples take them and accompany them to their place, and the house of Israel makes them its own on the soil of Jehovah as servants and maid-servants, and they hold captive those who led them away captive, and become lords of their oppressors.*" We have here *in nuce* the comforting substance of chaps. xl.–lxvi. Babylon falls in order that Israel may rise. God's compassion brings this about. He chooses Israel עוֹד, *iterum* (as in Zech. i. 17, ii. 16), and therefore concludes with it a new covenant. Then follows restoration to the possession of their country (אַדְמָתָם), of the land of Jehovah (אַדְמַת ה׳, as

[1] See Friedr. Delitzsch on Baer's *Ezekiel*, p. xi.

[2] Similar to this pair of derivatives, עֵת and מוֹעֵד, are עֵצָה and מוֹעֵצָה, יְקוֹד and מוֹקֵד; cf. v. Orelli, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, pp. 47–49.

in Hos. ix. 3). The proselytes from the heathen who had attached themselves to Israel (נִלְוָה, as in Zech. ii. 15, parallel to נִסְפַּח), march with them as Ruth went with Naomi. Heathen accompany the exiles to their locality and place. And the relation between them is now reversed. Those who accompany Israel are now taken possession of by them for themselves (הִתְנַחֵל, used reflexively, like הִתְפַּתַּח in chap. lii. 2 λύεσθαι) for servants and maid-servants, and they (the Israelites) become leaders into captivity of those who led them captive (לְ, with the participle, as in chap. xi. 9), and they will rule over those who were their oppressors (רָדָה בְּ, as in Ps. xlix. 15). The promise literally refers to this world, in accordance with the national form of the Old Testament community, and will not be realized in this its literal sense. Israel, indeed, will be restored as a people; but the essence of the Church which is raised above all national distinctions does not return to the national limit which it has broken through. The fact that the prophecy moves within this limit here is explained at once from the fact that it is primarily deliverance from the Babylonian exile that is promised.

The song of the redeemed is a song on the fall of the king of Babylon.[1] Vers. 3, 4*a*: "*And it comes to pass on the day when Jehovah brings thee rest from thy torment, and from thy anguish, and from the heavy servitude wherewith thou wast made to serve, then thou raisest such a triumph-song over the king of Babel, and sayest.*" Instead of the Hiphil הִנִּיחַ (to let down, to set down, as in Gen. ii. 15) of ver. 1, we have here, as in the original passage in Deut. xxv. 19, the more usual form הֵנִיחַ, in the sense of to give rest, to procure rest. עֹצֶב is trouble which torments (as עָמָל is trouble which presses heavy), and רֹגֶז, agonizing restlessness (Job iii. 26; cf. Ezek. xii. 18). The assimilated מִן before רֹגֶז is not מֵ, as in מֵעָצְבְּ, but מִ, with a virtual duplication (*Michlol*, 54*a*), as elsewhere before ח, ה, and also before ר in 1 Sam. xxiii. 28; 2 Sam. xviii. 16. In the relative clause אֲשֶׁר עֻבַּד־בָּךְ, אֲשֶׁר is not the Hebrew *causus adverb.*, corresponding to the Latin ablative,

[1] In Bungener's *Un sermon sous Louis XIV.*, Bossuet is represented as saying: "What beauty! Were the author a poet, I would say: that is his masterpiece!"

quâ servitute servo te usi sunt; it is conceived as *acc. obj.*, according to Ex. i. 14 and Lev. xxv. 39, *qu'on t'a fait servir*, as in Num. xxxii. 5, *qu'on donne la terre* (Luzzatto). Delivered from such a yoke of servitude, Israel will raise a מָשָׁל. מָשָׁל, according to its primary general meaning, is exposition or representation, *i.e.* oratorical exposition (from מָשַׁל = مَثَلَ, to exhibit, put oneself forward), thoughtful and pregnant speech, figurative speech, and generally poetry, but more particularly gnomic poetry, with a liking for what is emblematic and piquant; and from this the idea of the satirical is easily combined with the term.

The song is addressed to the Israel of the future in the Israel of the present, as in chap. xii. 1. The former will then sing and say, vers. 4*b*–6: "*How it is over now with the tyrant, over with the place of torture! Jehovah has broken to pieces the rod of the wicked, the ruler-staff which smote peoples fiercely with blows without ceasing, wrathfully subjugated nations with pursuing that never pauses.*" The ἁπ. λεγ. מַדְהֵבָה is derived, by Parchon, Kimchi, Ben-Melech, Vitringa, Aurivillius, and Rosenmüller, from the Aramaean דְּהַב, *aurum;* but this was never thought of by any of the ancients. The latter all translate the word as if it were מַרְהֵבָה (arrogant, violent treatment, from רהב, chap. iii. 5), as it has been mostly corrected since J. D. Michaelis. But we come to this result without changing a letter, if we take דָּהַב = דָּאַב דּוּב, meaning to flow away, to pine away. The מ is the local מ, as in מַדְמֵנָה, chap. xxv. 10, and therefore the place where they reduce to pining away, *i.e.* Babylon, as a house of servitude where Israel has been made weary to death. The ruler-staff in ver. 5 is the Chaldean imperial power concentrated personally in the king of Babylon (cf. שֵׁבֶט in Num. xxiv. 17); the ruler is termed מֹשֵׁל, as standing upright and bearing the sway (*kâïm bi-l-mulki*), just as the parable is called מָשָׁל, as a (comparative) exhibition or exposition. Here the associated idea of the tyrant is connected with מֹשֵׁל. That tyrant-sceptre smote peoples with incessant smiting and hunting of them; with מַכֶּה is connected, as the accusative of manner, the derivative מַכַּת, and with רֹדֶה is connected in cognate sense מֻרְדָּף, that which (ὅ, τι) is hunted, then this that

(ὅτι) there is hunting, and as the meaning of the passive participle passes into that of the verbal abstract: the being hunted, a Hophal noun, as in chap. viii. 23, xxix. 3. Döderlein's conjecture of מִרְדַּת is ingenious but unnecessary.

Unceasing continuance is expressed first by בִּלְתִּי, which is used as a preposition, and is followed by סָרָה, which is a participial noun like כָּלָה, and then it is expressed by בְּלִי, which is construed as in Gen. xxxi. 20, Job xli. 18, with a finite verb; for בְּלִי חָשָׂךְ is an attributive clause: with a "being hunted" which did not hold itself in, made no halt, and therefore did not spare. But it is not Israel only and other subjugated peoples that now breathe again. Vers. 7, 8: "*The whole earth is quiet, is at rest; they break forth into jubilation. Even the cypresses rejoice because of thee, the cedars of Lebanon: 'since thou hast fallen asleep, there will not come up one who lays the axe to us.'*" The preterites indicate inchoatively the circumstances into which the whole earth has now entered. The want of a subject with פָּצְחוּ gives the greatest generality to the bursting out of jubilation; פָּצַח רִנָּה, *erumpere gaudio*, is an expression exclusively Isaianic (*e.g.* in chaps. xliv. 23, xlix. 13). מֵאָז also in historical prose signifies "since" in a relative conjunctional sense (*e.g.* Ex. v. 23); and it is peculiar to our prophet to draw the trees of the forest into the general joy as living and speaking beings (cf. lv. 12). Jerome understands the trees here figuratively as *principes gentium*. But the disposition to allegorize not only destroys the reality of the contents, but also the colouring of the poetry. Cypresses and cedars rejoice, because the Chaldean has behaved so badly when among them in employing the almost imperishable wood of both for building ornamental structures, for carrying on sieges, and for constructing fleets. They even made ships of them, as Alexander, for example, built for himself a fleet of cypress wood, and the Syrian ships had masts of cedar. Of the thousand-year-old cedars of Lebanon, which at a moderate height are distinguished by the circumference of their trunk (being about 14·56 metres at breast high), there are only some seven still remaining, while the number of all the trunks goes considerably beyond 350. The old botanist Rauwolff, in the year 1573 (according to the account of his travels published in 1583), counted only 24.

While it has now become quiet on earth, on the other hand the nether world is found in the most violent agitation. Ver. 9: "*The kingdom of the dead below falls into uproar on account of thee at thy coming; it stirs up for thee the shades, all the he-goats of the earth; it raises up from their throne-seats all the kings of the nations.*" The mythological idea of Hades proceeds on the twofold truth, that what and how man has been in this world is not obliterated in the other world, but becomes essentially manifest, and that there is an immaterial self-formation of the soul in which all that the individual man has become through his own self-determination under God-given relations is reflected as in a mirror, and that in an abiding figure. This image of the soul, to which the dead body is related as the shattered form of a mould, is the shadowy corporeity of the inhabitants of Hades, in which they appear essentially, although in the condition of spirits, as what they were in this life. The prophet depicts this poetically; it is truly a מָשָׁל which he here inweaves in his prophecy. The greatest astonishment and excitement lay hold of the whole of Hades now when the king of Babel approaches, the invincible ruler of the world, who was not expected, or, at least, not so soon. From עוֹרֵר onwards, שְׁאֹל, although feminine, might be the subject, since the verb turns from the feminine form into the original masculine form; but it is better to take the subject as neuter, a *nescio quid*, a nameless power; for were שׁאול to be taken as the personified Sheol with allusion to the heathen god of the nether world (such as Nergal, the *šar apsi*, king of the water deep, Job xxvi. 5), then רָגְזָה would have to be altered into רָגַז (*DMZ.* xxvi. 793). A sudden shock runs through the inhabitants of the still land, especially those who were formerly the leading goats or bell-wethers of the herds of peoples, so that they bound up from astonishment.

And what do they call out to the lofty new-comer as he approaches? Ver. 10: "*They all begin and say to thee: Thou also hast been made weak the same as we; thou art become like us!?*" This verse only contains the address of the shades. The Pual חֻלֵּה, only used here, meaning to be made sickly or powerless, signifies the being transposed into the state of the רְפָאִים (a word occurring in Phenician inscriptions, from רָפָא =

רָפָה, to be slack, weary); for the life of the shades is only a shadow of life (cf. εἴδωλα, ἄκικυς, and κάμοντες in Homer). We cannot expect more than this expression of highest amazement in Hades. Why should they taunt their new associate? From ver. 11, accordingly, the singers of the Mashal again take up the song. Ver. 11: "*Thy splendour is hurled down to the realm of the dead, the sounding of thy harps; maggots are spread under thee, and they who cover thee are worms.*" We learn from the Book of Daniel the nature of the Babylonian music, which was rich in instruments, partly of a foreign kind. Maggots and worms—a bitter sarcasm—now take the place of the artistic and costly Babylonian carpets as the pillows and coverings of the noble corpses. יֻצַּע might be a 3rd pers. imperfect Hophal (Ges. § 71), but here between perfects it is 3rd pret. Pual, like יֻלַּד in chap. ix. 5 (Aben Ezra). רִמָּה, which is preceded by the verb in a masculine, and, to some extent, indifferent form, is the collective name of small worms which corruption brings with it (from רָמַם, رَمَّ, to be rotten, putrid), LXX. σῆψις. With אֵיךְ, the catchword of the Mashal, it goes on in ver. 12: "*How art thou fallen from the heavens, thou shining star, son of the dawn, smitten down to the earth, who threw nations down from above!*" הֵילֵל (which elsewhere as the imp. Hiphil of the verb יָלַל means *ejula*) here means the glittering star (from the quadriliteral הילל, *hailula*, an intensive form of הלל, to shine), *i.e.* the morning star, which Babylonians and Assyrians personified in the feminine as Istar,[1] but of which they said: "Istar is feminine at sunset and masculine at sunrise."[2] To the idea of the morning star as a male messenger of the sunrise, corresponds the surname בֶּן־שָׁחַר; just as according to the Greek myth he is son of Eos, because he rises before the sun and swims in

[1] *Istar* is originally goddess of the morning star (like العُزّى of the ancient Arabians, *DMZ.* xli. 710); and not till later, after the suppression of *Sin*, did she become the Moon-goddess, and the planet Venus was thenceforth represented by *Bilit* (*Baaltis*), the ancient goddess of the evening star (see Schrader in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, 337, 340; *DMZ.* xxvii. 403; *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*, i. 127). On the mythus of איסטהר being transferred to the Pleiades, see *DMZ.* xxxi. 225–229.

[2] See Friedrich Delitzsch on Smith's *Chald. Genesis*, p. 271.

the morning red, or rather in the morning grey (for this is the literal meaning of the שַׁחַר, سَحَر, in distinction from فَجْر, the red dawn), as if he were born out of it. Lucifer, the name of the devil, is derived from this passage, the reference of which to Satan is designated by Luther as *insignis error totius papatus;* but it is found already in Jerome and other Fathers. The designation is exceedingly appropriate for the king of Babylon, because of the Babylonian culture going back to the grey primeval time, and on account of its astrological character. The additional name assigned to him, חוֹלֵשׁ עַל־גּוֹיִם, arises from the idea of the *influxus siderum;* חוֹלֵשׁ means laying low, as in Ex. xvii. 13, and with עַל, bringing overthrow (חֲלוּשָׁה) upon; . . . whereas the Talmud (*Shabbath* 149*b*) takes it in the sense of מטיל גורל (*projiciens sortem*), and explains the חֵלֶשׁ (= פּוּרָא, lot) of the Mishna by it.

A look is now thrown back at the self-deification of the king of Babylon, in which he is the antitype of the devil and the prototype of Antichrist (Dan. xi. 36; 2 Thess. ii. 4), a self-deification which has found its reward. Vers. 13–15: "*And thou, thou hast spoken in thy heart: 'The heavens will I ascend, high above the stars of God exalt my throne, and sit down on the mountain of the assembly of gods in the corner of the north. I will mount up to cloud-heights, make myself equal to the Most High,'—nevertheless thou art hurled down into the realm of the dead, into the corner of the pit.*" With וְאַתָּה there begins, as in ver. 19, an antithetical circumstantial clause: whilst thou, whereas thou. The הַר מוֹעֵד cannot be Zion, as Schegg and others suppose, misled by Ps. xlviii. 3; Zion was certainly neither a north point of the earth, nor did it lie in the north of Jerusalem. The prophet makes the king of Babylon speak according to the ideas of his people, who had not, like Israel, the seat of the Deity in their midst, but transferred it to a mountain-range in the farthest north, the Arâlû, as the Hindus transfer it to the fabulous northern mountain Kailâsa lying beyond the Himalaya, and the Eranians to the Alburǵ which bounds the earth to the north. There in the north, on the Arâlû, the mountain of the lands (*šad mâtâtê*), *i.e.* at whose feet lie the lands or countries of the earth, according to the Babylonio-Assyrian notion, the gods had their home, their habitation,

the seat of their dominion.[1] יַרְכָתַיִם (from יַרְכָה with suffix יַרְכָתוֹ) are the two sides of a thing into which it sunders, the two legs of an angle, and then the apex where the legs separate. So here יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן is the farthest point of the north from whence the northern mountain chain stretches fork-like into the land; and יַרְכְּתֵי־בוֹר is the inmost part of the pit into which it slopes with its two walls, and from which it gapes or widens. All the foolhardy purposes of the Chaldean are embraced ultimately in אֶדַּמֶּה לְעֶלְיוֹן, just as the Assyrians (which, however, is not yet established by the inscriptions) according to Ktesias, and the Persians according to the *Persae* of Aeschylus, called their king God, and the Sassanidae actually call themselves *bag ΘΕΟϹ* on coins and inscriptions. אֶדַּמֶּה is Hithpael = אֶתְדַּמֶּה, with the usual assimilation of the preformative ת. With אַךְ, in ver. 14, a contrast is drawn between the pride of the Chaldean flying to the far lofty mountain range towards the north, and to the heavens above, and his inflicted punishment dragging him deep down to the pit. אַךְ, originally affirmative and then restrictive (as רַק is originally restrictive and then affirmative), passes here to an adversative meaning, as in Ps. xlix. 16 and Job xiii. 15 (a transition which אָכֵן shows still more frequently): nevertheless thou wilt be hurled down; nothing but that will occur, and not what thou proposest. This prophetic תּוּרָד is not appropriate either in the mouth of the inhabitants of Hades or in the mouth of the Mashal-singer. The address of Israel has here imperceptibly passed into the words of the prophet, who has before him, but still in the future, what the Mashal sings of as already past.

The subject is also carried on in the tone of prophecy. Vers. 16, 17: "*Those who see thee look thoughtfully, look meditatively at thee: 'Is this the man who set the earth quaking, kingdoms shaking? He who made the world a wilderness, and threw down its cities, and did not let away his captives to their home?'*" The scene is no longer in Hades (Knobel, Umbreit). Those who thus speak have the Chaldean before them, not as a weary shade, but as an unburied corpse that has passed into corruption. הִשְׁגִּיחַ means the

[1] See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 118. Alfred Jeremias, *Babyl. assyrische Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 59 sqq.

thoughtful fixing of one's attention upon something. As תֵּבֵל is feminine, the suffixes in ver. 17 refer, according to a *constructio ad sensum*, to the *οἰκουμένη* as transformed into מִדְבָּר. פָּתַח, to open, namely, lock and fetters, here joined with בַּיְתָה, is equivalent to releasing and letting away (syn. שִׁלַּח, Jer. l. 33). Among the captives the Jewish exiles are particularly referred to; and it was their release that had never entered the mind of the king of Babylon.

The prophet, into whose own words the words of the spectators have passed, then tells of the state in which the tyrant now lies, a state which calls forth such earnest reflections. Vers. 18, 19: "*All the kings over nations, all of them are laid away in honour, every one in his house; but thou art cast away far from thy sepulchre like a shoot hurled forth, clothed over with slain ones, those thrust through by the sword, those that go down to stones of the pit—like a carcase trodden under foot.*" Every other king lies after his death בְּבֵיתוֹ, in the confines of his residence, but the Chaldean lies far from the hereditary vault which seemed destined for him. The מִן in מִקִּבְרְךָ means away therefrom, as in Zeph. iii. 18; cf. Prov. xx. 3; Num. xv. 24. He lies there like a נֵצֶר נִתְעָב, *i.e.* like a side shoot cut off from the tree and thrown away with disgust, because ugly, useless, and only prejudicial to the development of the tree; נִתְעָב, pregnant: *cum abominatione abjectus.* The Targum takes נצר figuratively, and translates כְּיחַם טְמִיר as a buried abortion (Job iii. 16). The scene which here rises before the mind of the prophet is the field of battle. In order to clear it, a hole has been made, and stones are thrown upon it without the trouble being taken of shovelling it up (אַבְנֵי־בוֹר); but the king of Babylon remains lying like a branch which, when a tree is pruned, is let lie aside unheeded, and is trodden into the mire. The following לְבֻשׁ is also a participle; he comes to lie in a common grave deep below other bodies gathered from the battle-field. There he lies then like a carcase (פֶּגֶר), trodden down and deserving nothing better than to be trodden down (מוּבָס, part. Hophal from בּוּס, *conculcare*). He is not buried with other kings and like other kings. Ver. 20: "*Thou art not united with them in burial, for thou hast ruined thy land, murdered thy people; seed of evil-doers is not named for ever.*"

With them, *i.e.* the מלכי גוים of ver. 18*a*. He does not come to lie where kings are entombed with royal honours, not in "his grave," ver. 19*a*, the royal place of burial. Vengeance is thus taken because he has tyrannically spoiled and exhausted his country, and because he has made his people the mechanical instrument of his lust of conquest, and sacrificed them. And it is not merely with himself that all is over for ever; it is also so with his dynasty. The prophet, the messenger of the punitive righteousness, and the mouth of the omnipotence which shapes history, commands it. Ver. 21: "*Prepare for his sons a slaughter-house because of the iniquity of their fathers. They shall not rise up and conquer lands, and fill the face of the world with cities.*" The exhortation is addressed to the Medes, if the prophet is to be considered as having particular persons in his mind. After they stormed Babylon by night, the new Babylonian kingdom and royal house of Nabopolassar disappeared from history; the last shoot of the royal house of Nabopolassar was slain when a child by conspirators; and the second Nebuchadnezzar "deceived the people by declaring: I am Nabukudraćara the son of Nabunita"—as Darius says in the great inscription of Behistan. בַּל (poetical for אַל, like בְּלִי in xiv. 6, for לֹא) is the expression of a negative wish (as פֶּן is of a negative intention). A Babylonian kingdom shall never arise again. Hitzig (*Psalms*, ii. 89) corrects עָרִים into עִיִּים, "heaps of ruins," which is approved by Cheyne, who renders it "heaps;" Ewald makes it עָרִיצִים (tyrants); Meier, עֲרָים, which is made to mean conflicts; and Maurer, like Knobel (in editions 2, 3, whereas in ed. 1 he preferred to read רֵעִים), gives עָרִים, which is to be taken, not in the sense of cities, but of enemies (see on Ps. cxxxix. 20). Nothing of all this, however, is necessary. Nimrod built cities in order to strengthen his monarchy. The king of Assyria built cities for the Medes in order to keep them better in check. It is this building of cities as a means of subserving tyrannical government that is meant.

Thus far the prophet speaks as from God. The prophecy concludes with a word of God Himself given forth through the prophet. Vers. 22, 23: "*And I will arise against them, saith Jehovah of hosts, and root out in Babel name, and remnant, and sprout, and shoot, saith Jehovah. And I make it the*

possession of hedgehogs and water-marshes, and sweep it away with the besom of destruction, saith Jehovah of hosts." שֵׁם וּשְׁאָר and נִין וָנֶכֶד are two alliterating proverbial pairs of words in the alliterative style, and they express the whole without exception. Jehovah rises against the descendants of the king of Babylon, and entirely exterminates Babylon root and branch. The destructive powers, which Babylon hitherto could control by artificial protection, are let loose. The Euphrates, now undyked, lays the territory of Babylon under water. Hedgehogs then take the place of men, and morasses the place of palaces. אֲגַם, أَجَم (أَجَمَة), means here stagnating marshy waters, see chap. ix. 13. קִפֹּד appears indeed in chap. xxxiv. 11 and Zeph. ii. 14 associated with birds, but it signifies in all the Semitic dialects the hedgehog (LXX. ἔρημον ὥστε κατοικεῖν ἐχίνους), which can roll itself together (√ קפד, قفد, *comprehendere, comprimere*), and which, although it can neither fly nor climb very well, being a plantigrade, yet it can easily get on the capital of an overturned pillar (see Zeph. ii. 14). The concluding threat makes a *tabula rasa* of Babylon. From the Pilpel טֵאטֵא (or, according to Kimchi, *Michlol*, 150*a b*, טֵאטֵא, according to which the codices and old editions read וְטֵאטֵאתִיהָ), מַטְאֲטֵא means something with which one drives forth or sweeps away—a besom (a word which was preserved in the popular speech of Palestine, according to *Rosh ha-shanah* 26*b*). Jehovah treats Babylon as sweepings (טִיט, Babylonio-Assyrian *ṭîṭu*), and sweeps it away, הַשְׁמֵד (a substantively used infinitive absolute) serving him as besom.

There now follows a short passage about Assyria, which apparently stands unconnected here. Vers. 24–27: "*Sworn has Jehovah of hosts, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it be; and as I have resolved, it takes place: to break Assur to pieces in my land, and upon my mountains I will tread him down: then departs from them his yoke, and his burden will depart from their neck. This is the purpose which is purposed concerning the whole earth; and this the hand which is stretched out over all the nations. For Jehovah of hosts has resolved, and who could bring to naught? And His hand that is stretched out, who can turn it back?*" It is a quite different judicial

catastrophe that is presented here from that which is prophesied in chaps. xiii. 2–xiv. 3. The world-power which it falls upon is likewise also called, not "Babel" or "Kasdim," but "Assur," which cannot be taken as a name of Babylon (Abravanel, Lowth, and others). Babylon falls by the Medes. Assyria, on the other hand, perishes in the mountain land of Jehovah, which it seeks to subdue; so it was fulfilled. Only when this had taken place did a time come for a prophecy against Babylon, the heiress of the broken Assyrian empire. The two prophecies against Babylon and Assyria therefore form, as they here stand, a hysteron-proteron. The thought which occasioned this conjunction of them, and which it is intended to set forth, is expressed by Jeremiah thus: "Behold, I punish the king of Babel and his land as I have punished the king of Assur" (Jer. l. 17, 18). The one event is the precursor and guarantee of the other. This prophecy against Assyria is, as it were, the pedestal upon which the משׂא בבל is placed. For this it was doubly appropriate, on account of its epilogical tone from ver. 26 onwards.

The Oracle concerning Philistia, Chap. XIV. 28–32.

The punishments enumerated in 2 Chron. xxviii. 5–21 as falling upon king Ahaz, also included the one represented here of the Philistines invading the low country (שְׁפֵלָה) and the south land (נֶגֶב), taking several cities, of which the chronicler mentions six by name, and settling therein. This aggressive rising of the Philistines against the government of Judah was probably a consequence of the oppression of Judah by Syria and Ephraim, or of its continued weakness from its sufferings in the Syro-Ephraimitish war. However it be, the fact suffices of itself to enable us to understand the following minatory prophecy.

This prophecy belongs to those which are dated. Ver. 28: "*In the death-year of king Ahaz, the following oracle went forth.*" The death-year of Ahaz is (as in chap. vi. 1) the year in which the death of Ahaz occurred. The Philistines, without being again humiliated, were still holding possession, a fact which was shameful to Judah. But this year was also a turning-point. For Hezekiah, the successor of Ahaz,

not only wrested from them the conquered cities, but also smote them completely within their own territory (2 Kings xviii. 8).

It was therefore a very decisive year in which Isaiah began thus to prophesy. Ver. 29: "*Rejoice not so completely, Philistia, that the staff which smote thee is broken to pieces: for out of the serpent's root goes forth a basilisk, and its fruit is a flying dragon.*" The death-year of Ahaz was exactly the death-year of Tiglath-pileser (726 B.C.), or it was close to it. Hence Barth, with Nöldeke assenting, understands by the broken staff the castigating rod of Tiglath-pileser; whereas Bredenkamp, on the other hand, takes it to refer to Shalmanassar. On that view, the basilisk and the flying dragon would have to be understood to be kings of Assyria, as Cheyne and Driver take them to be. Philistia had really to suffer from Sargon and Sennacherib, according to the evidence of the inscriptions. But the superscription of the prophecy does not run (שלמנאסר) בשנת מות המלך תגלתפלאסר, but בשנת מות המלך אחז. Shall we then hold it to be an erroneous marginal addendum written by some one or other (as Cheyne and G. A. Smith[1] hold), and thus support one hypothesis by another hypothesis? No. The point at issue stands in the same position as that in chap. xv. 9. What Philistia suffered through Sargon and Sennacherib stands only in a preparatory relation to the lasting subjection under Judah which the prophet hopes for. שֵׁבֶט מַכֵּךְ, *scipio feriens te* (not *ferientis te*, which is less suitable), is the Davidic sceptre which held the Philistines in subjection under David and Solomon, and in later times since Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 6). This sceptre is broken to pieces; for the Davidic kingdom is broken by the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and it has not yet recovered itself, and it has fallen to pieces in so far as it had extended its power over the neighbouring peoples. It is about this that Philistia is wholly filled with joy; but this joy is at an end now. The power from which Philistia had withdrawn itself was a common serpent, נָחָשׁ, which, besides, is now cut to pieces, or has died down to the root. But out of this root, *i.e.* out of the house of David, which had been reduced to the lowli-

[1] In the first volume of his work, *The Book of Isaiah* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1888), which has just reached me (Jan. 1889).

ness of its original stem, there grows forth צֶפַע (see chap. xi. 8), a basilisk *regulus* (Jerome and other old translators); and this, which is already dangerous and deadly in itself, will when matured bring as fruit a winged dragon—a beast of the popular mythology, although Herodotus (ii. 75) speaks of winged serpents in Egypt and Arabia. The basilisk is Hezekiah, and the flying dragon is the Messiah (such is the explanation of the Targum); or what is the same thing, the former is the Davidic kingdom of the immediate future, and the latter the Davidic kingdom of the ultimate future. The figure may appear inappropriate, because the serpent is a symbol of evil; but it is not a symbol merely of creaturely evil, but also of the divine curse; the curse, however, is the energy of penal justice, and as the executor of this justice as a judgment of God on Philistia, the Davidic king is here called a serpent in a climax rising through three stages. Perhaps the choice of the figure was suggested by Gen. xlix. 17; for the saying concerning Dan was fulfilled in Samson the Danite, the sworn enemy of the Philistines.

The coming Davidic king is for Israel peace, but death for Philistia. Ver. 30: "*And the poorest of the poor will feed, and needy ones lie down in peace; and I kill thy root by hunger, and thy remainder he lays low.*" בְּכוֹרֵי דַלִּים is an intensified form of בְּנֵי דַלִּים, the latter meaning those who belong to the race of the poor, the former (cf. Job xviii. 13, *mors dirissima*) those who occupy the first rank in this race; it is a designation for Israel as deeply, very deeply reduced and at present threatened on all sides, but as afterwards enjoying his country in quiet and peace (Zeph. iii. 12, 13). In this sense וְרָעוּ is used absolutely, and the conjecture of Lowth, בְּכוֹרַי, or of Koppe and Hupfeld, בְּכָרַי, is not required. Israel again comes up, but Philistia goes down to its root and remainder, and even this falls on the one hand under the penal infliction of God (famine), and on the other hand under the punishment inflicted by the house of David. For the change of persons in 30*b* is not a synallage; יַהֲרֹג has for its subject the basilisk, the father of the flying dragon, and not the hunger (as Nägelsbach holds); for the hunger is only one of the means of punishment which take effect upon Philistia.

The Massa consists of two strophes. The first threatens

judgment from Judah, and the second, beginning here, threatens judgment from Assyria. Ver. 31: "*Howl, gate! Cry, city! Thou art getting to melt away, Philistia, entirely; for from the north comes smoke, and there is no isolated one among its bands.*" שַׁעַר elsewhere is always masculine, but here (cf. Song of Sol. vii. 5) it is used in the feminine as a local name. The world-renowned strong gates of the Philistine cities (especially of Ashdod and Gaza), and the cities themselves, shall lift up a cry of woe (cf. Lam. ii. 18 if the text there is uncorrupted), and Philistia, which was hitherto all joy, must wholly perish in the fire of anguish (chap. xiii. 7); נָמוֹג is the inf. abs. Niphal (cf. lix. 13; König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 473) with subject following, as in Ezek. i. 14 with it preceding. It falls into the state of complete dissolution, for from the north there comes a singeing and burning fire which already announces itself from afar by the smoke; it is an all-devastating army out of whose bands (מוֹעָד, after the form מוֹשָׁב, is the mass assembled at the מוֹעֵד, *i.e.* the determined place, Josh. viii. 14; 1 Sam. xx. 35, for a determinate object) no one separates himself from weariness or self-will (cf. chap. v. 27); and therefore it is an army without a gap, animated by one striving, namely, the desire of conquest. And this it cannot possibly have only with a view to the Philistine strip of coast, the conquest of which is rather merely a means for securing possession of the countries on the right and left. The question then rises, what will happen to the land of Judah from the fire which is rolling along from the north? For the fact that the prophet of Judah threatens Philistia with that fire, presupposes that Judah is not also consumed by this fire.

It is this which is expressed in ver. 32: "*And what answer do the messengers of the peoples bring?—That Jehovah has founded Zion, and that the afflicted of His people are hidden therein.*" The מַלְאֲכֵי־גוֹי are the ambassadors of the several neighbouring nations who were sent to Jerusalem after the Assyrian army was destroyed before Jerusalem, to ascertain for themselves how it had fared with that city. The question may be explained: And what answer is given (יַעֲנֶה with the most general subject) to the messengers of the nations? or, and what do they proceed to say, *i.e.* what

information do the messengers of the nations bring (singular of the predicate with the plural of the subject, as in chap. xxx. 20; Ezek. xiv. 1; Esth. ix. 23, and elsewhere)? but however it is explained, there is always a certain hardness in the expression. The answer, however, is to this effect: Zion, protected by its God, has remained unshaken; and the people of this God, the poor and despised community of Jehovah (cf. Zech. xi. 7), exists and knows that it is concealed in Zion. The prophecy is enigmatical and oracular. Prophecy speaks to the other peoples otherwise than to Israel. To the former its language is dictatorially brief, self-consciously elevated, loftily poetical, and peculiarly coloured, according to the special character of the people to which the oracle refers. The following prophecy against Moab makes it clear to us that in the view of the prophet the judgment which Assyria executes on Philistia prepares for the subjugation of Philistia again under the sceptre of David. By the wreck of the imperial power of Assyria at Jerusalem, the house of David again recovers its old supremacy round about. And so it actually happened. But the fulfilment was not lasting and not exhaustive. Jeremiah therefore (Jer. xlvii.) takes up the prophecy of his predecessor anew in the time of the Chaldean judgment of the nations. But he only takes up its second strophe; the Messianic element of the first is continued by Zechariah (Zech. ix.).

THE ORACLE CONCERNING MOAB, CHAPS. XV., XVI.

Looked at in its relation to the neighbouring peoples, the kingdom of Israel began victoriously and gloriously. Saul made them richly compensate for their previous offences against Israel (1 Sam. xiv. 47), and the Moabites among them. David subdued the Moabites completely (2 Sam. viii. 2). After the division of the kingdom, the northern kingdom entered into possession of Moab. The Moabites delivered tribute of their flocks to Samaria. But when Ahab died, Mesha, the king of Moab, withdrew from this obligation to pay tribute (2 Kings i. 1, iii. 4 sqq.). The memorial stone found among the rubbish on the field of Dibon is dedicated to the commemoration of his struggles for the independence of

Moab. It has an inscription of thirty-four lines in the language and character of the ancient Hebrew, and it contains at least seven of the Moabite names of places which appear in this משׂא.[1] Ahaziah of Israel did nothing to subdue Mesha again. In the meantime the Moabites, allied with other nations, made an attack upon Judah also; but the allies destroyed each other; and Jehoshaphat celebrated in the valley of Beracha the victory which he gained without a battle, and which is sung in several Psalms. When Jehoram of Israel proceeded to subdue Moab again, Jehoshaphat made common cause with him. The Moabites were defeated, but the fortress, the Moabitish Kir, which lay on a lofty and steep chalk cliff, remained unsubdued. The interminable struggles with the Syrians rendered it impossible for the northern kingdom further to retain Moab, or generally the country east of the Jordan. In the time of Jehu the country east of the Jordan in all its breadth and length, as far down as the Arnon, was taken possession of by the Syrians (2 Kings x. 32, 33). The peoples that were now no longer subject to the kingdom of Israel rose again, oppressed the Israelitish population, and revenged on the weakened kingdom the loss of their independence. Jeroboam II., as Jonah the prophet had prophesied (2 Kings xiv. 25), was the first to re-conquer the territory of Israel from near Hamath to the Dead Sea. That he also again subdued Moab is indeed not expressly said, but as Moabitish bands in the time of his predecessor Joash disturbed even the country on this side the Jordan (2 Kings xiii. 20), it may be supposed that he also sought to keep Moab within bounds. If the Moabites had then, as was very probable, extended their territory beyond the Arnon to the north, war with Moab would have been absolutely inevitable. Further, in the time of Jeroboam II. on the one hand, and of Uzziah-Jotham on the other, we read nothing of risings of the Moabites; and statements like those in 1 Chron. v. 17 and 2 Chron. xxvi. 10 show that they kept themselves quiet. But the appeal to Assyria by Ahaz conjured up again the

[1] The Moabite stone has been reproduced with the most painstaking exactness, and translated in the best possible manner, in Smend-Socin's *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Heft i. 1888.

hostility of Moab and of the neighbouring peoples. Tiglath-pileser repeated in 754 B.C. what had been done by the Syrians; he took possession of the northern part of the country on this side the Jordan, and almost the whole of it on the other side, and depopulated it. The Moabites thereby found room for settling themselves again in their primeval dwelling-places to the north of the Arnon. This is how circumstances apparently stood at the time when Isaiah prophesied.[1] The misfortune comes from the north, and therefore strikes chiefly and primarily the region that lay to the north of the Arnon, which appears to be in the possession of the Moabites after having been previously peopled by the tribes of Reuben and Gad (1 Chron. v. 26).

There is no prophecy in the Book of Isaiah in which the heart of the prophet is so painfully moved by what his spirit beholds and his mouth must prophesy. All that he prophesies is felt as deeply by him as if he belonged to the poor people whose messenger of misfortune he is compelled to be. He begins at once with a feeling of dismay. Ver. 1: "*Oracle concerning Moab: for in a night is 'Ar-Moab devastated, destroyed; for in a night is Ḳir-Moab devastated, destroyed.*" The כִּי is both times expressive of a reason. The prophet justifies the superscription of his prophecy by the horrible vision which it is given him to see, transporting us at once into the heart of it as in chap. xvii. 1, xxiii. 1. עָר מוֹאָב (in which עָר is Moabitish for עִיר in Num. xxii. 36; cf. Jer. xlix. 3, where, instead of עָר which is expected, עַי is written) is the name of the capital of Moab, lying in the river valley of the Arnon (Deut. ii. 36; Josh. xiii. 9, 16). It is Grecised into Ἀρεόπολις, city of Ἄρης = כְּמוֹשׁ from כָּבַשׁ = כָּמַשׁ, in the present day a large field of ruins with a village of the name of Rabba. קִיר מוֹאָב (in which קִיר is Moabitish for קִרְיָה), the same as קִיר חֶרֶשׂ in chap. xvi. 11, Jer. xlviii. 31, 36, is the chief fortress of Moab, situated to the south-east of Ar, now called *Kerek*, still a city with a fortress on rocks, which is visible in clear weather with a telescope from Jerusalem, and which forms so completely one mass with the rock that Ibrahim Pasha in the year 1834

[1] See Wolf Wilh. Graf Baudissin, "Zur Erklärung des B. Jesaia Kap. 15 u. 16," in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1888, 509–521.

was compelled to give up his intention of demolishing it. The identity of Kir with Kerek (Targum כְּרַכָּא דְמוֹאָב) is indubitable, whereas the identity of 'Ar with Rabba has been disputed by Dietrich (in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 320 sqq.). For (1) the Old Testament and its versions do not mention any Moabitish Rabba; it is Eusebius who first mentions it; and it appears in consequence of the destruction of 'Ar by the earthquake, mentioned by Jerome in commenting on this passage, to have become the capital of the country, and to have obtained the name Ἀρεόπολις along with that of Rabbath Moab; (2) Ar lay on the Arnon boundary, whereas the ruins of Rabba are 6¼ hours' walk to the south of the Arnon, and do not lie on the northern boundary of Moab, but in its midst. The statement in Num. xxi. 15 makes it probable that Ar lay near the confluence of the *Legum* and *Mugib*, perhaps (at least the fortification that lay "on the heights of the Arnon," as mentioned in Num. xxi. 28) on the ruined site ام الرصاص (mother of lead), to the south-east of the confluence on the eastern mountain wall of the Arnon as it here winds southwards. The two names of the cities are used as masculine, like דמשק in chap. xvii. 1 and צֹר in chap. xxiii. 1, though it cannot be said here, as in Micah v. 1, that the city stands for the inhabitants. In a night it is all over with the two pillars of the might of Moab. בְּלֵיל might be taken as subordinating to itself what follows; in which case שֻׁדַּד would not be an infinitive (Baudissin), since such an inf. constr. Pual (except in Ps. cxxxii. 1) is without authority, but it would be 3 pret.: "in the night when,"—but where would the apodosis begin? Not with נִדְמָה (Ewald), for שֻׁדַּד and נִדְמָה almost coincide in meaning (cf. Jer. xlvii. 4, 5); nor with עָלָה (Hitzig), for the solemn anadiplosis is not favourable to the dependence of the two clauses on בְּלֵיל. We therefore take לֵיל absolutely, as in chap. xxi. 11, and the arrangement of the words is like that in Hos. x. 15 (Olsh. § 142*b*). In the space of a night, and therefore most suddenly (chap. xvii. 14), Moab is lost. As if fixed to the terrible spectacle, the prophet says twice over what is sufficiently said once (cf. on the asyndeton, chap. xxxiii. 9; and on the anadiplosis, ver. 8, chap. viii. 9, xxi. 11, xvii. 12, 13). His first feeling is that of horror.

But as horror, when it begins to reflect, is dissolved in tears, the thunder-claps in ver. 1 are now followed by universal weeping and lamenting. Vers. 2–4: "*They go up to the temple house, and Dibon unto the heights to weep; upon Nebo and upon Medeba, Moab wails; on all heads baldness, every beard mutilated. On Moab's markets they gird on sackcloth; on the country's roofs and in its streets everything wails, melting down into weeping. Heshbon cries and Elale, to Jahas they hear their howling,—wherefore even Moab's armed men break out in lamentations; his soul quakes in him.*" Seeking for help (לִבְכִּי, *ad fletum*), the people (the subject to עָלָה) ascend the mountain with the temple of Kemosh, the central sanctuary of the country. This temple is called הַבַּיִת, not (which is unexampled) some particular Moabite place, such as *Beth Diblathayim* in Jer. xlviii. 22 (as Knobel and Baudissin suppose), but rather the *Beth-Bamoth* mentioned in the inscription. *Dibon*, which lies, like all the places named in vers. 2–4, above the Arnon (Wadi Muǵib), is now a heap of ruins situated a short hour's walk to the north of the middle Arnon in the magnificent plain of *el-Kurah*. It had heights for worship in the neighbourhood (cf. Josh. xiii. 17; Num. xxii. 41), and is therefore turned towards them. The style of ver. 2*a* is similar to that in chap. xliii. 14*b*. Moab laments on *Nebô* and *Mêdebâ*. יְיֵלִיל (for which יְהֵילִיל stands in chap. lii. 5), with a double preformative, is used intentionally for יֵילִיל (cf. similar forms in Job xxiv. 21 and Ps. cxxxviii. 6; Ges. § 70B). עַל is to be taken in a local sense, for Nebo was undoubtedly a place on a height of the mountain of that name, south-east from Heshbon (the ruined site of *Nabo*, *Nabau*, of the *Onom.*, now نبا); and Medeba (in Steph. Byz., according to Uranios, πόλις τῶν Ναβαταίων, now a ruined site with the same name) lay on a round hill about two hours to the south-east of Heshbon. According to Jerome, there was an image of Kemosh in Nebo; and among the ruins of Medeba, Seetzen recognised the foundation walls of a peculiar temple. There now follows the description of the expressions of pain. We read here ראשׁיו with reference to what has become the standing collective phrase כָּל־ראשׁ (Amos viii. 10 and frequently elsewhere), instead of the otherwise usual רָאשָׁיו. Instead of גְּדוּעָה, *abscissae*, Jeremiah, in chap. xlviii. 37, has גְּרֻעָה, *decurtatae;*

and the reading attested by the Masora on the passage is פְּרוּעָה. Everything (כֻּלֹּה written as in chap. xvi. 7, whereas we have כֻּלּוֹ in chap. ix. 8, 16) runs down in weeping; elsewhere it is said of the eyes that they run down (יָרַד) in tears, waters, water-brooks, but here it is said still more boldly of the whole man that he flows down to the ground, running, as it were, into a stream of tears. *Heshbon* and *Elâle* are still visible in their ruins, situated on hills only half an hour's walk apart, and are known by the name of *Husbân* and *el-Al* (العال). Both places lay on heights commanding a wide view. There the cry of woe produced an echo that could be heard far and wide, even to *Jahaṣ* (*Jahsa*), the city where the king of Heshbon made a stand against Israel in the time of Moses (Deut. ii. 32). The general mourning is so great that even the equipped men of Moab (חָלוּץ, *expeditus*, ready for striking, frequently used in the account of the seizure of the land east of the Jordan, Num. xxxii. 21, etc.; Deut. iii. 18), *i.e.* warriors (Jer. xlviii. 41), seized by the pain of despair, cried out (the same element in the figure as in chap. xxxiii. 7); עַל־כֵּן, thereat, that is to say, on account of this universal lamentation. The lamentation is therefore a universal one without exception, and נַפְשׁוֹ applies to Moab as a whole people. The soul of Moab quakes in all the members of the national body; יָרְעָה (forming a play of sound with יָרִיעוּ) from יָרַע = وَرِعَ, to quake, to waver, to flutter, from which comes יְרִיעָה, a fluttering tent curtain, and يَرَاعٌ, reeds waving back and forward (see Fleischer in Levy's *Neu Hebr. WB.* ii. 446 sq.). Nägelsbach and others erroneously take יָרַע as a secondary verb to רָעַע, *imperf.* יֵרַע, to be pained. לוֹ, as in Ps. cxx. 6, cxxiii. 4, is an ethical dative throwing the action or the pathos inwards (as עָלָיו elsewhere). In this pain quivering through Moab the heart of the prophet shares; for, as Rashi observes, the prophets of Israel are distinguished from heathen prophets like Balaam in this, that the calamity which they announce to the Gentile peoples goes to their own hearts (compare chap. xxi. 34 with chap. xxii. 4).

The difficult words in which the prophet expresses this his sympathy in ver. 5*a* we translate thus: "*My heart towards*

Moab it cries out, its fugitives even to Zo'ar, the three-year-old heifer." The לְ in לְמוֹאָב, both here and in chap. xvi. 11, as in chap. xiv. 8, 9, means turned to Moab. מוֹאָב, which was masculine in ver. 4, is feminine here. From this it may be inferred that בְּרִיחֶהָ עַד־צֹעַר is an expression concerning Moab as a land. Now, wherever בְּרִיחִים elsewhere occurs, it means the "bolts," according to which Jerome translates *vectes ejus usque ad Segor;* but everywhere else we read only of the bolts or bars of a city, as in Lam. ii. 9 and Jer. li. 30; cf. Jonah ii. 7. Hence I now prefer to follow the prevailing interpretation, according to which Zoar is named as the south point as far as which rolls the stream of the fugitives flying from the enemy pressing on from the north. Zoar lay (as the Excursus on Zoar by Wetzstein in the 4th ed. of my *Comm. on Genesis* shows) south-east from the Dead Sea in *·Gôr eṣ-Sâfia;* the Safia is a wall of sandstone almost smooth, and about 1000 feet high, which is formed by the Moabite mountain range dipping down there perpendicularly to the *·Gôr.* עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה is taken to be the name of a place by Graf (on Jer. xlviii. 34), Dietrich in Merx' *Archiv,* i. 342–346, and others, and signifying "Eglath the third." But (1) in favour of an appellative meaning is the fact that it stands in Jer. xlviii. 34 in like manner ἀσυνδέτως, after *Horonayim;* (2) here, in that case, what would be expected is שְׁלִשִׁית (הַשְּׁלִישִׁית); (3) there are indeed found names of places like ام قصير الثانية, "Um Kuseir the second," but a place with the surname of "the third" has not yet been shown to occur. We therefore hold by the view that עגלת שלישיה is in apposition either to צֹעַר or to מוֹאָב. In any case it is a distinguishing designation: a head of cattle of three years old, or literally, in its third year (cf. מְשֻׁלֶּשֶׁת in Gen. xv. 9), *i.e.* a three-year-old beast (Ges. § 112, Rem. 1), which is still in full fresh strength, and not yet used up by prolonged bearing of the yoke. The reference of the term to the Moabitish people (LXX. Targum, Jer. Luther) is supported by reference to Jer. xlvi. 20, where Egypt in the same sense is called עֶגְלָה יְפֵה־פִיָּה; and Babylon is similarly designated in Jer. l. 11; cf. Hos. iv. 16, x. 11. But the reference to Zoar is more in accordance with the immediate suggestion of the syntax and the accentuation;

and it is supported by Jer. xlviii. 34, where, along with Zoar, Horonayim receives this surname. So then: Zoar the beautiful, strong, and hitherto unsubdued city, is now the goal of a wild flight before the enemy that is coming from the north. A blow so terrible as this has never struck Moab before.

In brief co-ordinated clauses the prophet brings before us the several scenes of mourning and desolation. Vers. 5*b*, 6: "*For the mountain slope of Luhith with weeping they ascend; for on the road to Horonayim they lift up a cry of despair, for the waters of Nimrim are deserts henceforth; for withered is the grass, the vegetation wastes away, gone is the green.*" The way to Luchith (according to the *Onom.*, lying between Ar-Moab and Zoar, and therefore in the centre of Moabitis proper) led up a height, and the road to Horonayim (according to Jer. xlviii. 5) led down a declivity. Weeping, they run to the mountain city to hide themselves there (בֹּו, as in Ps. xxiv. 3, for which, in Jer. xlviii. 5, there is miswritten בְּכִי); raising a hue and cry, they stand before Horonayim, which lay below, and was more exposed to the enemy. יְעֹעֵרוּ (perhaps in order to be more an echo of the sound) has arisen from יְעַרְעֲרוּ, like כּוֹכָב from כַּבְכָּב, by a compensatory extension, just as כִּכָּר from כִּרְכָּר by compensative duplication. The LXX. renders the phrase well thus: κραυγὴν συντριμμοῦ ἐξαναγεροῦσιν, a peculiar expression which is foreign to us; it indicates a strained and always renewed outcry in view of a danger threatening utter destruction (שֶׁבֶר, as in chap. i. 28, xxx. 26), and its aim is to procure relief and help. The description is now transferred from the extreme south to the farthest north of the Moabite country, to as far as the Moabites had extended their territory; for Nimrim, as in fact identical with Beth-Nimra in Josh. xiii. 27 (Talmud, נמרין, and Peah iv. 5, בית נמר), lay, according to Wetzstein (*Comm. on Genesis*, pp. 572–574), three and a half hours' walk to the east of Jordan, still within the Peræan range on the Wadi Soeb, and more particularly on the south-east bank of the stream from whose abundance in water it is called נמרים. The waters there have been choked up by the enemy, and will now assuredly lie waste for ever (an expression similar to that in chap. xvii. 2). The enemy have been marching through the land, firing and burning, so that all its vegetation has in a manner disappeared. On these

miniature-like short sentences, compare chap. xxix. 20, xxxiii. 8, 9, xxxii. 10; and on לֹא הָיָה, it is not existing, or also it has become nothing, לֹא (like Assyrian *ul*), see Ezek. xxi. 32, 18; Job vi. 21; cf. Dan. iv. 32.

The Moabites then thus cross the border and flee to Idumea. The prophet gives the reason for this by continuing to link on further statements with כִּי. Vers. 7–9: "*Therefore what was saved, what was gained, and their store, they carry it over the willow-brook. For the cry of woe has gone the round in the territory of Moab; to Eglayim sounds Moab's wailing, and to Beer-Elim his wailing. For the waters of Dimon are full of blood; for I hang over Dimon new calamity, over the escaped of Moab a lion, and over the remnant of the land.*" יִתְרָה is the superfluity which goes beyond the immediate need, and פְּקֻדָּה (literally a laying up, *depositio*) what is carefully stored; עָשָׂה (in the same sense as Gen. xii. 5) is, as the borrowed passage in Jer. xlviii. 36 shows, an attributive clause (although the accentuation of our whole ver. 7 starts from another conception; see Rashi): what one has made, acquired, or gained. All these things they carry over נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים, which does not mean the desert brook (Hitzig, Maurer, Ewald, Knobel), as the plural of עֲרָבָה, desert, is עֲרָבוֹת; but it is either the Arab-brook (LXX. Saadia), or the willow-brook, *torrens salicum* (Vulg.). The last meaning is more suitable in itself; and among the streams flowing to the south of the Arnon from the mountains of the Moabitish highlands to the Dead Sea there is actually one which is called *Wâdi Ṣafṣâf*, i.e. willow-brook (as also we have the צַפְצָפָה, "willow"); it is the northern arm of the *Seil el-Kerek*. This may be considered to be what is meant here; but Wetzstein, on the contrary (on *Genesis*, pp. 567, 568), identifies the Arab-stream better with the *Zered* (זֶרֶד) = *Wâdi el-Aḥsâ* (*W. el-Ḥasâ*), the boundary river on the south, which separates Moab and Edom, and which in its eastern course bore this name. On emerging from the ravine of the high plateau, in the *Gôr*—in which the עֲרָב (*populus Euphratica*, see on chap. xliv. 4), which requires a very hot climate, is exclusively at home—it there has got the name נחל הערבים. Wading through this Arab-stream, they carry their possessions across, hurrying to the land of Edom; for their own land, in its whole extent,

has fallen a prey to the enemy, and within it the cry of lamentation goes from Eglayim on the south-west of Ar, and therefore not far from the south end of the Dead Sea (Ezek. xlvii. 10) as far as to (עַד to be supplied) Beer-Elim (Num. xxi. 16–18), in the north-east of the land towards the wilderness, and therefore—if a diagonal is drawn through it—from one end of the land to the other. Even the waters of *Dibon* (which here, in order to make it assonant with דָּם, is called דִּימוֹן), by which may be understood, as Hendewerk does, the Arnon lying less than an hour's walk therefrom (just as by מֵי מְגִדּוֹ, in Judg. v. 19, is meant the Kishon), are full of blood (מָלְאוּ דָם); the enemy has therefore carried devastation and death to the heart of the country. But what drives them over the Arab-stream is not merely this; it is as if they foreboded that what has hitherto happened is not yet the utmost and last. Jehovah suspends שִׁית (as in Hos. vi. 11) over Dibon, whose waters are already reddened with blood, נוֹסָפוֹת, a something more coming, *i.e.* a still further judgment in punishment, namely, a lion. Moab's measure of misfortune is not yet full. After the northern enemy a lion will come upon those who have escaped by flight, and those who have been spared at home (compare on the expression, chaps. x. 20, xxxvii. 32). Reuss, who refers the prophecy to the second subjection of the land east of the Jordan under Jeroboam II., finds it consequently "difficult to say what the prophet means by the lion." This lion, however, is no other than the basilisk in the prophecy against Philistia, only with the difference that the basilisk is a definite Davidic king, whereas the lion is Judah generally, which had, according to Gen. xlix. 9, the lion as its emblem.

Just because Judah, with its sovereignty, is this lion, the summons now goes forth to the Moabites who fled to Edom, and particularly, as it appears, as far as סֶלַע, *i.e.* Petra (*Wâdi Mûsâ*), near Mount Hor, in Arabia Petrea, so called from it; and they are summoned to turn, seeking protection, to Jerusalem. Chap. xvi. 1: "*Send a land-lord's tribute of lambs out of the cliffs desertwards to the mountain of the daughter of Zion.*" This verse is like a long trumpet blast. The prophecy against Moab takes here the same turn as in chaps. xiv. 32, xviii. 7, xix. 16 sqq., xxiii. 18. The judgment produces

slavish fear, which then becomes refined into loving attachment. Submission under the house of David is Moab's only deliverance. This is what the prophet, weeping with those who weep, calls out to them to their hiding-corner, where they have concealed themselves in such long-breathed, hurried, and urgent words. Usually by סֶלַע is understood the *Sela'* of Edom (see on סֶלַע = Petra, Strabo, xvi. 4. 21); a citadel, سلع, was still standing in the Middle Ages in the *W. Mûsâ* of the Edomite mountains (الشراة; see Nöldeke in *DMZ.* xxv. 259, 260, and compare Blau, *DMZ.* xxvii. 324). However, Wetzstein (in the third German edition of this commentary, p. 698) is right in saying that all the attempts to explain how the Moabites come to be sending lambs out of the Petra of Edom are unsatisfactory,—the שלחו necessarily being taken as indicating voluntary obligation for the future,—and he understands by סלע the ravines of the מָעִין (*Ma'in*) which run into the Dead Sea, and especially that of the Arnon, in which (now called الوكر, the rock recess) extensive recesses are formed by perpendicular walls, mostly several hundred fathoms in height. It is true that סלע does not mean ravine or cleft, but rather, in distinction from צור (mass of rock), the rock as cleft; and there is reason for following Barth[1] in explaining it, according to Jer. xlviii. 28, as: from the rock (the rocky region) where you have concealed yourselves. The tribute of lambs due to the prince of the country is briefly called כַּר מֹשֵׁל־אֶרֶץ; this tribute, which Mesha, the king of the pastoral country which was so rich in flocks (Num. xxxii. 4), formerly sent to Samaria (2 Kings iii. 4), they ought now to send to Jerusalem, to the "mountain of the daughter of Zion" (as in chap. x. 32, cf. chap. xviii. 7), to which the way which passes through the desert lying at the north end of the Dead Sea leads.

The counsel does not fail to make an impression; they embrace it eagerly. Ver. 2: "*And there, too, are found, like birds fluttering about, a scared nest, the daughters of Moab at the fords of the Arnon.*" בְּנוֹת מוֹאָב are like בְּנוֹת יְהוּדָה, *e.g.* in Ps. xlviii. 12, the inhabitants of the cities and villages of the land of Moab. They are, because fleeing from their country,

[1] *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaia* (1885), pp. 20–23.

already themselves like wandering birds (Prov. xxvii. 8); but here, as וְהָיָה . . . תִּהְיֶינָה indicates, this comparison is used to depict the condition into which the advice of the prophet throws them. Both the figure (cf. chap. x. 14) and the expression (cf. chap. xvii. 2) are Isaianic. It is a state of anxious and timid irresoluteness, resembling the fluttering to and fro of birds that have been driven out of their nest, and that wheel anxiously around without venturing to return to the old dwelling-place. Thus do the daughters of Moab, coming out of their distant and near hiding-places, now show themselves at the fords of the Arnon. מַעְבָּרוֹת לְאַרְנוֹן we should take as in apposition to בְּנוֹת מוֹאָב if מעברות signified coastlands (like עֶבְרֵי in chap. vii. 20), and not invariably fords; it is locative in meaning, and it is accentuated accordingly.

There — away at the point where their land formerly reached before it passed into the possession of Israel, on its utmost boundary, in the direction towards Judah, which was seated above it—they show themselves; and they take heart and send suppliant petitions over to Zion. The description is ideal. Vers. 3, 4*a*: "*Bring counsel, give decision, make thy shadow like night in the midst of noon; conceal outcasts, discover not wanderers! Let my outcasts tarry in thee! Moab —be a shelter to it from the devastator.*" In their perplexity, supplicating Zion for counsel, and submitting the decision of their fate to the men of Judah (so according to the *Kerî*[1]), they stand most fervently bespeaking Zion's shelter and protection — they who were formerly the proud Moabites, but are now completely humbled before Zion. Their anxiety after the dire distress of war, which has hardly yet been completely realized, is so great, that in the sunshine of noon they wish to be encompassed by Zion's protecting shadow as by black night, in order that the enemy may not be able to see them. To the anxious urgency of their supplicating request, correspond the short propositions in which they are expressed (cf. xxxiii. 8). פְּלִילָה (cf. פְּלִילִיָּה, chap. xxviii. 7) is the decision of a judge (פָּלִיל), the figure of the shadow is the same as in chaps. xxx. 2, 3, xxxii. 2, and elsewhere; נוֹדֵד is the same as

[1] So Kimchi, Ven. 1521, and Codd: הָבִיאוּ עצה עֲשׂוּ פלילה.

in chap. xxi. 14; נִדָּחַי, the same as in chap. xi. 12; סֵתֶר is the same as in chap. xxxii. 2 and elsewhere; שׁוֹדֵד is the same as in chap. xxxiii. 1; מִפְּנֵי is the same as in chap. xxi. 15,—it is all word for word Isaianic. It is not necessary in ver. 4 to read נִדְּחֵי for נִדָּחַי מוֹאָב, and still less is *ay* a collective ending, as in chap. xx. 4. Nor does the expression: "My outcasts . . . of Moab," belong to the *syntaxis ornata* (cf. chap. xvii. 6); rather is such a mode of expression here, where the speaker is speaking of himself, utterly impossible. We keep to the existing interpunction, according to which נִדָּחַי (*zakeph*) closes the first clause of ver. 4*a*, and מוֹאָב (*tebir*, which subordinates itself to the following *tiphcha*, and with this to the *athnach*), not used as a vocative (Nägelsbach), but as a nominative, opens a nominal clause, so that the proposition is translated as above: "Moab—be a shelter to it" (without taking לָמוֹ = לוֹ).

The question now arises, by what means has Zion come to awaken such trustful respect and commanding reverence in Moab? The answer to this is given in vers. 4*b*, 5: "*For the extortioner has an end; desolation has disappeared; treaders under foot are away from the land. And a throne is established through grace; and there sits thereon in truth in the tent of David one who judges, and who is zealous for right, and who is skilled in righteousness.*" The imperial power which pressed out the marrow and blood (מֵץ in the form of לֵץ, a pressor, like מִיץ in Prov. xxx. 33, pressure), which devastated and trod down everything (chap. xxix. 20, x. 6, xxxiii. 1; cf. 8), is swept away from the land on this side of the Jordan, and Jerusalem has not fallen under it, but has come forth more glorious than ever out of her oppressions. The collective subject is here preceded by תַּמּוּ, as in Ps. xi. 7, Prov. xxviii. 1, cf. Job viii. 19, where the plural of the predicate follows. And the throne of the kingdom of Judah has not fallen, but by divine grace is anew established (הוּכַן, as in Zech. v. 11); there sits upon it no longer a king who disgraces it and endangers his kingdom; but the tent roof of the fallen, yet now again erected, tabernacle of David (Amos ix. 11) is arched over a king who makes truth the criterion of his action, while realizing right and justice by his government. מְהִיר designates one who masters a thing externally and spiritually with ease.

It is therefore the Messianic time which has dawned (according to which the Targum renders the passage; and Cheyne, Driver, and G. A. Smith agree with us in thus explaining it, while Baudissin historicizes it); for חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת and מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה are the divine-human insignia of this time, and as it were its kindred genii. And who could fail here to recall chap. ix. 6 (cf. chap. xxxiii. 5, 6)? If, but only if, Moab submits to the king on the re-established throne of David, will it escape the judgment.

But if Moab does this, and if the law of the history of Israel, which is שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב, is then in this way reflected in Moab's history, ver. 6 cannot possibly be an answer going from Zion to Moab (Reuss, Baudissin, and others); but the prophecy begins here a new stage, starting from Moab's sin, and always more elegiacally describing Moab's penal fate. Ver. 6: "*We have heard of Moab's pride, the exceedingly overweening, his haughtiness, and his pride, and his indignation: the untruth of his sayings.*" With the future self-humiliation of Moab, which will be the fruit of its penal sufferings, is contrasted its previous self-exaltation, whose fruit these penal sufferings will be. שָׁמַעְנוּ, says the prophet, including himself along with his people (Cheyne). Boastful inflatedness was hitherto the distinguishing characteristic of Moab in relation to that people (see chap. xxv. 11). The accumulated words of the same verbal stem (cf. chap. iii. 1) are intended to express how very haughty (גֵּא from גָּאָה, chap. ii. 12, the nominal form of the faults) their haughtiness, and how entirely possessed Moab was by it. Jeremiah in chap. xlviii. 29 retains this paronomasia as strengthening the meaning and exhausting the idea (cf. Prov. viii. 13; Job xl. 10; and above, on chap. iii. 1). Moab bragged, and was at the same time full of rage against Israel, to which, so far as it remained conscious of the truth of Jehovah, Moab's pratings (בַּדָּיו, from בָּדָא = בָּדַד, to think out something strange or new and to begin it; cf. *mentiri = mente fingere*) must appear as לֹא־כֵן, as not right, and contrary to the relation of things. The adjective or adverbial לֹא־כֵן of 2 Kings vii. 9 stands here substantively, like כֵּן in Prov. xi. 19. Such expressions of sentiment have been heard by God's people, and, as Jeremiah adds in chap. xlviii. 29, 30, also by Israel's God.

Therefore is the delightful wine-land mournfully laid waste. Vers. 6–8: "*Therefore will Moab wail for Moab, everything will wail: for the grape-cakes of Kir Hareseth will ye whine, utterly crushed. For the fruit-fields of Heshbon have faded away, the vine of Sebma—lords of peoples its noble grapes smote down, they reached unto Ja'zer, twined through the desert; its branches spread themselves out wide, they crossed over the sea.*" The לְ in לְמוֹאָב is the same as in chap. xv. 5, and in the here following לַאֲשִׁישֵׁי. *Ḳir-Ḥarĕseth* (in ver. 11 and in Jeremiah *Ḳir-Ḥĕres;* cf. 2 Kings iii. 25, where the vocalization appears to be erroneous, חֶרֶשׂ or חֲרֹשֶׁת perhaps referring to glazed tiles or stones dressed for joining) is the chief fortress of Moab, which, according to chap. xv. 1, is destroyed, and therefore אֲשִׁישֵׁי appears to signify foundations, *i.e.* أسيس, أساس,[1] as laid bare or in ruins, like אָשְׁיוֹת in Jer. l. 15, and אֻשַּׁיָּא in Ezra iv. 12 and elsewhere (synonymous with מוֹסְדֵי in chap. lviii. 12), with which Kimchi compares it. But the word, wherever it elsewhere occurs, means a kind of cake; and seeing that the devastation of the vineyards of Moab is what is further bewailed, it means here, as in Hos. iii. 1, grape-cakes, which consisted of grapes pressed together into the form of a cake (*DMZ.* iii. 366). Such cakes may have been a specially abundant article of the trade of Kir. Jeremiah has altered אֲשִׁישֵׁי into אַנְשֵׁי in chap. xlviii. 31. הָגָה is to be understood according to chap. xxxviii. 14, lix. 11 (of the cooing of the dove); אַךְ is to be taken according to Deut. xvi. 15. On the construction of the plural form שַׁדְמוֹת, compare Hab. iii. 17. שְׂרוּקִים, assuming that it is connected with שֹׂרֵק, שֹׂרֵקָה (chap. v. 2), means the beautiful red grapes of the noble vine which is named from them; for it is a colour word (Zech. i. 8). The clause with בַּעֲלֵי גוֹיִם has been translated by us with the same amphibole as it presents in the Hebrew; it may mean: lords of peoples or nations, *domini gentium*, smote down its vine-shoots, namely, those of the vine of שִׂבְמָה (with *gaya*, in order that the two labials

[1] The word in the Beduin is ساس, in diminutive سُوَيس, *Su'ês*, the name of the well-known port, which designates it as having risen on the foundations of old harbour structures (*DMZ.* xxii. 175).

may be separated), הָלְמוּ as in chap. xli. 7; or its vine-shoots smote down, *i.e.* intoxicated, the lords of nations,—*dominos gentium;* הלם being used as in the undisputed Isaianic prophecy in chap. xxviii. 1. As the prophet launches out here on the excellence of the wine of Moab, it is rather the latter that is meant. The wine of Sibma was so good that it came to the table of monarchs, and so strong that it smote down such drinkers as were accustomed to good kinds of wine, *i.e.* it irresistibly intoxicated them. This Sibma wine, as the prophet says, was cultivated far and wide in Moab: northwards unto Jazer (now a ruined site, صير), between Ramoth =Ṣalt, and Heshbon,[1] eastwards into the desert, and southwards over יָם, *i.e.* (as in Ps. lxviii. 23 and 2 Chron. xx. 2) over the Dead Sea, which, being hyperbolical, is equivalent to till close to it. Jeremiah determines יָם more precisely in chap. xlviii. 32 as יָם יַעְזֵר, by which the hyperbole disappears. But what sort of sea is the sea of Jazer? Probably a celebrated large pool like the pools of Heshbon, a pool in which the water of the *Wâdi* (*Nahr*) *Ṣîr*, which rose close by, was gathered. Seetzen found some pools still existing there. That ים is also used of large artificial basins of water, is shown by the ים of Solomon's temple. In the present day in Damascus the marble basins of flowing water in the halls of the houses are still called *baḥarât;* and in like manner the public reservoirs in all the streets of the city, which are fed by an ancient network of aqueducts from the Barada river, are also thus designated.[2] The expression תעו מִדְבָּר is also a bold one; it probably points to the fact that there were trailing vines which did not require staking, but crept on the ground, and thus strayed into the desert, *i.e.* which extended into the pathless wilderness (תָּעוּ, *milel*, to favour the consonance with נִגָּעוּ, cf. the milel forms כָּלוּ in Ps. xxxvii. 27; חָזוּ, Job xxiv. 1;

[1] The Targums render יעזר by מִכְוָר (מכבר), *i.e.* Machaerus, which is approved by Aug. Parent in his monograph, *Machaerous*, Paris 1868 (the fruit of a journey to the east of the Dead Sea); but this is an erroneous view. The ancient Machaeros, but not likewise the primeval Ja'zer, lay where Seetzen in Jan. 1807 found the ruined site مكاور, *Makaur* (in the Attarus range of mountains on the south side of the *Zerḳa-Maïn*).

[2] Wetzstein, "Der Markt in Damaskus," in *DMZ.* 1857, pp. 476, 477.

עֲרוּ עֲרוּ, Ps. cxxxvii. 7; and the putting forward of the tone for the same purpose in פָּקוּ, chap. xxviii. 7).

The natural beauties and the fertility of the land which has fallen to a people are gifts out of the riches of divine goodness, remnants of the paradisiacal commencement of the history of man and types of its paradisiacal end, and for this reason they are not things without interest to the spirit of prophecy. Nor, for the same reason, is it unworthy of the prophet, who prophesies the renovation and perfecting of nature to paradisiacal beauty, to mourn elegiacally over such devastations as those of the wine-land of Moab now present before his mind (cf. xxxii. 12, 13). Ver. 9: "*Therefore I weep with Jazer's weeping for Sibma's vines; I flood thee with my tears, Heshbon and Elale, that upon thy fruit harvest and upon thy vintage hêdad has fallen.*" This is a tetrastich, in measure and movement resembling a Sapphic strophe. The prophet mingles his tears with Jazer's tears; as Jazer weeps for the devastated vines of Sibma, so does he also weep. אֲרַיָּוֶךְ is transposed out of אֲרַוֶּיךְ = אֲרַוֵּךְ. Heshbon and Elale (see on this name *DMZ.* xxv. 560), these cities lying adjacent to each other with luxuriant fields שַׁדְמוֹת (ver. 8), and which are now destroyed to the ground, are watered by the prophet with tears, because that הֵידָד has fallen upon the fruit harvest and wine harvest of both the sister cities. קָצִיר is elsewhere used for the wheat harvest, but it is here preferred to the more exact בָּצִיר for the sake of the alliteration with קַיִץ (cf. *e.g.* מסתור for סתר in chap. iv. 6). It is apparent from the figure indicated in הֵידָד that it is not the wheat harvest that is meant, but the vintage, which nearly coincided with the fruit harvest, which is called קַיִץ, as in chap. xxviii. 4. הֵידָד (from הָדַד, هدّ, to crack, to burst forth, after the form כֵּילַף and also הֵיכָל, هَيْكَل; cf. הֵילֵל, chap. xiv. 12) is not a battle-cry, like the Indo-Germanic ἀλαλά, but the self-regulating call at which the wine-pressers in the trough raise their legs and let them fall in order to squeeze the grapes (ver. 10; Jer. xxv. 30). Such a *hêdad* has fallen upon the rich plains of Heshbon-Elale, inasmuch as they have been pressed or trodden down by enemies,—

הֵידָד לֹא הֵידָד, a *hêdad* and yet no *hêdad*, as Jeremiah in chap. xlviii. 33 reproduces it in a beautiful oxymoron, *i.e.* there is no merry shout (Luther's *Song*) of proper grape-treaders.

The prophet, *i.e.* Isaiah, to whose favourite words and favourite figures כַּרְמֶל belongs as the name of a place and the name of a thing, now proceeds further in his description, and is plunged still deeper into mourning. Vers. 10, 11: "*And joy and jubilation is taken away from the garden land, and in the vineyards there is no rejoicing, no glad shouting; the grape-treader does not tread out wine in the troughs; to the hêdad I put an end—therefore my bowels sound for Moab like a harp, and my interior for Kir-Heres.*" Jehovah says הִשְׁבַּתִּי, and accordingly the words: therefore my bowels sound like a harp (or as Jeremiah expresses it in chap. xlviii. 36, like flutes), might also appear to be the expression of the feeling of Jehovah. Nor do the Scriptures actually shrink from attributing מֵעִים, *viscera*, to God, as *e.g.* in chap. lxiii. 15 and Jer. xxxi. 20. But as the prophet is the sympathizing subject throughout the whole prophecy, it is appropriate even on the ground of its unity to take the words here also as expressing his feelings. As the hand or plectrum moves the strings of the harp so that they vibrate with sound, so does the terrible thing which he presents Jehovah as saying concerning Moab move the strings of his inward parts, so that they sound in tones of deep pain. By the entrails are specially meant heart, liver, and kidneys—the noblest organs of the psyche—which, according to the Biblical idea, are the seat of the tenderest emotions, as it were the sounding-board of those "hidden sounds" to be found in every man. God converses with the prophet ἐν πνεύματι; but what occurs there takes form in the domain of the soul, in individual impressions in which the bodily organs of the psychical life sympathetically participate. Thus does the prophet in the spirit perceive God's purpose concerning Moab, in which he neither can nor would alter anything; but his soul is thrown by it into the restlessness of pain.

The ultimate reason of this restlessness is that Moab does not know the living God. Ver. 12: "*And it will come to pass; when Moab appears, wearies himself on the mountain height and enters into his sanctuary to pray—he will obtain nothing.*"

נִרְאָה נִלְאָה, a picturesque assonance such as Isaiah delights in. נִרְאָה (from it in chap. i. 12, לֵרָאוֹת, Talmud ליראות) is transferred from the Israelitish worship (the appearing before God in His temple, Talmud רְאִיָּה, רֵאָיוֹן, after the form רֵעָיוֹן) to the heathen worship, syntactically: *si apparuerit*, with ו before the apodosis. It will go with the Moabites as with the priests of Baal in the time of Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 26 sqq.). Ewald supplies another apodosis: then will Moab give up his Kemosh and be converted to Jehovah. This thought would not be impossible before Jeremiah (Baudissin), but it remains unexpressed, and to interweave it (Cheyne) is unnecessary and unjustified.

The Massa is now at an end, and there follows an epilogue, which in conformity with the horizon of the history as moved forward assigns the term of the fulfilment of what is not now prophesied for the first time. Vers. 13, 14: "*This is the utterance which Jehovah uttered concerning Moab long ago. And now Jehovah speaks thus: In three years, as the years of a hired labourer, then is the glory of Moab dishonoured, together with all the multitude of the great, and a remnant miserably small, not great at all!*" The determination of the time is the same as in chap. xx. 3. Of the working time the hiring master remits nothing, and the hired labourer adds nothing to it. The statement of time is therefore to be taken exactly as three years and not longer, rather somewhat short of it than over it. Then will the old word of God concerning Moab be fulfilled. Only a remnant, a petty one, will remain (syntactically, as we have punctuated it, an exclamative clause); for all the history of the peoples is the shadow of the history of Israel.

The Massa, in chaps. xv. 1–xvi. 12, is therefore a word that had gone forth from God before, מֵאָז. This statement is capable of being taken in three different senses. (1) Isaiah may mean that older prophecies already announced the same thing in reference to Moab. But which? The answer to this may be derived from Jeremiah's prophecy concerning Moab in chap. xlviii. Jeremiah there reproduces the משא מואב of the Book of Isaiah, but interweaves with it reminiscences (*a*) from the Mashal concerning Moab in Num. xxi. 27–30; (*b*) from Balaam's prophecy concerning Moab in

Num. xxiv. 17; (*c*) from Amos's prophecy concerning Moab in Amos ii. 1–3 (see Caspari in *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1843). Isaiah might mean these older words of prophecy, as Hävernick, Drechsler, and others hold. This, however, is very improbable, as there is no echo of these older pieces found in the Massa, which would be expected if Isaiah had them in mind. (2) Isaiah may mean that chap. xv. 1 sqq. is the prophecy of an older prophet which he only brings to remembrance in order to combine with it the term of its fulfilment as revealed to him. This is the view which prevails at present. Hitzig, in a special treatise on the subject (1831) and in his commentary, has endeavoured to make it probable on the ground of 2 Kings xiv. 25 that Jonah was the author of the oracle which is here taken up again by Isaiah. Knobel, Maurer, G. Baur, and Thenius agree with Hitzig; de Wette, Ewald, Umbreit, Reuss, and Kuenen regard it at least as borrowed from an older prophet by Isaiah from the terms of his postscript; and Cheyne assigns the author to the beginning of the reign of Uzziah. It is hardly possible to think of Jonah as the author. Jonah belongs to the prophets of the type of Elijah and Elisha, in whom the eloquence of prophetic address still falls entirely behind the energy of the prophetic act. His prophecy of the bringing back of the kingdom of Israel to its ancient extent, fulfilled by the victories of Jeroboam II., is not to be thought of as so picturesque and so highly poetic as the משׂא מואב is, which would only be a part of that prophecy. And, moreover, that Jonah went into the sulks about the sparing of Nineveh, also accords badly with the elegiac softness of this prophecy and its flood of tears. Nor is it anywhere indicated that the conquerors to whom Moab succumbs are of the kingdom of Israel; and the hypothesis completely breaks down upon the call addressed to Moab to send tribute to Jerusalem. My young friend Oscar Vallette, who died in Paris on the 17th April 1883, after a richly blessed activity in the ministry, in a *Thèse* of the year 1864, ably brought together the reasons against this view. But the fact that the oracle must be derived from some other older prophet is an inference from grounds which are worthy of consideration, but are not sufficient to establish it. It is acknowledged that not only

the epilogue but also chap. xvi. 5*b*, 6 included in the Massa, are thoroughly Isaianic. If the view of Cheyne is not adopted, who regards chap. xvi. 5*b*, 6 as an expansion of the older original Massa by Isaiah, then there undoubtedly predominates in the rest of it expressions which are not discoverable elsewhere in Isaiah; yet they are not on that account un-Isaianic. The expressions which are not found elsewhere in Isaiah are מֵץ, מָהִיר, יִתְרָה, יָרַע, יְלָלָה, הֵידָד, בַּעֲלֵי גוֹיִם, נוֹסָפוֹת, פְּקֻדָּה (provision, possession). There is something peculiar in the circular movement of the discourse in the relation of reason and consequence carried out, as it is, to such length, and in the monotonous combination of clauses by כִּי and עַל־כֵּן (לָכֵן), of which the former is repeated twice in chap. xv. 1, thrice in chap. xv. 8, 9, and even four times in succession in chap. xv. 5, 6. But, in fact, there is no Isaianic prophecy which does not contain expressions exclusively used in it by the prophet; and as regards the conjunctions כִּי and עַל־כֵּן (לָכֵן), Isaiah accumulates them also elsewhere, but here it is done even till it becomes monotonous as a natural consequence of the elegiac mood which prevails throughout. And is not chap. xv. 6*b* in form just like chap. xvi. 4*b*? And if it is true that in Isaiah there is not found elsewhere a prophecy which is elegiac through and through, yet is not chap. xxii. 4 an approach to the *kina*? The third possible view will therefore be the real one. (3) Isaiah intends to say that the fate of Moab just proclaimed was already long since revealed to himself, but now in addition to this it was revealed that it will be realized in exactly three years. מֵאָז does not necessarily point to a time before Isaiah (compare chap. xliv. 8, xlviii. 3, 5, 7, with 2 Sam. xv. 34). If we assume that what Isaiah prophesies down to chap. xvi. 12 was already revealed to him in the death-year of Ahaz (at all events after Tiglath-pileser's invasion of the country east of the Jordan, in consequence of which, according to the evidence of inscriptions, the king of Moab became a tributary vassal), and that the epilogue is to be reckoned from the third or the tenth year of Hezekiah, in either case the interval is long enough for the מֵאָז. We indeed do not know anything certain about the time at which the three years up to the fulfilment commences. The question whether Shalmanassar, or Sargon,

or Sennacherib is to be thought of as the king who treated the Moabites so hardly, cannot be answered. In Herodotus (ii. 141), Sennacherib is called *βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων*. Moab might be included in the Arabians (*Ἀραβίων*). In any case there remained of Isaiah's prophecy, when it had been fulfilled in the Assyrian time, a further part or surplus whose fulfilment, according to Jer. xlviii., was reserved for the Chaldeans.

The Oracle concerning Damascus and Israel, Chap. XVII.

From Philistia, the neighbouring people on the west, and Moab, the neighbouring people on the east, the prophecy now proceeds northwards to the people of the Damascene-Syria. The curse pronounced upon it falls also upon the kingdom of Israel, because it has allied itself with the heathen Damascus against their brethren in the south and the Davidic kingdom, and by this unnatural alliance with a זָר has itself become a זָר. From the reign of Hezekiah, to which the מַשָּׂא מוֹאָב belongs, according to its epilogue at least, we are here carried back to the reign of Ahaz, and indeed back far beyond the death-year of Ahaz (chap. xiv. 28) to the boundary line of the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, soon after the conclusion of the league which aimed at Judah's destruction, by which revenge was taken for the similar league of Asa with Benhadad against Israel (1 Kings xv. 9). When Isaiah incorporated this oracle in his collection, its threats against the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel had long been fulfilled. Assyria had punished both of them, and Assyria had also been punished, as the fourth strophe of the oracle sets forth. The oracle therefore stands here on account of its universal contents, which are instructive for all time.

The first strophe. Vers. 1–3: "*Behold, Damascus must away out of the number of cities, and becomes a heap of fallen ruins. Forsaken are the cities of Aroer; to flocks they are given up, which lie down there without any one scaring them away. And abolished is fortress from Ephraim, and kingdom from Damascus: and to those left of Aram it happens as to the glory*

of the sons of Israel, saith Jehovah of Hosts."[1] הִנֵּה, with the following participle, points, as it does everywhere else, to what is just about to happen. Damascus is removed מֵעִיר (=מִהְיוֹת עִיר, cf. 1 Kings xv. 13), out of the sphere of existence as a city. It becomes, in fact, מְעִי מַפָּלָה, a heap of fallen ruins. The word-form מְעִי (=מעוה, *ma'awî*), of which no instance elsewhere occurs, is deleted by de Legarde as "dittography;" but the striving after word-painting in tones produces strange forms, and so here מְעִי appears as if it would be an echo to מֵעִיר, of which it is an apocope: Damascus becomes the fragment of a city. The same thing happens to Israel, which has made itself an appanage of Damascus. The cities of Aroer (*gen. appos.* Ges. § 114. 3) represent the land to the east of the Jordan in which the judgment on Israel, executed by Tiglath-pileser, began. There were, in fact, two Aroers: an old Amorite Aroer, which fell to the tribe of Reuben, situated on the Arnon (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, and elsewhere); and an old Ammonite Aroer, which fell to the tribe of Gad—Aroer before Rabba (Rabbath Ammon, Josh. xiii. 25). The site of the ruins of the former is عراعر, *'Arâir*, on the high northern bank of the *Mûǵib;* the situation of the latter has not yet been ascertained with certainty (see Keil on Josh. xiii. 25). The "cities of Aroer" are these two Aroers along with the cities on the east of Jordan like them, just as the "Orions" in chap. xiii. 10 are Orion and stars like it. We again find here in עָרֵי עֲרֹעֵר a significant play of sound: the name of Aroer is ominous. It will happen to the cities of its circuit as its name indicates; עַרְעֵר signifies to lay bare, to tear down (Jer. li. 58), and עַרְעָר (עֲרִירִי) signifies being in a stark-naked state, in desolation and solitude (عرعر, *juniperus,* and as its *plur. fractus,* ערוער, the name of the place may be explained as "juniper bushes," as is done by de Lagarde). Job xi. 19 (cf. Zeph. iii. 13) is the original passage on which chap. xvii. 2*b* β is founded. After ver. 1 has threatened

[1] Before ver. 3 there is found in the Codd. the remark: חצי הנביאים בפסוקים, also *Bibl. rabbin.:* חצי הנביאים. The Masora reckons from Joshua to Isa. xvii. 3 the number of verses to be 4647, the half of the 9294 verses of all the *Nebiîm.*

Damascus in particular, and ver. 2 has threatened Israel in particular, ver. 3 takes them both together. Ephraim loses the strong cities which served it as protecting walls, and Damascus loses the rank of a kingdom. Those of Aram who remain and who do not fall in the war, become like the proud citizens of the kingdom of Israel—they are dragged away captive. All this was fulfilled by Tiglath-pileser. The accentuation draws שְׁאָר אֲרָם to the first half of the verse; but the meaning remains the same, as the subject to יִהְיוּ is in any case the Aramaeans.

Second strophe. Vers. 4–8: "*And it comes to pass in that day, then the glory of Jacob wastes away, and the fat of his flesh becomes lean; and it will be as when a reaper grasps the stalks of corn, and his arm mows off the ears; and it will be as with one who gathers ears in the valley of Rephaim. Yet a gleaning remains thereof, as at the olive beating: two, three berries above at the top; four, five in its, the fruit tree's, branches, saith Jehovah, the God of Israel. In that day man will glance up to his Creator, and his eyes will look to the Holy One of Israel. And he will not glance round to the altars, the product of his hands, and what his fingers have made he will not regard, neither the Astartes nor the Sun-gods.*" This strophe does not speak of Damascus, but only of Israel, and, moreover, of all Israel, the range of vision widening out from Israel in the narrower sense to this total view. It will diminish to a small remnant, but this will return. שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב is thus the law of the history of Israel, which is here applied first on its threatening side, and then on its promising side. The reputation and prosperity to which the two kingdoms were raised by Jeroboam II. and Uzziah will pass away. Israel is ripe for judgment, like a field of corn in the ear for the harvest; and it will therefore be as when a reaper grasps the upright stalks and cuts off the ears. קָצִיר is not used elliptically for אִישׁ קָצִיר (Gesenius), nor is it a determination of time (Luzzatto, Nägelsbach), nor the accusative of the object (Knobel), but an intensive active noun in the sense of a reaper, formed like נָבִיא, פָּלִיל, פָּרִיץ (otherwise קֹצֵר, Arab. قصّال from قصل = קצר). The figure here indicated is expanded in John iv. and Rev. xiv. There will hardly any one escape

the judgment, just as in the wide plain of Rephaim, covered with precious wheat fields, sloping down from Jerusalem towards the south-west to Bethlehem, the reapers scarcely leave an ear lying here or there. Nevertheless a gleaning is left over of Israel (בּוֹ, *i.e.* יַעֲקֹב, ver. 4, chap. x. 22); just as when the branches of the olive tree, which have been already plucked by the hand, are again further shaken with a stick (כְּנֹקֶף, like a shaking off = just as with . . . Ges. § 118. 3 Rem.), there still remain a few berries hanging on the highest branch (two, three, cf. 2 Kings ix. 32), or hidden under the foliage of the branches. "Its, the fruit-tree's, branches" (סְעִפֶיהָ, not סעפיה) is an elegant expression, as *e.g.* Prov. xii. 4, xiv. 13; the drawing over of the ה to the second word is natural in both passages, but the same mode of expression is also found where this removal is impracticable, as in 2 Sam. xxii. 33; Ps. lxxi. 7 (see comm. on the passage); cf. chap. xvi. 4*a*. This small remnant will turn with undiverted look to the living God, as is becoming in man as such (הָאָדָם), and not consider the idols worth a look, least of all a devout look: neither the חמנים nor the אשרים, the two ו being correlative. חַמָּנִים are here images of the sun-god, בעל חמן, well known from the Phoenician monuments (see 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4),[1] as in Himyaritic שמשהו, his sun is used for his sun-sanctuary; and so אֲשֵׁרִים (for which we find more rarely אֲשֵׁרוֹת) may be images of the אֲשֵׁרָה, and this may be a name of Astarte; a view supported by 2 Kings xxiii. 4, "Baal, Ashera, and the whole host of heaven," and 1 Kings xv. 13, מפלצת לָאֲשֵׁרָה. אֲשֵׁרָה has now actually been shown to be a name of Astarte in the form *Ašratu*.[2] The name signifies the blessed, the saving (salvation-bringing), holy one. Of the same root are the Assyrian plurals *ašrê* (from *ašru*) and *ašrâti* (from *aširtu*), which mean places of grace (temples).[3] The proper name of the goddess is *Ištâr*, or corresponding to the Hebrew עַשְׁתֹּרֶת,

[1] Sanchuniathon professes to have drawn his information from ἀπόκρυφα Ἀμμουνίων γράμματα. Ἀμμούνια are pillars or temples of the בעל חמן. The *Gr. Venetus* translates חמנים, Lev. xxvi. 30, with reference to ἄκαμας ἥλιος, ingeniously by the similar sounding ἀκάμαντες.

[2] By the Phoenicio-Assyrian *Abd-Ashera*-table of Tell-el-Amarna, see Schrader in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. iii. 363, 364.

[3] See on this, Friedrich Delitzsch, in his Excursus on the name of Tiglath-pileser, in Baer's edition of the *Liber Chronicorum*, 1888.

Ištârtu.[1] אֲשֵׁרִים (אֲשֵׁרוֹת) is the name applied to her consecrated places, particularly pleasure groves (*bosquets*) or trees (Deut. xvi. 21; cf. the verbs גדע, כרת, נתשׁ, used of removing them); but here probably her statues or images (2 Kings xxi. 7; compare the מִפְלֶצֶת in 1 Kings xv. 13, which is meant to apply to an obscene representation). For these images of the sun-god and of the goddess of the moon or morning star the remnant of Israel purified by the furnace of judgment has no longer an eye. Their look is exclusively directed to the one true God of mankind. The promise, which begins to dawn at the close of the second strophe, is now again swallowed up in the third strophe, only to break forth again in the fourth with double and triple intensity.

Third strophe. Vers. 9–11: "*In that day will his fortified cities be like the ruins of the forest and of the mountain-top, which they evacuated before the sons of Israel: and there arises a waste. For thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and of the rock of thy fortress thou hast not thought, therefore didst thou plant pleasant plantations, and didst set them with strange vine slips. In the day that thou plantedst, thou didst draw a hedge, and with the morning dawn thou broughtest thy seed to the blossom,—a harvest heap in the day of deep wounds and deadly pain.*" What was said in ver. 3, that the fortress of Ephraim is abolished, is repeated in ver. 9 in a more descriptive way. To the strongly fortified cities of Ephraim it happens as to the old Canaanite forts which were still visible in their antiquated remains in the depths of woods or on the heights of mountains. The word עֲזוּבָה, which was not understood by the old interpreters, means, as in chap. vi. 12, desolate places that have become ruined. Instead of הַחֹרֶשׁ וְהָאָמִיר, the LXX. read החוי והאמרי (which is approved by de Lagarde), but in the translation they transpose the two names thus, *οἱ Ἀμοῤῥαῖοι καὶ οἱ Εὐαῖοι.* הָאָמִיר undoubtedly means elsewhere the top of a tree, which is not suitable here; but as in this sense it goes back to אָמַר, *extollere efferre* (see on Ps. xciv. 4), the Hiphil of which in the Mishna (*Sota*

[1] Schlottmann, in *DMZ.* xxiv. 658 sqq., derives the name, starting from the Deuteronomic עשׁתרות הצאן, Deut. vii. 13 *et al.*, from עשׁר, to connect, to beget. Fried. Delitzsch also regards *Ištârtû* as a triliterate with inserted ת (*Assyr. Gramm.* § 65, No. 40).

ix. 14) means "to top" (היוקר יאמיר, the dearness will reach its highest degree), it may also mean the top of a mountain, as the contrast to the base of a mountain (Job xxviii. 9), and therefore the summit of the mountain.[1] The name of the people, הָאֱמֹרִי (signifying those who dwell high up in the mountains), proves the possibility that the prophet had this name in his mind, and was determined by it in his choice of the word. It is not necessary to read עָזְבוּ for עָזְבוּ; the subject of עָזְבוּ is evident of itself. It is only ruins in woods and mountains that are mentioned, because other places lying on the lines of intercourse merely changed inhabitants when the Israelites took possession of their country. The reason that the same fate is to overtake Ephraim's strong forts as fell on those of the Amorites then lying in ruins, was because, as is said in ver. 10, Ephraim had turned away from his true rock-fast fortress, his stronghold of Jehovah. It is a consequence of this estrangement from God that Ephraim planted נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים (חִטְּעֵי, with *Dag. compensativum*, and not the ambiguous חִטְעֵי), plantations of lovely kind of things = lovely plantations (as in Sur. 56. 90, *ǵennâtu na'îmin*, see on Ps. lxxviii. 49), *i.e.* they made for themselves all kinds of sensuous cults in conformity with their heathen inclination. Perhaps נעמנים points to a particular cult, such as that of Adonis.[2] And further, it is a consequence of this estrangement from God that Ephraim planted these garden grounds (to which the suffix *ennu* belongs) with strange vines; or since זְמֹרָה signifies the setter of the vine, he has set it with them, that is to say, by concluding an alliance with a זָר, the king of Damascus. On the very day of the planting Ephraim carefully fenced it in (this is what the *Pilpel* שִׂגְשֵׂג from שׂוג = סוג signifies, not: to bring up, as שׂוג = שָׂגָא, סָגָא, cannot be established); that is to say, he insured the continuance of those sensuous cults in the manner of a State-religion with the prudence of a Jeroboam (see Amos vii. 13), and what had been sown was already brought into blossom in the morning.

[1] Cognate is إِمَرَة, which means a heap of stone, a way-mark (sign-post), and also a hill.

[2] De Lagarde, with whom Cheyne agrees, combines נעמן as an Adonis-name (cf. Ewald, § 287*a*) with the name of the Anemone.

The foreign slip has shot up like a hothouse plant, *i.e.* the alliance has rapidly become a happy agreement, and has also already shot forth a blossom which is the common plan directed against Judah. But this planting, which has been so flattering and so full of promise for Ephraim, and which flourished rapidly and seemingly so happily, is a harvest heap for the day of judgment. The modern expositors almost all take נֵד (for which LXX. have עַד, and Syr. ניר = yoke), according to the Targum and Jer., as the 3rd person, according to the form מֵת: the harvest flees; but the 3rd pers. of נוד must be נָד, like the part. in Gen. iv. 12; whereas the meaning *cumulus*, which it has elsewhere as a substantive, is quite appropriate, and the statement of the prophet is like that of the apostle in Rom. ii. 5. The day of the judgment is called day of נחלה (נַחֲלָה), in no case = נַחַל, river, stream (Luzzatto: *in giorno di fiumana*), as in Ps. cxxiv. 4, the accent being on the last syllable is opposed to this; nor is it on the day of the possession (Rosenmüller, Meier, Drechsler, and others, following LXX. and Jer.), which, as expressing nothing of itself, would require more precise definition; but it is the feminine of נַחְלֶה, and written shortly for מַכָּה נַחְלָה in Jer. xiv. 17, x. 19, Nah. iii. 19, inasmuch as it inflicts grievous and deadly wounds. On this day Ephraim's plantation becomes manifest as a harvest heap. What he has heaped up is in that day brought home (cf. קָצִיר, a harvest of punishment, Hos. vi. 11; Jer. li. 33), and the hope set upon this plantation is changed into כְּאֵב אָנוּשׁ, a despairing, incurable heart-sorrow (Jer. xxx. 15). The organic connection of what now follows in vers. 12–14 with the oracle concerning Damascus-Israel has been either entirely misunderstood on the one hand or not properly appreciated on the other. The relation is this: As the prophet sets before himself how Ephraim's sin is punished by Assyria, and how the latter sweeps over the Holy Land, the promise which appears in the second strophe now breaks fully through: the world-power is Jehovah's instrument of punishment, but not for ever.

Fourth strophe. Vers. 12–14: "*Woe to the roaring of many peoples; like roaring of seas they roar, and to the rumbling of nations like the rumbling of mighty waters they*

rumble. Nations like the rumbling of many waters they rumble and He threatens it—then it flies far away, and is chased like chaff of mountains before the wind, and like straw haulms before the whirlwind. At eventide—behold, there is consternation; even before morning dawn it is annihilated—this is the portion of our plunderers and the lot of our robbers." It is the annihilation of Assyria which the prophet prophesies here, as in chaps. xiv. 24–27, xxix. 5–8, and elsewhere; but not of Assyria as Assyria, but of Assyria as the empire, which embraces a multitude of peoples (chaps. xxii. 6, viii. 9, 10, xiv. 26, xxix. 7, 8) under one will for a common combating of the Church of God. The relation of this fourth strophe to the third is entirely like the relation of chap. viii. 9, 10 to chap. viii. 6–8. The exclamation of woe, הוֹי, is, as in chap. x. 1, an expression of the pain of wrath, which is then followed by the proclamation of the judgment of wrath. The description of the billow of peoples is as picturesque as the well-known description: *ille inter sese*, etc., of the Cyclopes in Virgil. "It spreads and stretches out; it is as if it would not cease to swell, and to roar, and to surge, and to sound" (Drechsler). In בּוֹ, in ver. 13*a*, the many surging peoples are kneaded together as into one mass. The onomatopoeic word נער (in Ethiopic, to cry, to lament) signifies a commanding influence bringing about silence and yielding. It costs God only one threatening word, and then this mass flees far away (מִמֶּרְחָק, like מֵרָחוֹק in chap. xxii. 3; see on chap. v. 26); it is scattered and whirled asunder like chaff from high-lying threshing-floors, and as גַּלְגַּל before the storm. The Chaldee גִּלְאָ (גִּלֵּי) and Arabic *ǵill, ǵull, ǵall*, demonstrate the meaning of גלגל to be: stubble, dry blades of straw, √ גל, to be round, and to roll, to move easily and quickly. The judgment begins to execute overthrow בַּלָּהָה (from בָּלַהּ, بَلَهَ, to get out of control, to be out of oneself) in the evening. It rages in the night, and before the break of the morning the host of peoples belonging to the imperial power is annihilated (compare chap. xxix. 9, 10, and the fulfilment in chap. xxxvii. 36). The fact that this particular oracle concerning Damascus is so comprehensive on this fourth stage, and is so promising for Israel, is explained on the ground that Syria was the

precursor of Assyria in the attack on Israel, and that the alliance of Israel with Syria had become the cause of the complications with Assyria. If the matter of the משא דמשק had been restricted to what the name Mahershalal expresses, then the element of promise which is characteristic of the prophecies against the peoples of the world (the Gentile nations) would be entirely lacking in it. But the shout of triumph, זֶה חֵלֶק וגו׳, supplied a terminal point which the משא cannot pass beyond unless it is to sacrifice its unity. We are therefore justified in taking chap. xviii. as a prophecy by itself, although at the same time this last strophe of the oracle concerning Damascus forms the ring linking into which the following prophecy concerning Ethiopia is immediately attached.

Ethiopia's Submission under Jehovah, Chap. XVIII.

The view which holds that chap. xviii. 4–6 contains a description of the judgment inflicted on Ethiopia by Jehovah is untenable. The prophet prophesies the annihilation of the army of Sennacherib in his usual way, and as it was fulfilled in chap. xxxvii. 36. Equally untenable, however, is the old Jewish and Christian view, which has been taken up again by Hofmann, that the people so strangely described at the beginning and close of the prophecy is the people of Israel. The borrowed passage in Zeph. iii. 10 should not mislead us, for it fuses together references to Isa. xviii. and lxvi. The people here peculiarly described are the Ethiopians, and the prophet prophesies the effect on Ethiopia of the judgment concerning Assyria which Jehovah executes, as Drechsler has convincingly proved (*Studien u. Krit.* 1847, and *Komm.*), and as is now universally recognised. But it is not probable either that the prophecy falls later than the Assyrian expedition against Egypt (Schegg), or that the Ethiopian ambassadors whom it mentions are dispatched to Judah to offer it friendship and help (Ewald, Knobel, Meier, and Thenius). No; the expedition against Egypt, including Ethiopia, is only in prospect, and that against Judah is a means to this end. And the ambassadors do not go to Judah, but, as Drechsler apprehends the situation, with the most active despatch they

carry commands to all the regions under Ethiopian rule. The Ethiopian kingdom is, in view of the impending Assyrian invasion, in the greatest excitement, and the envoys are sent forth to call out the available military force. From the fact that in the trilogy contained in chaps. xviii.–xx., Ethiopia and Egypt are specially treated, and are carefully kept apart in chap. xx., it appears that we must conclude that at the time when the prophecies in chaps. xviii., xix. went forth, and in the time of Sargon, Egypt and Ethiopia were not yet one kingdom. Moreover, Sennacherib, in the prism-inscription (translated in Friedr. Delitzsch's *Assyr. Lesestücken*, xii.–xvi.), still distinguishes kings of Egypt (*šarrâni*[1] *mâtu Muṣuri*) and a king of Ethiopia (*šar mâtu Meluhhi*), whom he boasts of having defeated near Eltekê (אֶלְתְּקוֹ, Josh. xix. 44). Egypt and Ethiopia did not actually become a single kingdom till the time of Psammetichus the son of Necho, whose son, Necho II., on his march against Nabopolassar encountered Josiah. In the Delta, the two chief dynasties, the Saitic and the Tanitic, still contended with each other; but in Thebes the Ethiopian supremacy always gained more in power, and the kings of the Delta were not able to make a stand against it. *Shebek* (*Σαβάκων*) the סוא (סְוֵא), on whom Hosea, the last king of the northern kingdom, depended (2 Kings xvii. 4), was the beginner of the new (25th) dynasty, consisting of Ethiopian kings, which, from 725 B.C., reduced the lesser kings to vassals. It was he whom Sargon overthrew at Raphia in 720 B.C. His successor was *Shabatok*, whom *Taharḳa*, who encountered Sennacherib's expedition against Judah, removed out of the way in 672 B.C.; and Taharka himself was subdued by Esarhaddon in 672 B.C., and this was the end of the Ethiopian dynasty. At this time, then, when the prophecies in chaps. xviii., xix., xx. were given forth, Egypt was not yet a single kingdom. The local princes of Lower Egypt were not yet removed; the Ethiopian dynasty had the supremacy, but only in so far as it asserted itself by force and craft. The separating of Egypt and Ethiopia in Isaiah is founded on the same political ground

[1] Of the texts of the two copies of the prism-inscription one has *sarrâni*, and the other *sar*. On the place of the battle of Eltekê, in the order of the details of the Jewish campaign, see Friedrich Delitzsch's art. "Sanherib" in the *Herzog-Hauck RE.* xiii.

as that of the kings of Egypt and of the king of Meluḫḫi in the prism-inscription of Sennacherib. Moreover, it cannot be exactly determined how near or far from the time when the Assyrian army entered on the expedition through Judah to Egypt the prophecy in chap. xviii. was composed. What it sets forth in prospect, namely, that the judgment of Jehovah upon the empire will have as its consequence the submission of Ethiopia to Jehovah, did occur at least in a preliminary way after the catastrophe of Assyria (2 Chron. xxxii. 23).

The prophecy begins with הוֹי, which never means *heus*, but always *vae*. Here, however, it differs from chap. xvii. 12 in being rather an expression of compassion (cf. Isa. lv. 1; Zech. ii. 10) than of anger; for the fact that the more mighty Assyria is coming against the mighty Ethiopia, is a humiliation prepared for the latter by Jehovah. Vers. 1, 2*a*: "*Woe, land of the whirring of wings, which is beyond the rivers of Kûš, which sends messengers to sea, and in papyrus boats over the face of the waters.*" The land of Kush begins, according to Ex. xxix. 10, cf. xxx. 6, where Upper Egypt ends. The סְוֵנֵה (*Aswân*) mentioned by Ezekiel is the boundary point where the Nile enters מִצְרַיִם proper, and which is still in the present day a depot of the products that come by the Nile from the south. The נַהֲרֵי־כוּשׁ, which are to be sought to the south of that point, are chiefly those that flow round the Kushite סְבָא (Gen. x. 7). This latter name is applied to the insular or interfluvial land of Meroë which is enclosed by the White and Blue Nile (the *Astapos* of Ptolemy, now *Baḥr el-Abyaḍ*, and the *Astaboras* of Ptolemy, now *Baḥr el-Azraḳ*), the present *Sennâr*, which, as such, is called الجزيرة (like Mesopotamia). Besides, the multitude of tributaries which in its long course bring always new masses of water to the Nile, might be well known generally to the prophet. The land "beyond the rivers of Kush" is the land bounded by the upper streams of the Nile, *i.e.* the land lying farther to the south under the Ethiopian rule, including Ethiopia proper; it is the land of its African auxiliaries, whose names (including probably the later Nubians and Abyssinians) are mentioned in 2 Chron. xii. 3; Nah. iii. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5; Jer. xlvi. 9. To this Ethiopia, designated according to its farthest limits (cf. Zeph. iii. 10), the prophet gives the peculiar name אֶרֶץ

צִלְצַל כְּנָפַיִם. This has been explained as the land of the wings of an army with clanging arms (Gesenius and others); but כְּנָפַיִם has not, even in chap. viii. 8, immediately the same sense as אֲגַפִּים in Ezekiel. Or, again, it is explained as "land of the noise of waves" (Umbreit); but כְּנָפַיִם cannot be said of waters out of such connection as in chap. viii. 8. Besides, צִלְצַל is not an appropriate onomatopoeic word for the noise of weapons and waves. Or, again, it has been explained as "land of the double shadow" (Grotius, Vitringa, Knobel, and others). But however appropriate this epithet (*ἀμφίσκιος*) is for the southmost part of Ethiopia as a tropical country, yet it is hazardous to take צִלְצַל in a meaning which is not sustained by the usage of the language; and the same objection holds to Luzzatto's interpretation, "land of the far and wide shadowing defence." Schelling has also correctly remarked against this view, that the shadow in countries between the tropics is not a double shadow at the same time (thrown now to the north and now to the south), and therefore that it cannot be figuratively called double-winged. צִלְצַל כְּנָפַיִם is the whirring of the wings of the insects with which Egypt and Ethiopia swarm on account of their climate and abundance of water; צִלְצָל, *constr.* צִלְצַל, *tinnitus stridor,*[1] its primary meaning from which the three other meanings of the word: cymbal, harpoon (*i.e.* a whirring dart), and grasshopper,[2] are derived. The Egyptian power was called, in chap. vii. 18, the fly from the end of the rivers of Egypt. Here Egypt-Ethiopia is called the land of the whirring of wings, inasmuch as the prophet, in association with the swarms of insects, has in his mind the motley swarms of people of this great kingdom, which were fabulously strange for an Asiatic. Within this great kingdom

[1] The meaning *stridere* becomes more particularly to sink down with a whirling motion, and in the Talmud, to have settled down, to be cleared (צָלוּל, *limpidus*).

[2] *Tzaltzalya* in the language of the Gallas, *Tsetse* in the language of the Bechuanas, is the name of the most dreaded insect (*diptera*) of the tropical interior of Africa, a species of *glossina;* see Hartmann, *Skizze der Nilländer*, i. 205; *Ausland*, 1865, p. 960, and Merinsky, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, 1875, pp. 23–25 (where it is stated that the poison of the tsetse has a fatal effect only on the domestic animals, the ass being an exception). Bruce first brought this insect to England, and the first account of the "Tsaltsalya-fly" is found in vol. v. of Bruce's *Select Specimens* (1790).

messengers are now passing to and fro upon its great waters בִּכְלֵי גֹמֶא, in boats of papyrus (see about גֹּמֶא, explained by Saadia by بردى, in my comm. on Job, chap. viii. 11); in Greek *βάριδες* (Ionic in Herodotus, ii. 96, *βάριες*) *παπύριναι* (*βαρίς*, after the Egyptian *bari, bali,* barge), cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 4. 136: *conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.* In such canoes, *ex papyro et scirpo et harundine* (Plinius, vii. 206, xiii. 72, ed. Jan.), they skimmed along the Nile, and ventured even as far as *Taprobane* (Ceylon). They were made for folding together (*plicatiles*), so that they could be carried past the cataracts (rapids), Arab *šellâlât* (see Parthey on *Plutarch de Iside,* p. 198 f.).

It is to the messengers in such paper boats that the appeal of the prophet is directed. He bids them go and summon the mighty Ethiopian people to the combat: to a combat, however, which Jehovah will in their place take upon Himself. Vers. 2*b*, 3: "*Go, fleet messengers, to the nation long-stretched and beautifully polished, to the terrible people far away on the other side, to the nation of command on command and treading down, whose land rivers cut through. All ye possessors of the world and inhabitants of the earth, when a banner rises on mountains, look thither, and when they blow the trumpet, then hear!*" They are to go to the powerful people which will not be the prey of Assyria, but the prey of Jehovah; for He Himself will save the world from the conquering might of Assyria, against which the Ethiopian kingdom summons all the means of self-help. That to which the looks of Ethiopia and all the peoples of the earth are directed is made known to us by what follows: it is the destruction of Assyria by Jehovah. And they who look are particularly to attend and mark when they perceive the two signals of the banner and the trumpet blast: these are decisive moments. The people which is called to arms is described as being so glorious a people, not because it will actually join in the combat, but because it will be Jehovah's own people. It is מְמֻשָּׁךְ, long-extended, tall (LXX. *ἔθνος μετέωρον*), by which the Sabeans are likewise designated in chap. xlv. 14 (cf. ممشوق, in the sense *élancé*, from مشق, to extend long);

and then מֹורָט = מְמֹורָט,[1] polished, *politus*, especially by depilation (cf. أَمْرَد, *imberbis*, of a youth), and therefore not marred by a disfiguring growth of hair. To these first two predicates corresponds the description of the Ethiopians in Herodotus, iii. 20, as μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων; and as to the glittering of their skin see also Herodotus, iii. 23.[2] They are further called the terrible people, by reference to the wide extent of their kingdom to the remotest south. מִן־הוּא וָהָלְאָה, from here (compare the vulgar Arabic *min henne*, hitherwards), where the prophet meets with the messengers further and always further out; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 21, 22 (but not 1 Sam. xviii. 9, where the expression has a temporal meaning, which is less suitable here, where everything is so picturesque; and, besides, it is to be rejected, because מִן־הוּא cannot be equivalent to מֵאֲשֶׁר הוּא, cf. Nah. ii. 9). In Homer they are also τηλόθ' ἐόντες, those dwelling far off. Nägelsbach connects the mention of place with נורא: feared far from its boundary; but then מִן־הוּא would be superfluous. What קַו (with a connecting accent and before Makkeph קָו), a measure or criterion, means, when used by the prophet in the reduplicated form in which it is presented here, is shown by chap. xxviii. 10, 13; or if these parallels are rejected by Ps. xix. 5, it is a commanding people that conquers region on region, or (according to Ewald, Knobel, and Cheyne) a people "of strength strength," *i.e.* terribly strong; and this view would recommend itself were קַו = قُوَّة, strength, established as a meaning in the Hebrew (the radical idea being stiff, compact). מְבוּסָה is a second genitive to גּוֹי: a people of treading down, namely, of others, *i.e.* which subdues and tramples down wherever it appears, as had been conspicuously shown since Pianchi, about 766 B.C.[3] The Tirhāka (Τεάρκων) is called by Megasthenes in Strabo, xv. 1. 6, a great conqueror who pressed

[1] So, too, שְׁעָרִים in Jer. xxix. 17 is equivalent to מְשֹׁעָרִים, abhorred, abominable.

[2] See on this also the description of the *Barâbira* (plur. of *Berberî*), probably epigons of the ancient Ethiopians, in the *Zeitschrift für allg. Erdkunde*, xvii. 7.

[3] See Stade's monograph, *De Isaiae vaticiniis aethiopicis*, 1873.

forward to the pillars of Hercules. These are purely predicates of distinction: an imposingly beautiful people, a ruling and conquering people. The last predicate אֲשֶׁר בָּזְאוּ extols their fruitful land. We do not take בָּזָא in the sense of *diripere* = בָּזַז, as מָאַס, to melt = מָסַס, but in the sense of *findere* = בָּזַע, as גָּמָא, to sip = גָּמַע; for it is no praise to say that a land is carried off or washed away by rivers. Böttcher aptly compares the phrase used by Herodotus, ii. 108, *κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος*. There is a divine irony lying in the circumstance that a people so great and glorious, and (looking at its natural gifts) not without reason so full of self-feeling, falls into such violent excitement in presence of the threatening danger and makes such violent efforts to meet it, while Jehovah, the God of Israel, will Himself annihilate the power that threatens the danger in a night, and consequently that all the anxiety and labour of Ethiopia is utterly useless.

The prophet knows this for certain. Vers. 4–6: "*For thus hath Jehovah spoken to me: I will be still, and will look on upon my throne during clear heat in sunshine, during dew-clouds in the harvest glow. For before the harvest, when the blossom fades off and the bud becomes a ripening grape, then will He cut off the vine shoots with vine-pruners, and He removes, breaks off the tendrils. Left are they altogether to the birds of prey of the mountains, and to the cattle of the land, and the birds of prey summer thereon, and all the cattle of the land will winter thereon.*" The prophecy expounds itself here; for the unfigurative ver. 6 undoubtedly enables us to understand what it is that Jehovah without interposing will let develope prosperously under favourable circumstances till He suddenly and violently puts an end to it just as it is approaching perfect maturity. It is the power of Assyria. Jehovah calmly looks on from the heavenly seat of His glorious presence without disturbing the progression of what is intended. This rest of His is not neglectfulness; it is, as is indicated by the cohortatives (the second of which is provided with ŏ under the half-guttural ק; cf. Num. xxiii. 25), well considered resolution. The two Caphs (כְּ) in ver. 4 are not comparative, but are indicative of time. The noun עָב, thickness, darkness, cloud, is in the construct עָב, or even עֲב, as יָם is sometimes יָם, sometimes יַם, being the latter according to the mode of

derivatives from עיע. Jehovah keeps Himself at rest while there is bright heat with sunshine (עֲלֵי, of a continuing state, as in Jer. viii. 18, 1 Sam. xiv. 32, and elsewhere), and whilst there is dew-cloud, בְּחֹם קָצִיר (LXX. Syr. erroneously ביום), *i.e.* in the midst of that warmth which is favourable for the harvest, so that the plant thus heated through by day and refreshed at night by the falling dew shoots up rapidly and luxuriantly, and ripens. The plant thought of is the vine, as is shown by ver. 5. It is erroneous to take קָצִיר in the sense of בָּצִיר (see xvi. 9): it is the grain harvest at whose approach the vine blossom fades and the berry sets, with which the summer heat, during which the grapes ripen (Hofmann), coincides. כְּ is also here indicative of time. When the blossom has become complete, so that it now fades off, and the set fruit-bud (נִצָּה, according to the Masora here, in distinction from Gen. xl. 10 with ה *rafatum*) becomes a ripening grapelet (בֹּסֶר, the still unripe grape, *ὄμφαξ*, so called from its hardness and sourness, as بُسْر is the unripe date), he cuts away the vine branches, זַלְזַלִּים (from זִלְזֵל, to swing to and fro; cf. Arabic *dâliya*, grape, from *dalâ*, to hang long and loose), on which the grapes that will soon be quite ripened hang; and the tendrils (נְטִישׁוֹת, as in Jer. v. 10, from נָטַשׁ, to stretch far down, Niphal, to twine for a long way, chap. xvi. 8; cf. Jer. xlviii. 32) he removes, nips off (הֵתַז, a pausal form for הֵתֵז, as מֵבָאֵל is for מֵבִאֵל in chap. vii. 6, Olsh. § 91*d*, from תָּזַז, Hiphil in Talmud, התיז, to break off, to break in two, to weaken; cf. תָּשַׁשׁ), an intentional asyndeton with a picturesque sound. The discourse of Jehovah concerning Himself has here passed imperceptibly into a discourse of the prophet about Jehovah. The ripening grapes are, as is elucidated in ver. 6, the Assyrians now not far from the summit of their power, and the fruit-branches that are lopped off and broken to pieces are their corpses, which are now summer and winter through the garbage of swarms of summer birds and of the beasts of prey that remain through the winter. (קָץ is a denominative from קַיִץ, glowing heat = summer, and תֶּחֱרַף, denominative, from חֹרֶף, plucking off = harvest.) This is the divine act of judgment to which the approaching planting of the banner and the approaching blare of trumpets is about to call the atten-

tion of the people of Ethiopia. What effect this act of Jehovah if it now takes place will exercise upon the people of Ethiopia is now described. Ver. 7: "*At that time will there be offered as a homage to the Lord of hosts a people long-stretched and beautifully polished, and from a terrible people far away on the other side, a nation of command upon command and treading down, whose land rivers cut through, to the place of the name of Jehovah of hosts, the mountain of Zion.*" To the difficult מֵעַם the עַם at the beginning does not require to be accommodated (for which Knobel indeed reads מֵעַם); that which is offered is the Ethiopian people itself, just as it is Israel in chap. lxvi. 20; Zeph. iii. 10. Along with עַם and גּוֹי, nominatives of the subject, מֵעַם can only have a local signification: the people brings itself as a present, and presents are brought from it (Nägelsbach); but for what purpose is this weakening alteration made? It is probable that מ is an inadvertent "dittography," and should be deleted. Cheyne translates twice: *from the people;* but the former עַם is guaranteed by parallels, as in Zeph. iii. 10. Ethiopia is offered or presents itself as an offering to Jehovah, being impelled irresistibly to this by the force of the impression made by the great deed of Jehovah, or as the Titan among the Psalms says (Ps. lxviii. 32): "There come thither the splendid ones out of Egypt, and Cush hastily stretches his hands to Elohim." In order that the greatness of this spiritual conquest may be fully appreciated, the description of this strangely glorious people is here repeated.

The Oracle concerning Egypt, Chap. XIX.

The three prophecies in chaps. xviii., xix., xx. form a trilogy. The first (chap. xviii., which, like the *introitus*, chap. i., is without any special superscription) treats of Ethiopia in language of the sublimest pathos. The second (chap. xix.) treats of Egypt in language of calmer description, which is expanded to some length; and the third (chap. xx.) treats of Egypt and Ethiopia in a setting of plain historical prose. The kingdom to which all the three prophecies refer is the same, namely, the Egypto-Ethiopian kingdom; but it is so dealt with that chap. xviii. refers to the ruling people, chap. xix. to the ruled people, and chap. xx. embraces them

both together. The reason why the prophecy occupies itself so particularly with Egypt is that no people of the earth was so closely interwoven with the history of the kingdom of God from the patriarchal time as Egypt. And because, as the Thora impresses it, Israel must never forget that it long resided in Egypt, and there grew great, and enjoyed much good; so prophecy, when it comes to speak to Egypt, is not less zealous in promising than in threatening. Accordingly the Isaianic מַשָּׂא falls into two distinct halves: one threatening, vers. 1–15, and one promising, vers. 18–25; and between judgment and salvation there stands the terror in vers. 16, 17, as the bridge from the former to the latter. And just as is the greatness of the coil of punishments which the prophet unfolds, so in just as many stages is the promise which is carried on in ever new grooves, and which here rises so far that at last, breaking through the temporary historical veil and the Old Testament limitation, it speaks the spiritual language of the world-embracing love of the New Testament.

With a short introduction—in the use of which Isaiah was a master—which concentrates the whole of what is contained in the first half in a few weighty words, and three times naming Egypt, the land unequalled in the world, the oracle thus begins. Ver. 1: "*Behold, Jehovah rides along upon a light cloud, and comes to Egypt; then the idols of Egypt shake before Him, and the heart of Egypt melts within it.*" Jehovah rides upon clouds when He is about to reveal Himself in judicial majesty (Ps. xviii. 11), and here He rides upon a light cloud, because it is to happen rapidly. קַל signifies light and quick; what is light moves itself quickly; and even the light, because thin cloud, is relatively עָב, literally, dense, opaque, dark. The idols of Egypt shake (נוּעַ, as in chap. vi. 4, vii. 2), for Jehovah comes over them to judgment (cf. Ex. xii. 12; Jer. xlvi. 25; Ezek. xxx. 13). They must shake, for they are about to be thrown down; their shaking from fear is a shaking to their fall (נוּעַ, as in chap. xxiv. 20, xxix. 9). The ו of וְנָעוּ (*praet. consec.* with tone on the last) connects cause and effect, as in chap. vi. 7.

In what judgments the judgment is about to be executed is now declared by the majestic Judge Himself. Vers. 2–4: "*And I goad Egypt against Egypt, and they go to war every*

one with his brother, and every one with his neighbour; city against city, kingdom against kingdom. And the spirit of Egypt is emptied out within it, and I swallow up its readiness in counsel, and they go inquiring to the idols, and to the mutterers, and to the oracle-spirits, and to the soothsayers. And I shut up Egypt in the hand of a hard government, and a violent king will rule over them, saith the Lord, Jehovah of hosts." Civil war will rage in Egypt (on סִכְסֵךְ see at chap. ix. 10). The people usually so prudent will not be able to deliberate; their spirit is quite poured out (נָבְקָה, with the dropped reduplication for נָבַקָּה, as נָסַבָּה = נָסְבָה, Ezek. xli. 7, cf. comm. on Gen. xi. 7), so that nothing of insight or resolution remains to them. Then in their blindness they turn for help in counsel and action to where none is to be found—to their nothings of gods, and to the manifold demoniacal arts of which Egypt could boast that it was the primeval abode. On the names of the practisers of the black art see chap. viii. 19. אִטִּים, mutterers, from אָטַט = أَطَّ, to squeak (used of a camel's saddle, especially when it is new), to rumble (of the empty stomach), and such like (see Lane's *Lexicon*). But all this avails them nothing. Jehovah gives them up (סִכֵּר, syn. הִסְגִּיר, συγκλείειν, and מָכַר) to be under a hard-hearted, severe king. The prophecy does not refer to a foreign conqueror, so as to lead us to think of Sargon (Knobel, Kuenen, Schrader, Cheyne, Driver) or Cambyses (Luzzatto), but to a native despot. In comparing the prophecy with the fulfilment, we must above all keep firmly to the view that ver. 2 prophesies the national revolution which broke out in Sais, in the midst of which the Ethiopian dynasty, which ruled from 725, was overthrown, and the federal Dodekarchy, which sprang out of the national rising. Hitzig denies this, but only because he holds it to be impossible that the prophetic glance of Isaiah could extend to events after his death. Stade[1] refers the prophecy to the subjection of Middle and Lower Egypt, and especially of the Saitic prince and conqueror, Tafnecht, by the Ethiopian

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 31–33; cf. "Die Siegesinschrift Königs Pianchi von Aethiopien, übers. von H. Brugsch," in the *Nachrichten der Kgl. Göttinger Gesellschaft d. W.* 1876, Nr. 19. Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, Teil 2 (1884), pp. 565–576.

Pianchi-Meremen, which he dates between 729 and 722. But with this interpretation of the Isaianic prophecy would there not rather be expected, according to the stele of Mount Barkat, instead of מצרים במצרים, rather כושים במצרים? The מַמְלָכָה בְּמַמְלָכָה (LXX. νομὸς ἐπὶ νομόν) does not apply nearly so well to the time of Tafnecht and Pianchi as to those twelve small kingdoms into which Egypt was divided after the removal of the Ethiopian dynasty, till Psammetichus, the Dodekarch of Sais, again united these twelve States into one monarchy, a result which Pianchi was not able to bring about. Shabaka (the Sabakon of Manetho), the Biblical סוא, undertook not only a victorious campaign to Egypt, like Pianchi, and not only made it tributary, but remained there, and was the first Egyptian Pharaoh of Ethiopian race (founder of the XXV. dynasty).[1] Psammetichus I. (604–610) was the first to restore the unity of the kingdom. He (and generally the royal house of the Psammetichidæ) is the hard ruler, the ruthless despot. After long struggles, and by the aid of mercenaries of Ionia and Caria, he attained sole undisputed dominion over Egypt. From him onwards the characteristic Egyptian system appears already much broken by the admixture of Hellenism, which led in consequence to the emigration of a large portion of the military caste to Meroë (Herod. ii. 30; Diod. i. 67). How oppressive this new dynasty was came to be felt by the Egyptian people, when Necho (616–597), the son and successor of Psammetichus, took up anew the project of Ramses Miamun to construct a connecting canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and tore away 120,000 natives from their homes and wore them out in toilsome drudgery (Herod. ii. 158). A revolt of the native troops which, being sent against the rebelling Cyrene, were driven back into the desert, brought about, after losing a battle, the fall of Hophra' (Ἀπρίης of Herodotus and Diodorus), the grandson of Necho, in 570, and put an end to the hated government of the house of Psammetichus (Herod. ii. 161 sqq., iv. 159).

The prophet now prophesies another calamity which is coming upon Egypt: the Nile dries up, and with it vanishes the fruitfulness of the land. Vers. 5–10: "*And the waters*

[1] See Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 581.

will dry up from the sea, and the river becomes parched and dried. And the arms of the river spread a stench; the canals of Masor become shallow and parched; reed and rush shrivel up. The meadows by the Nile, at the mouth of the Nile, and every seed-field of the Nile dries up, scatters in dust and disappears. And the fishers groan, and all who throw hoop-nets into the Nile mourn, and they who spread out the net on the face of the water languish away. And confounded are the workers of fine-combed flax and the weavers of cotton fabrics. And the pillars of the land become crushed to pieces, all who work for hire grieved in soul." The Nile in ver. 5 (as well as in chap. xviii. 1; cf. Nah. iii. 8) is called יָם, just as Homer calls it ὠκεανός, which, as Diodorus (i. 19) observes, is the native name of the river, the Egyptian *oham*; the corresponding Arabic name is بحر; as here it is called *yām* in the Begawîya idiom of Besharîn. The Nile is really more like an inland sea than a river from that point where the main stream in consequence of the swelling of the two great Abyssinian tributaries of the Blue Nile and the Atbara overflows the delta of Lower Egypt, assuming this appearance in consequence of its breadth and of its stagnating in the dry season. It is not till the beginning of the tropical rains that the swelling river begins to flow more rapidly, and the יָם becomes נָהָר. But when, as is threatened here, the Nile sea and the Nile river of Upper Egypt fall together and dry up (נִשְּׁתוּ, Niphal, either from שָׁתָה, √ שת, to set, to place = נָשַׁתּוּ, to set oneself, to become shallow; or rather from נָשַׁת, since chap. xli. 17 and Jer. li. 30 warrant us assuming such a secondary verb), then the arms of the mouth of the Nile (נְהָרוֹת), which flow through the delta and the many canals (יְאֹרִים) which convey to the Nile valley the blessing of the overflow, become stinking pools (הֶאֶזְנִיחוּ, a half nominal, a half verbal Hiphil, unexampled elsewhere; to spread a stench, formed from the elative אַזְנָח or אֶזְנָח, which is not found, perhaps in order to distinguish it from הִזְנִיחַ, which means to abhor, to make an abhorrence). Probably it is not without intention that Isaiah says מָצוֹר, seeing that he distinguishes מָצוֹר and פַּתְרוֹס in chap. xi. 11 as Lower and Upper Egypt, Egyptian *sa-hêt*, lower land, and *sa-rês*, upper land (together forming

מִצְרַיִם). And we are warranted in taking יְאֹרִים (standing beside נְהָרוֹת) as a name for the canals of the Nile. The canals and irrigation system of Egypt are older than the invasion of the Hyksos. On the other hand, יְאוֹר in ver. 7 (thrice written *plene*, as also in ver. 8) is the Egyptian name of the Nile generally (*aur*, river, or *aur-āa*, great river), which is thrice repeated with emphasis like the name מִצְרַיִם in ver. 1. On סוּף, a reed, Egyptian *sebe*, see comm. on Ps. cvi. 9. Parallel with מִזְרָע, but different from it, stands עָרוֹת from עָרָה, *nudum esse*, which, like several derivatives of the synonymous verb عرى, signifies open places, and here grass flats situated beside the water, and therefore meadows. Even the meadows close to the mouth of the river (see on Prov. viii. 29), *i.e.* where it flows to the neighbouring sea, and all the fields become so dry that they go off in dust like ashes. The three chief sources of the nourishment of Egypt thus fail also, viz. the fishing, the manufacture of linen which supplied the dresses of the priests and bandages for the mummies, and the manufacture of cotton which provided all who were not priests with material for clothing. In ver. 8 no objection need be taken to the view which assumes an inversion for מַשְׁלִיכֵי חכה ביאר; this obstruction is less striking where the governing word has *Chirek compaginis* in chap. xxii. 16; Gen. xlix. 11. שְׂרִיקוֹת might be adj. to the feminine פִּשְׁתִּים from פִּשְׁתָּה, but it is according to the accents the accus. of manner: by means of repeated careful combing (cf. סָרוֹק, wool-combers, *Kelim* xii. 2). The mode of working the flax is shown us on the monuments; and in the Berlin Museum there are some of these Egyptian combs with which they carded the flax. The fabrics of the Egyptian looms were celebrated in antiquity; חוֹרָי, literally, white stuff (a singular only with the old termination *ay*), from חור or חָוַר, *candidum esse* (cf. חרר, *candere*), is the collective name for cotton stuffs or the different kinds of byssus which were woven there (cf. *βυσσίνων ὀθονίων* of the Rosetta inscription).[1] All the castes from the highest to the lowest fall into the pain of despair.

[1] Luzzatto and Pinsker (*Einleitung in das babyl. Punktationssystem*, p. 133) correct as follows: "And the flax-workers are put to shame (*athnach*), the carders (but would not that be שְׂרְקוֹת?) and weavers become pale."

The שְׁתוֹת (a designation perhaps suggested by the thought of שְׁתִי, the warp of the web, Syr. אֶשְׁתִּי, to weave), *i.e.* pillars of the land (with a feminine suffix relating to מִצְרַיִם, see on chap. iii. 8, and construed as masculine, as in Ps. xi. 3), are the highest castes who directly support the edifice of the State; and עֹשֵׂי שֶׂכֶר cannot mean the citizens engaged in trade or the middle class of the people, but those who, being hired to those who provide labour, live not on their own property but on wages (שֶׂכֶר, as in Prov. xi. 18, according to Rashi on this passage; cf. comm. on Prov. xxvi. 10 = סֶכֶר: the dammers of water for the purpose of fishing, like סְכָרִין, *Kelim* xxiii. 5).[1]

The prophet now pauses to describe the punishment inflicted on the pillars of the land. Vers. 11–13: "*Utter fools do the princes of Zoan become, the wise counsellors of Pharaoh; readiness in counsel is stupefied. How can ye say to Pharaoh: I am a son of wise men, a son of kings of the early time?—Where are they, then, thy wise men? Let them then announce to thee and know what Jehovah of hosts has resolved concerning Egypt! The princes of Zoan are stultified, the princes of Memphis deceived; they have led Egypt astray, who are the corner-stone of its castes.*" The two constructs חַכְמֵי יֹעֲצֵי do not stand in subordination but in co-ordination (see comm. on Ps. lxxviii. 9; Job xx. 17, and compare 2 Kings xvii. 13, *Keri*), the wise men, counsellors of Pharaoh, so that the second name is the explanatory permutative of the first. צֹעַן is = *Tanis*, lying between the Sebennytic and the Pelusian arm of the Nile, anciently (Num. xiii. 22) a capital of the Hyksos, and restored after their destruction by Ramses II. It was the parent seat of two dynasties. נֹף *per aphaer.* = מֹנֹף, *contr.* מֹף in Hos. ix. 6, is Memphis,[2] which was raised by Psammetichus to be the metropolis of the whole kingdom. On its ruined site now stands the village of

[1] So Rashi, understanding עשי שכר to be used of dyke labourers, understands אגמי נפש to be fish-ponds, which is untenable. On the other hand, the view of Ehrentreu is probable, that the choice of the word אגמי was occasioned by אֲגַמִּים (water tanks formed by means of confining dykes); see above at chap. i. 31.

[2] With this Greek form of the name the Assyrian name agrees: *Mi-im-pi*, *Mi-im-pi* (*Paradies*, p. 314). The original Egyptian form is *Men-nefer* (Plutarch, *de Is.* 20: ὅρμος ἀγαθῶν).

Mitrehêne (according to Seetzen), and to the north-west of it is the Serapeum. Princes of Zoan and Memphis were therefore princes belonging to the most distinguished cities of the country, and, as may be assumed, of primeval pedigree; they were probably priest-princes; for the wisdom of the Egyptian priests was of world-wide renown (Herodotus, ii. 77, 260), and out of the priest caste sprang the oldest kings of Egypt. Even in the time of Hezekiah, when the military caste had long become the ruling one, the priests again succeeded in raising one of their own number, Sethos, to the throne of Sais. These magnates of Egypt with their wisdom will be made fools by the history of Egypt in the immediate future, and—this is the meaning of the sarcastic אֵיךְ תֹּאמְרוּ—they will not trust themselves further to boast of their priestly hereditary wisdom or their royal hereditary nobility when counselling Pharaoh. קֶדֶם does not mean here "east" as in 1 Kings v. 10, but primeval time. They are the corner-stone of the שְׁבָטִים, *i.e.* of the castes of Egypt (not of the districts or divisions, *νομοί*, פִּלְכָּהָא, as it is rendered in the Targum). But instead of supporting and protecting their people, as it now appears, they have plunged it into error. הִתְעוּ has here—as is observed by the Masora on ver. 14—no *waw cop.*

This state of disorder is now more minutely described in vers. 14, 15: "*Jehovah has poured into Egypt's heart a spirit of giddiness so that they have led Egypt astray in all its doing as a drunken man wanders about in his vomit. And there is not done of Egypt a work which worked, of head and tail, palm branch and rush.*" The spirit which God pours into them is a spirit of judgment, and has for its judicial penal result עִוְעִים, which is formed from עִוְעֵו (√ עו, to curve), and is abridged from עִוְעֲוִים, or points back to a singular עִוְעָה. The suffix of בְּקִרְבָּהּ refers to Egypt. The divine punitive spirit makes use of the fancied wisdom of the priestly caste, and by it throws the people, as it were, into the giddiness of intoxication. The prophet uses the Hiphil הִתְעָה of the carefully meditated doings of the leaders of the people, and the Niphal נִתְעָה of the state of the drunken man when he is no longer free nor master of himself. The people is made so perverse by false counsels and hopes that it lies there like a drunk man in his

own vomit, and, not being able to extricate itself, it gropes and rolls about therein. A work which worked or was effective, *i.e.* which brought it out of the disorder (עָשָׂה, as frequently of persons, *e.g.* in Dan. viii. 24), is brought to a successful result by no one; neither by the heads of the people, nor by the common people and its flatterers; neither by the upper classes nor by the masses.

The result of all these plagues which come upon Egypt is fear of Jehovah and of Jehovah's people. Vers. 16, 17: "*In that day the Egyptians become like women, and they tremble, and they shudder before the swing of the hand of Jehovah of hosts, which He sets into swing against them. And the land of Judah becomes a dread to Egypt: as often as they mention this against Egypt, it shudders,—on account of the decree of Jehovah of hosts which He suspends over it.*" The swinging, תְּנוּפָה, of the hand (chap. xxx. 32) points back to the foregoing judgments as they smite Egypt with blow after blow. These humiliations make the Egyptians as soft and timid as women. The accent on וְחָרֵד is separative (*Mehuppach Legarmeh*). Further, the sacred ground and soil of Judah (אֲדָמָה, as in chap. xiv. 1, 2, xxxii. 13), which Egypt has so often made the scene of war, throws them, whenever it is but mentioned (כֹּל אֲשֶׁר, cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13; Gen. iv. 15: literally whoever, but = as often as any one), into frenzy, into an excitement of terror (חָגָּא, with א instead of ה, like זָרָא in Num. xi. 20, קָרְחָא in Ezek. xxxvii. 31; cf. כֻּלָּא, Ezek. xxxvi. 5, and similar in form with *morrah* in Prov. xiv. 10). The originator of the plagues is known to them. Their faith in the idols is shaken, and the wish naturally rises in them to avert new plagues by propitiation of Jehovah.

At first there is only slavish fear, but it is the beginning of a turn for the better. Ver. 18: "*In that day there will be five cities in the land Egypt speaking the language of Canaan and swearing by Jehovah of hosts, 'Ir ha-Heres will one be called.'*" Five cities are few for Egypt,[1] which is sowed over with cities (townships); but this is only a fractional beginning of the future complete conversion of Egypt. It is an

[1] Herodotus (ii. 177) gives the number of them as 20,000 in the time of Amasis; Diodorus (i. 31) gives their number as 18,000 in ancient times, and under Ptolemy Lagi, 30,000.

external sign of this conversion that the converted begin to speak the language of Canaan, *i.e.* the holy language of the worship of Jehovah (cf. Zeph. iii. 9), and that they devote themselves with a sworn vow to the God of Israel in words of this language. נִשְׁבַּע לְ (different from נִשְׁבַּע בְּ, chap. lxv. 16, as chap. xlv. 23 shows) means to swear to any one, to promise him fealty, to give oneself up to him. One of these five will be called עִיר הַהֶרֶס. As this must be a proper name, לְאַחַת thus means not *unicuique*, as in Judg. viii. 18, Ezek. i. 6, but *uni*. It is the habit of Isaiah to express the nature of a thing in the form of a future name of it (chap. iv. 3, xxxii. 5, lxi. 6, lxii. 4). This name must therefore here have a distinguishing meaning in accordance with the promise. But what does עִיר הַהֶרֶס mean? The LXX. has changed it into πόλις ἀσεδέκ, עִיר הַצֶּדֶק, in honour of the Jewish temple, which was founded by Onias IV., the son of the high priest Onias III., when he emigrated to Egypt, and found a friendly reception from Ptolemy VI. Philometor and his wife Cleopatra (about 160 B.C.). The הֶרֶס, handed down in the Masoretic text, can mean nothing else than destruction, and it naturally occurs to read for it עִיר הַחֶרֶס (which is also given in some codices,[1] but is contrary to the Masora). It is unnecessary to interpret this according to the Arabic as meaning city of protection (Rosenmüller, Ewald, Knobel, Meier) = المحروسة, *divinitus protecta*. עִיר הַחֶרֶס means city of the sun (חֶרֶס, as in Job ix. 7; Judg. xiv. 18), as the Talmud in the leading passage concerning the בית חוניו (the Onias temple) in *Menachoth* 110*a* considers that the traditional reading is to be understood in accordance with Job ix. 7 (לישנא דשימשא היא, "it is a designation of the sun").[2] "Sun-city" was actually the name of one of the most famous old Egyptian cities, namely, Ἡλιούπολις, situated to the north-east of Memphis, the city of the sun-god *Ra*, which elsewhere in the

[1] On the other hand, no Greek Cod. reads πόλις ἀχερές, into which the Compl. has emended it after the Vulgate, see the *Vocabularium Hebr.* 37*a* belonging to the Compl. A Hebrew MS. in St. Petersburg has the reading עִיר הַסֶּרֶךְ transcribed in inverted order from the Greek, see *DMZ.* xx. 459.

[2] In this sense of "sun-city will one be called," these words are the device on the coat of arms of the Andalusian city Ecija; see von Vincenti, *In Glut und Eis*, Bd. ii. 165.

Old Testament is called און,[1] a name which Ezekiel (chap. xxx. 17) modifies into אָוֶן, in order to brand the idolatry of the city. If the well-attested reading הֶהֶרֶס is retained, it can only be taken as meaning "tearing down of the previous heathen sanctuaries" (הרס, as in Judg. vi. 25; 1 Kings xviii. 30, xix. 10, 14), and the meaning of the prophecy will be that the city, which was hitherto עִיר הַחֶרֶס, the chief city of the sun-worship, will become the city of the destruction of idolatry (Caspari, Drechsler, Herzfeld), as Jeremiah prophesies, chap. xliii. 13: "Jehovah will break in pieces the obelisks of the sun-temple in the land of Egypt." עיר ההרס, with this interpretation, has essentially the same relation to עיר החרס as בית און to בית אל, and, so far as this is interpreted according to Hos. x. 8, cf. xii. 12, means: the sun-city becomes a city of ruins. The prophet is here thinking of the temples and altars, and also in particular of the מַצֵּבוֹת, obelisks (see Jer. xliii. 13), which stood there on the spot where *Ra* was worshipped.

Vers. 19, 20: "*In that day there stands an altar consecrated to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt, and an obelisk near the boundary of the land consecrated to Jehovah. And a sign and a witness for Jehovah of hosts is this in the land Egypt: when they cry to Jehovah because of oppressors, He will send them a helper and combatant, and save them.*" This is the passage of Isaiah (not ver. 18) to which Onias IV. appealed when he sought permission from Ptolemy Philometor to build the temple of Jehovah in Egypt. He built it in the nome of Heliopolis, 180 stadia to the north-east of Memphis (Jos. *Bell.* vii. 10. 3), and particularly on the ground and soil of the ὀχύρωμα in Leontopolis which was consecrated to Bubastis (*Ant.* xiii. 3. 1, 2).[2] This temple, built like a

[1] Ἡλιούπολις corresponds to the sacred name *Pe-ra*, house of the sun-god, which is borne by the city otherwise called און, old Egyptian *Anu*; nevertheless Cyril also explains this name thus: Ὢν δέ ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος, that is *Ain*, *Oin*, *Oni*, the eye as emblem of the sun. Perhaps with reference to this Heliopolis is called in Arabic *'Ain-eš-šems*, see Arnold, *Chrestom. arab.* p 56 f. Edrîsi (iii. 3) calls this *Ain-eš-šems*, "the pleasure seat of the Pharaoh, whom may God curse," just as *ibn el-Faraun* is an insulting designation of the Coptic fellah.

[2] Perhaps the present Tel el-Jehûdi points to the site of the old Jewish temple (Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 497).

fortress, was externally unlike that of Jerusalem; it stood for more than two hundred years (160 B.C.–72 A.D., when it was closed by command of Vespasian). It was magnificently equipped and much frequented, yet its recognition was a subject of dispute in Palestine and even in Egypt itself. It really lay בְּתוֹךְ אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם; but it is not feasible to see in that temple the fulfilment of the Isaianic prophecy; for this reason of itself, that it was built by Jews and for Jews. And where then would the obelisk have been which, as Isaiah prophesies, was to stand on the boundary of Egypt, *i.e.* on the side of the desert and of Canaan? The altar was not to be in fact a place of sacrifice, but, like the altars in Josh. xxii. 26, 27 and Ex. xvii. 15, was to be אוֹת, a monument that there were worshippers of Jehovah in Egypt, and the obelisk was to be a עֵד that Jehovah had proved Himself for the salvation of Egypt to be the God of the gods of Egypt. And if those who erected this place of worship and this monument now cry to Jehovah, He will show Himself ready to help them, and they will no more cry in vain as they formerly did to their idols (ver. 3). What is here spoken of is therefore the beginning of the conversion of the natives of Egypt. The fact that since the Greek period Judaism became a power in Egypt is certainly not out of relation to this. The Therapeutae, scattered through all the *νομοί* of Egypt as described by Philo (*Opp.* ii. p. 474, ed. Mangey), were of a mixed Egypto-Jewish nature. It was a victory of the Jehovah religion that Egypt was already covered in the pre-Christian period with Jewish synagogues and coenobia. Further, Alexandria did become the place where the law of Jehovah was rendered into Greek and became accessible to the heathen world, and where the religion of Jehovah created for itself the forms of speech and thought in which as Christianity it was to become the religion of the world. So, when Christianity had entered into the world, there were already towards the end of the first century more than one מצבה to be found by any one coming from Palestine to Egypt, and more than one מזבח to be found by any one when he had arrived in the middle of Egypt. Alexandria and the monachism and anchoritism of the Sinaitic peninsula and of

Egypt became of the greatest importance in the history of the spread of Christianity.[1]

When Egypt became the prey of Islam in the year 640, there had been, at least in magnificent prelude, a fulfilment of what the prophet prophesies in vers. 21, 22: "*And Jehovah gives Himself to be known to the Egyptians, and the Egyptians know Jehovah in that day; and they serve with slain-offerings and meat-offerings, and vow vows to Jehovah, and pay them. And Jehovah smites Egypt, smiting and healing; and when they return to Jehovah He lets Himself be entreated, and heals them.*" From that beginning of the five cities, and the solitary altar, and the one solitary obelisk, it has come to this, that Jehovah extends knowledge of Himself to the whole of Egypt (נוֹדַע, reflexive, *se cognoscendum dare,* or neuter, *innotescere*), and throughout all Egypt there arises the knowledge of the God made known in the history of salvation, and this knowledge shows itself in practice. This practice is described by the prophet, as was naturally to be expected, according to the views of the Old Testament, as consisting in the presentation of bloody and bloodless, legal and freewill offerings. וְעָבְדוּ, viz. אֶת־ה׳, and therefore עָבַד with the double accusative, as in Ex. x. 26; cf. Gen. xxx. 29: or perhaps directly in the sense of to sacrifice (Hitzig), as in the Phoenician, cf. עָשָׂה (*e.g.* in Ps. lxvi. 15), and the classical *ἔρδειν, ῥέζειν, facere, operari;* and even when thus taken it is no evidence against the authorship of Isaiah (cf. chap. xxviii. 21, xxxii. 17). Egypt, though converted, is still always a sinful people, but Jehovah smites them, נָגֹף וְרָפוֹא (cf. 1 Kings xx. 37), so that in the smiting the intention of healing prevails, and healing follows it, since the chastisement of God has the effect of leading them to repentance. Egypt therefore stands now under the same order of salvation as Israel (*e.g.* Lev. xxvi. 44; Deut. xxxii. 36).

Assyria is not less humiliated, as we know from chap. xviii. Accordingly the two great powers, which hitherto only met as enemies, now meet in the worship of Jehovah, which unites them. Ver. 23: "*In that day a road will lead from Egypt to Assur, and Assur comes unto Egypt, and Egypt to Assur; and*

[1] See my Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Arabia Petrea in the *Luth. Zeitschrift,* 1840, 4, and 1841, 1.

Egypt with Assur serves (the Lord)." אֶת is not a sign of the accusative, for there can be no more mention of a subjection of Egypt under Assyria; but it is a preposition of fellowship, and עָבְדוּ is not intended to mean that the two great powers which are now contending for the government of the world will then have become subservient (Hofmann); but it is to be understood, as in ver. 21, where the accusative of manner puts the object out of doubt. In this passage as well as in that one it has the sense of worship. The friendly intercourse between Egypt and Assyria is brought about by both peoples being converted to the God of revelation. The road of communication between them passes through Canaan.

Thus is prepared the highest that the prophet prophesies in vers. 24, 25: "*In that day will Israel be a third to Egypt and Assur, a blessing in the midst of the earth, inasmuch as Jehovah of hosts blesses it, saying: Blessed thou, my people, Egypt, and thou work of my hands, Assur, and thou, mine inheritance, Israel.*" Israel joins the covenant or federation of Egypt and Assyria, so that it becomes a tripartite confederation, in which Israel is שְׁלִישִׁיָּה, *tertia pars* (like עֲשִׂירִיָּה in chap. vi. 13, *decima pars*). Israel, the seed of the patriarch, is now at the goal of its calling: a blessing בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ, in the whole circuit of the earth, the peoples of which are here represented by Egypt and Assyria. Hitherto Israel lay to its own misfortune between Assyria and Egypt. The history of the kingdom of Ephraim, as well as that of Judah, proves this. When Israel leaned on Egypt, it deceived itself and was deceived; and when it leaned on Assyria, it became Assyria's slave, and had Egypt as its enemy. Thus Israel found itself confined in painful straits between the two great powers of the world. How this will now be altered! Egypt and Assyria become one in Jehovah, and Israel is the third party in the alliance or covenant. Israel then is no longer alone God's people, God's creation, God's inheritance, but Egypt and Assyria are each a third sharer with Israel. In order to express this, Israel's three names of honour are mixed together, and each of three peoples receives one of the precious names, of which נַחֲלָתִי is assigned to Israel as pointing back to the beginning of its history. This essential equalization of the heathen peoples with Israel is no degrada-

tion to the latter; for although henceforth there exists no essential distinction of the peoples in their relation to God, it is nevertheless always Israel's God who attains recognition, and Israel is the people which, according to the promise, has become the medium of blessing to the earth. Hence it is unnecessary to take the suffix of בֵּרֲכוֹ distributively; it applies to Israel, which is blessed by Jehovah since in blessing Egypt and Assyria He takes them along with it. There is thus fulfilled what was promised from of old, that in the seed of Abraham all the kindreds of the earth should bless themselves (Jer. iv. 2), and therefore be blessed; that seed has now really become a בְּרָכָה to all the world.

Thus has the second half of the prophecy ascended step by step from salvation to salvation, just as the first descended step by step from judgment to judgment. The culminating point in ver. 25 corresponds to the lowest point in ver. 15. Every step of the ascending half is marked with a בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא. Six times within vers. 16–25 do we read this finger-post pointing to the future. Generally speaking, this ביום ההוא is almost as characteristic of Isaiah as הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים is of Jeremiah (cf. *e.g.* Isa. vii. 18–25). And it is just the promising Messianic parts of the prophecy which love this fugue-like arrangement (chap. xi. 10, 11, xii. 1; cf. Zech. xii., xiii., xiv.). Nevertheless the genuineness of vers. 16–25 has lately been called in question, especially by Hitzig. But Caspari in a special dissertation (*Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1841, 3) has convincingly refuted the reasons put forward for questioning the genuineness of this passage. Cheyne and Driver both leave this whole prophecy to Isaiah as really belonging to him. The two halves of the prophecy are like the two wings of a bird. Moreover, it is only in virtue of its second half that the prophecy becomes the significant middle of the Ethiopic-Egyptian trilogy, for chap. xviii. prophesies the saving effect of the catastrophe of Assyria upon Ethiopia. And that Egypt and Assyria will also be spiritually overcome is prophesied in chap. xix. with its eschatological close, in which Egypt and Assyria are the representatives of the two halves of the heathen world.

The Symbol of the Fall of Egypt and Ethiopia, and its Interpretation, Chap. XX.

This third part of the trilogy, beginning in historical prose, introduces itself thus. Vers. 1, 2*a*: "*In the year when Tartan came to Ashdod, Sargon, the king of Assur, having sent him, and he made war against Ashdod, and took it: at that time spake Jehovah through Isaiah, son of Amos, as follows,*" *i.e.* He gave forth the following revelation through the medium of Isaiah (בְּיַד, as in chap. xxxvii. 24; Jer. xxxvii. 2, and frequently), a revelation which was attached to a symbolical acting of it. בְּיַד refers to what is to be announced by the prophet through the medium of what was enjoined upon him, and therefore to ver. 3, and only indirectly to ver. 2*b*. וַיִּלָּחֶם does not begin the apodosis to בִּשְׁנַת; it would then necessarily have been נִלְחַם; but the infinitive construction is thus carried on (cf. Ps. xxxiv. 1, lii. 2, liv. 2, lix. 1), so that בעת ההיא therefore takes up again and universalizes the בשנת. *Tartan* appears in 2 Kings xviii. 17 as the chief general of Sennacherib; the name (in Assyrian *tur-ta-nu*) is not a proper name, but the official title of the commander-in-chief of the army. An Assyrian king, סַרְגּוֹן,—or, according to the Masoretic correct writing, סַרְגֹן,—is not named elsewhere in the Old Testament; but we know now that Sargon was the successor of Shalmanassar.[1] The Book of Kings, indeed, names Shalmanassar as the conqueror of Samaria; but the form of expression used in 2 Kings xviii. 10 (וַיִּלְכְּדָהָ), which generally makes the Assyrians the conquerors, leaves open the possibility that what Shalmanassar begun was brought to an end under the command of another. The Eponym-lists which we now possess put it out of doubt that Shalmanassar IV. reigned as the successor of Tiglath-pileser II. from 727 to 723–2 B.C., and that Sargon, the successor of Shalmanassar IV., reigned from 722 to 705 B.C. It was

[1] On the transition here taking place from the Assyrian ס into the Hebrew שׁ, and the Assyrian שׁ into the Hebrew ס, see *Complutensische Varianten zum altest. Texte* (1878), p. 34, cf. 22 (on Hos. x. 14). The name in the inscriptions is *'Sar-u-kin*, sometimes also *Sa-ru-kina* (with ס). The interpretation wavers between "the king he commanded" (*ukîn*), *i.e.* God, or "king by right" (*kênu*). The prefixing of the object in *'Sarukin* is not surprising in Assyrian syntax (Friedr. Delitzsch, p. 142), but the subject is missed; and therefore the latter interpretation is to be preferred.

Longperrier who first established the identity of the monarch of the palaces of *Khorsâbâd*, which form the north-east corner of ancient Nineveh with the Biblical Sargon. These ruins seem to have been called, down to a late time, صرعون, and the old Assyrian name of the city was *Dûr-Sarrukên* (Sargon's Castle). We still possess a considerable number of inscriptions on bricks, harems, votive tablets, and in other forms, which bear the name of this king, and contain all kinds of testimonies by him to himself.[1] Sargon became the founder of a new dynasty,[2] and appears, after the death of Shalmanassar, to have incorporated the military exploits of the dead monarch in his own list of fame, as if he already had been at that time king. After the fall of Samaria in 722, according to his own annals in the inscriptions, ten years were spent in all sorts of wars with Merodach Baladan of Babylon, Jahubi'di of Hamath, etc., before he again, in the eleventh year of his reign (711), took up the plan of subduing Egypt. The attack upon Ashdod was only a means to this end. As the Philistines were led by their situation, and probably also by their kinship, to take the side of Egypt, the conquest of Ashdod (a fortress so strong that, according to Herodotus, ii. 157, Psammetichus besieged it for twenty-nine years) was an indispensable preliminary of the expedition against Egypt. Alexander the Great, when he marched against Egypt, had to do the same with Gaza. How long Tartan needed is apparently to be inferred from ver. 1. The conquest of Ashdod, according to the terms of ver. 1, took place in the year of the attack. The humiliation of Egypt must have followed not long thereafter, which, at least, is so far in accord with ascertained fact, that, as the annals of Sargon relate, soon after the fall of Ashdod, and in the same year, the king of Ethiopia tendered his submission. But in vers. 3, 4 this submission is dated three years later, reckoning from the time when Isaiah had to go stripped and barefooted. Hence the direction given by Jehovah to Isaiah must have gone forth three years earlier, and the vague בעת ההיא points back to that time. Or otherwise, it

[1] Enumerated by Schrader in his *KAT*², pp. 394–396. [*Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 2nd ed. Giessen 1883.]

[2] First recognized by Oppert, *Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides et les Fastes de Ninive*, Versailles 1862.

belongs to ויאמר, if the punctuation is put thus: In that time after Jehovah had spoken . . . He said. The latter view is the more probable, since דִּבֶּר ה' בְּיַד does not introduce a prophecy, but a direction, and therefore what begins with בעת ההיא points to ver. 3.

The direction received ran thus. Ver. 2*b*: "*Go and loosen the frock from thy loins, and draw thy shoes from thy feet! And he did so, went stripped and barefooted.*" We see from this that Isaiah was dressed in the same way as Elijah in 2 Kings i. 8 (cf. Zech. xiii. 4; Heb. xi. 37), who wore a fur coat; and like John the Baptist, who had on a garment of camel's hair, with a leather girdle around it (Matt. iii. 4); for שַׂק is a coarse linen or hairy overcoat of a dark colour (Rev. vi. 12; cf. Isa. l. 3), such as mourners wore either on the bare body (עַל־הַבָּשָׂר, 1 Kings xxi. 27; 2 Kings vi. 30; Job xvi. 15) or over the tunic, in both cases fastened by means of a girdle; and hence not לָבַשׁ, but חָגַר, is the usual word employed to indicate the putting of it on. That the former was the case here is not to be inferred from עָרוֹם (see, on the contrary, 2 Sam. vi. 20, cf. 14; John xxi. 7). Owing to the great importance which is attributed to clothing from the standpoint of Oriental culture and manners, any one who appears without the upper garment is already regarded as naked and bare. Isaiah has to lay off the garment of the preacher of repentance and of the mourner, so that only his tunic, כְּתֹנֶת, remains; and in this dress, and moreover barefooted, he has to appear in public. It is the costume of a man who had been robbed and disgraced, of a beggar, it may be, or a prisoner of war. כֵּן is followed by the inf. abs., which develops the meaning as in chap. v. 5, lviii. 6, 7.

The meaning and duration of this unclothing of himself is not learned by Isaiah until after he has acted according to the divine direction. Vers. 3, 4: "*Then said Jehovah, Even as my servant Isaiah has gone naked and barefooted, three years long a sign and type concerning Egypt and concerning Ethiopia: so will the king of Assur lead away the prisoners of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia, children and old men, naked and barefooted, and with bared seat—a shame of Egypt.*" This address of Jehovah, the word of Jehovah ביד ישעיהו, prepared for by ver. 2, took place after the lapse of three years (Cheyne), when

the fate of Ashdod was decided. The unseemly strange dress of the prophet, if he appeared through the whole three years in the exercise of his office, was a token and type (מוֹפֵת, as in Ezek. xxiv. 24) of the fall of the Egypto-Ethiopian kingdom, which occurred after the lapse of these three years. Egypt and Ethiopia were then one kingdom, so that the shame of Egypt is at the same time the shame of Ethiopia. עֶרְוָה is shameful bareness, and עֶרְוַת מִצְרָיִם is in apposition to all that precedes it in ver. 4. How prisoners are deprived of clothing and shoes is shown, for example, in 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. שֵׁת is the seat or buttocks (see Bernstein in *DMZ.* ix. 872), as in 2 Sam. x. 4, being derived from שָׁתָה, to set a nominal form, like בֵּן, עֵץ, חֵץ, שֵׁם, with the third radical letter dropped. חֲשׂוּפַי has the same *ay* as the words in chap. xix. 9, Judg. v. 15, Jer. xxii. 14, but they are hardly to be taken as construct forms (although ־ֵי of the construct undoubtedly has arisen from ־ַי); they are rather singular forms with a collective signification. The emendations חֲשׂוּפֵי (Olshausen, Nägelsbach) or חֲשׂוּפִי, with the *i* of connection (Meier), are unnecessary.

If, then, Egypt and Ethiopia are so shamefully humbled, what sort of impression will that make upon those who proudly and securely trust to the great power which is supposed to be unapproachable and invincible? Vers. 5, 6: "*And they are terrified, and see themselves deceived by Ethiopia, to which they looked, and by Egypt, of which they vaunted. And the inhabitant of this coastland says on that day, Behold, thus it happens to those to whom we looked, whither we fled for help to save us from the king of Assur, and how should we, we escape?*" With תִּפְאֶרֶת, show, splendour, מַבָּט is parallel, which is a synonym of מִבְטָח, according to which the Targum renders it. On בּוֹשׁ מִן compare chap. i. 29, Jer. ii. 36. The question with אֵיךְ is quite the same as in 2 Kings x. 4. אִי, which means both island and coastland, is in Zeph. ii. 5 a name of Philistia, and in chap. xxiii. 2, 6 a name of Phoenicia; and hence Knobel and others understand it here as meaning the former with inclusion of the latter. But as the Assyrians, when they marched against Egypt, had already measured themselves with the Phoenicians and Philistines, Isaiah has doubtless the Jews chiefly in his mind (Ewald, Drechsler,

Meier, Luzzatto), as Jerome already remarks: *Juda speravit in Aegyptiis et Aegyptus destruatur.* The expressions are also entirely the same as those in which we shall afterwards hear Isaiah scathing the Egyptianizing policy of Judah. However, יֹשֵׁב הָאִי הַזֶּה signifies the inhabitants of the Palestinian coast-land in general, among whom Judah is included, because it denies so untheocratically the character of the Jehovah-people. The profane designation divests the people and land of their holiness.

The conquest of Samaria falls in the first year of Sargon (722 B.C.). In the second year, according to his *Annals*, he put the Egyptian ruler (*Šilṭannu*) *Sabi* (Sevech) to flight at Raphia, and took his ally *Hanûn*, the king of Gaza, prisoner. In his eleventh year he deposed the rebellious king Azuri of Ashdod; and when the people of Ashdod expelled Aḥimit, the brother of Azuri, whom he had put in his place, and raised a certain *Jaman* to the throne, he marches against Ashdod and conquers it in the self-same year. *Jaman* fled to Egypt, to the confines of Ethiopia, but was delivered up to Sargon by the ruler of that region. The voluntary anticipative submission of the Ethiopian ruler was a commencement of what Isaiah prophesies, but the subjection of the Nile-land did not come till the time of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal, his son, the conqueror of Thebes (Nah. iii. 8–10). The hope of Judah in Egypt turned out for Judah's destruction, as Isaiah prophesies. But the catastrophe before Jerusalem was not yet the end of Assyria. Nor did the campaigns of Sargon and Sennacherib yet bring about the end of Egypt, nor were the triumphs of Jehovah and of the prophecy concerning Assyria yet the means for the conversion of Egypt. In all this the fulfilment shows in the prophecy an element of human hope drawing the distant into immediate nearness, and this element it eliminates. For the fulfilment is divine, but the prophecy is divine and human.

The Oracle concerning the Desert of the Sea (Babylon), Chap. XXI. 1–10.

Ewald's explanation of this and similar headings is that they are additions made by the ancient readers. Even

Vitringa ascribed them at first to the collectors, though later he saw that this was inadmissible. As matter of fact, it is not possible to understand how the title מִדְבַּר־יָם could be derived from the prophecy itself, for יָם (everywhere the west) cannot mean the south (=נֶגֶב), and there is no mention of a sea in the prophecy. The heading is symbolical. The four Massas, xxi. 1–10, 11–12, 13–17, xxii., in virtue of their symbolical titles (cf. xxx. 6), as also their visionary form and the numerous points at which their contents come into contact, unite closely to form a tetralogy. The representation of the prophet as a watchman is common to the first and second Massas, while in the fourth Jerusalem is called the valley of vision, because in it is the watch-tower whence the prophet views the future destinies of Babylon, Edom, and Arabia. As in the first two Elam and Madai march against Babylon, so in the fourth (xxii. 6) do Kir and Elam against Jerusalem; even the mode of expression is strikingly similar in both (cf. xxii. 6 sq. with xxi. 7). As regards the symbolical headings, it is to be noted that Isaiah is fond of symbolical names, xxix. 1, xxx. 7, and מִדְבַּר־יָם for Babylon and its surroundings is one such. Chap. xxi. 1–10, especially in the framework of a tetralogy, impresses one strongly with the idea that it is Isaianic. This impression is so strong that Cheyne, Driver, G. A. Smith, following Kleinert's example (1877), hold that this second משׂא בבל, as distinguished from the first, xiii.–xiv. 23, is the work of the original Isaiah. This they do by referring it, not to the conquest of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus in 538, but to the conquest of Babylon, the seat of Merodach Baladan's government, by the Assyrians under Sargon in 710 (not the first conquest in 721, but that in 710, the twelfth year of Sargon's reign, who from that time calls himself king of Babylon). Though once beaten by Sargon, Merodach Baladan had again established himself in Babylon, and, having sought helpers since his defeat, he tried not only to be the independent ruler of North and South Babylon, but also to contest with the Assyrians the position of ruler of the world. If the messengers of Merodach Baladan to Hezekiah (Isa. xxxix.) are some of the commissioners whom for the space of twelve years Merodach Baladan was constantly dispatching, the pain expressed in this prophecy

becomes all the more intelligible. The prophet is announcing the fall of that Babylon with the hope of having which for a bulwark against Assyria his people are deceiving themselves —the city of the secret confederate falls a prey to Assyria, and now Judah has to expect its vengeance. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that this historical setting of the oracle does not suffice for the purpose of retaining the Isaianic authorship. The Babylon whose fall he prophesies is the very same torment of the peoples as is mentioned in chap. xiv., the threshing-floor is the exile, and it may be asked how can Elamite and Median contingents be expected in the army of Assyria that marched against Merodach Baladan, seeing that Elam was the hereditary enemy of Assyria, and both by nature and in fact, the nearest ally of Merodach Baladan?[1] Moreover, while in this way, on the one hand, an original composition of Isaiah is reclaimed by these three English critics from being assigned as hitherto to a later date, on the other hand the prophecy, xxxix. 6 sq., which foresees in Babylon the future mistress of the world, becomes to them unintelligible, and on this account open to suspicion.[2] Rather than pay so dearly for maintaining Isaiah's authorship in the case of xxi. 1–10, we hold that this piece is Deutero-Isaianic, but emphasize at the same time that the criticism of the Book of Isaiah, far from having attained finality, is still in constant flux.

We return to the heading. The continent on which Babylon stands is a מִדְבָּר, a great plain running south-westwards into *Arabia deserta*, and it is so broken up by the Euphrates as well as by marshes and lakes that it floats as it were in the sea. The low land on the Lower Euphrates was in a manner wrested from the sea, for before Semiramis constructed the dams the Euphrates used to overflow the whole like a sea (*πελαγίζειν*, Herod. i. 184). Abydenus even says that at first the whole of it was water, and was also called *θάλασσα* (Euseb. *Praep.* ix. 41); and the monuments call South Babylonia simply *mât tâmtim*, the sea land, and its king *šar* (*mât*) *tâmtim*, the king of the sea. The prophet's reason

[1] Schrader, *KAT*², pp. 346, 351, 353.

[2] [Professor Driver has pointed out that this is an oversight so far as he is concerned; see his *Isaiah* in the "Men of the Bible" series, pp. 96, 127. —Tr.]

for using this roundabout name may be inferred from xiv. 23; the origin and natural features of Babylon are made into ominous prognostics of its ultimate fate. Jeremiah (li. 13, l. 38) gives the correct interpretation.

The power which first brings destruction on the city of the world, is a hostile army representing various peoples. Vers. 1, 2: "*Like storms, which sweep along in the south, it comes from the desert, from a terrible land. A hard vision is made known to me: The robber robs and the waster wasteth. Go up, Elam! Surround, Madai! I put an end to all their sighing.*" סופות בַּנֶּגֶב (cf. xxviii. 21; Amos iii. 9) are storms which rise in the south, and therefore, in the case of Babylon, proceed out of the south or south-east, and which, like all winds coming from open steppes, are exceedingly violent (Job i. 19, xxxvii. 9, see this; Hos. xiii. 15). Accordingly it lies to hand to connect מִמִּדְבָּר with לַחֲלוֹף (Knobel, Umbreit), but the objection to this is the arrangement of the words. לַחֲלוֹף, "in the act of pressing forwards," instead of יַחֲלֹף (see Gesen. § 132, Rem. 1, and in fuller detail note on Hab. i. 17)—the *conj. periphrastica*, in order to express the violent rush associated with the onward movement—has great weight at the conclusion of the comparison. Of course the Medo-Persian army, if it advanced by the same road as did Cyrus, could not be said to come מִמִּדְבָּר. For, according to Herod. i. 189, he came over the Gyndes, and therefore descended into the Babylonian lowlands by the road described by Isidor of Charax in his *Itinerarium*,[1] *i.e.* over the Zagros pass through the Zagros gate to the upper course of the Gyndes, and along this stream which he crossed before its junction with the Tigris, through Chalonitis and Apolloniatis. If the Medo-Persian army, however, at least the Median part of it proper, descended into the lowlands of Chuzistan by following the course of the Choaspes (*Kerkha*)—the route passed over by Major Rawlinson with a Guran regiment[2]—and so advanced from the south-east against Babylon, it could be regarded in several respects as coming ממדבר, chiefly because the lowlands of Chuzistan form a broad open plain, a מדבר.

[1] See C. Masson's "Illustration of the Route from Seleucia to Apobatana, as given by Isid. of Charax," in *Asiatic Jour.* xii. 97 sqq.

[2] See Rawlinson's route in Ritter's *Erdkunde*, ix. 3 (West Asia), p. 397 sqq.

The comparison with the storms of the south seems really to presuppose that the hostile army advanced from Chuzistan, or (since it is not to be supposed that geographical distinctions are strictly observed) from the direction of the desert of *ed-Dahna*, the portion of *Arabia deserta* which bounds the lowlands of Chaldaea on the south-west. The Medo-Persian land itself is called אֶרֶץ נוֹרָאָה, because it lies outside the circle of civilised nations by which the land of Israel is surrounded. After the opening statement of his theme in ver. 1, conform to Isaianic custom, the prophet makes as it were a fresh start with ver. 2. חָזוּת has the same meaning here as in xxix. 11 (not, however, as in xxviii. 18); חָזוּת קָשָׁה is the object of the passive that follows (Gesen. § 143. 1*b*). The prophet calls the glance into the future vouchsafed him by divine inspiration קָשָׁה, hard or heavy (in the sense of *difficilis* however, not of *gravis*, כָּבֵד), on account of the repellent, hardly endurable, and so to speak hardly digestible impression which it makes on him. The contents are wide-spreading spoliation and devastation (the expression like xxxiii. 1, cf. xvi. 4, xxiv. 16: בָּגַד, *tegere*, then *tecte agere*, of faithless, deceitful, then thievish action), and summons of the peoples on the east and north of Babylonia to the conquest of Babylon (צוּרִי, *Milra*, see on li. 9); for Jehovah brings to an end (הִשְׁבַּתִּי, as in xvi. 10) all their sighing (אַנְחָתָה with accented *ult.*, and therefore ה *raphatum pro mappicato*, as frequently in the Book of Isaiah, see on xlv. 6; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 20; Job xxxi. 22; Hos. ii. 8), *i.e.* all the lamentation which the oppressor has wrung out on every hand (an abridgment of xiv. 3–6).

Here, as in the case of the prophecy concerning Moab, the humanity of the prophet is affected by the contents of the vision vouchsafed him; it acts on him like a horrible dream. Vers. 3, 4: "*Therefore are my loins full of cramp; pangs have taken hold of me, like the pangs of a woman in travail: I writhe so that I hear not, I am overcome with fear so that I see not. Wildly beats my heart, horror has disturbed me, the darkness of night that I love he hath turned for me into quaking.*" The prophet does not carry out into detail the description of what he sees, but we may infer how horrible it

is from the exceeding violence of the effect it produced. חַלְחָלָה is spasmodic writhing, as in Nah. ii. 11; צִירִים is properly used of birth-pangs; נַעֲוָה, to bow oneself, to bend, also used of convulsive manifestation of pain; תָּעָה (otherwise than in Ps. xcv. 10; cf., however, Ps. xxxviii. 11) is used of irregular feverish beating of the pulse. מִשְּׁמֹעַ and מֵרְאוֹת are equivalent to negative consequential sentences as everywhere else; once only, Eccles. i. 8, does מִשְּׁמֹעַ occur in another than a negative sense. The darkness of evening and night, which the prophet so loves (חֵשֶׁק, desire from inclination, 1 Kings ix. 1, 19) and, as a rule, wishes for, in order that he may give himself over to contemplation or to rest from outward and inward work, is changed for him by the frightful vision into quaking. According to Herod. i. 191, and Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 23, it was during a nocturnal feast that Babylon was stormed. As in Dan. v. 30, cf. Jer. li. 39, 57, so in ver. 5 something of the kind is pointed to. *They spread the table, watch the watch, eat, drink—Arise, ye princes! anoint the shield!* This is not a scene from the hostile camp, where they are bracing themselves for the attack on Babylon, for *instruere mensam* is intended to convey the impression of a secure careless life of pleasure, and the summons "anoint the shield" (cf. Jer. li. 11) presupposes that they are not expecting to have to fight. What the prophet sees therefore is a feast in Babylon. Only one of the vividly pictorial infinitives (Ges. § 131. 4*b*), viz. צָפֹה הַצָּפִית, seems not to square with this. Hitzig's explanation, "they spread carpets out" (as in Talmud צִיפָא, צִפְּתָא, mat, *storea*), has no support in the language of the Bible, and on this account we prefer, along with the Targum, Pesh. Jerome (LXX. does not translate the words at all), to understand the ἀπ. λεγ. צָפִית of sentinel-duty,—sentinel-duty (from צָפָה צִפָּה, *speculari*) is attended to. Content with this one precaution, they all the more wildly gave themselves up to their debauch (cf. xxii. 13). The prophet mentions this matter, because it is by the sentinels that the cry, "Up, ye princes," etc., is addressed to the revellers. It was customary to oil the leather of the shields in order that it might present a shining surface and not suffer from damp, in particular, however, that blows might glance off (cf. *laeves clypeos* in Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 626). The foolish self-confidence of the

chief men of Babylon shows that they needed this summons; they think themselves so safe behind the walls and waters of the city that they have not even got their weapons ready for use.

The prophecy is now continued with כִּי; this is what is doing in Babylon, for the destruction of Babylon is decreed. This thought appears in the form of an instruction to the prophet in a vision that he should station a מְצַפֶּה on the watch-tower to look out and see what more happens. Ver. 6: "*For thus said the Lord to me: Go, place a watchman; what he sees, let him declare.*" The introduction runs as in xviii. 4, לֵךְ, as in xx. 2. Elsewhere it is the prophet himself who stands on the watch-tower (ver. 11; Hab. ii. 1 sq.); in this vision he is distinguished from the person whom he stations on the watch-tower (*specula*). The first thing that presents itself to the view of the occupant of the watch-tower is a long long procession—the army of the foe in orderly, silent, caravan-like, self-confident march. Ver. 7: "*And he saw a cavalcade, pairs of horsemen, a train of asses, a train of camels; and he listened sharply, as sharply as he could listen.*" רֶכֶב, here as in ver. 9 the leading idea, and placed accordingly, means, in general, a cavalcade, just as in Arabic رَكْبٌ means a caravan mounted on camels. In front, then, there was a cavalcade of horsemen (פָּרָשִׁים from פָּרָשׁ = فارِس, rider on horseback) arranged two and two—for Persians and Medes fought either on foot or on horseback (in the latter way from the time of Cyrus at least, *Cyrop.* iv. 3). Next came trains of asses and camels, a large number of which accompanied the Persian armies for various purposes. They not only carried baggage and provisions, but were also taken into battle in order to throw the enemy into confusion. Thus Cyrus carried the battle against the Lydians by means of the great number of his camels (Herod. i. 80), and Darius Hystaspis a battle against the Scythians by means of the great number of his asses (iv. 129). Some of the subjugated peoples rode on asses and camels; the Arabs in the army of Xerxes on camels, the Caramanians on asses. What the watchman sees is therefore the Persian army. But he only sees, and though

he listens, and that "listening, greatness of listening" (קֶשֶׁב, as in 1 Kings xviii. 29; whereas in 2 Kings iv. 31, קֶשֶׁב should be written with Abulwalîd on MS. authority), *i.e.* he strains, straining to the very utmost stretch (רַב, substantive, as in lxiii. 7; Ps. cxlv. 7; and הִקְשִׁיב, in accordance with its radical idea "to stiffen," *sc.* the ear), still he hears nothing, because the long train moves on in deathly silence; at last the long train too disappears, he sees nothing and hears nothing, and impatience takes possession of him. Ver. 8: "*Then he cried with the voice of a lion, 'Upon the watch-tower, O All-Lord, I stand continually by day, and at my post I keep my stand all the nights.'*" His patience fails, and he roars as if he were a lion (cf. Rev. x. 3); with a like angrily sullen voice, with a like long deep full-drawn breath, he complains to God that he has now stood so long at his post without seeing anything except that inexplicable vanished train. But just as he was about to have his say out, the complaint died away in his mouth. Ver. 9: "*And behold there came a cavalcade of men, pairs of horsemen, and began and spoke: Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and all the images of its gods he has dashed to the ground.*" It is now clear to him where the long train went to when it vanished. It has entered Babylon, has made itself master of the city, and established itself there. Now after a long time a smaller cavalcade appears to announce the news of victory, and the watchman hears them triumphantly call, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon." The subject of שִׁבַּר (thus, out of pause for שִׁבֵּר, Ex. ix. 25) is Jehovah; even the heathen conquerors are compelled to acknowledge that the fall of Babylon and its פְּסִילִים (cf. Jer. li. 47, 52) is the work of the God of Israel.

The gloomy vision of the prophet is intended to comfort Israel. Ver. 10: "*O thou my threshing and child of my threshing-floor! what I have heard from Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, that I have announced to you.*" Threshing, דּוּשׁ, is a figure that expresses crushing subjugation, xli. 15, Micah iv. 12 sq., and judicial punishment, Jer. li. 33 (a parallel, which we must not allow to mislead us, seeing that Jeremiah in this case as frequently has given another turn to the Isaianic figure), or as in the passage before us disciplinary scourges, in which wrath and good intention mingle. Israel,

under the tyrannical supremacy of the world-empire, is called מְדֻשָׁתִי (this, not מְדֻשְׁתִּי, is the reading), *i.e.* the grain which he threshes, but under limitations (xxviii. 28). It is also called בֶּן־גָּרְן, inasmuch as it is considered fit for the threshing-floor (cf. בִּן הַכּוֹת, one who deserves scourging, Deut. xxv. 2), and is transported thither in order after enduring punishment to come out threshed and winnowed. Babylon is the instrument employed by the divine wrath to thresh with. But love takes part also in the work of threshing, and restrains the action of wrath. A picture likely to give comfort to the grain lying for threshing on the floor, *i.e.* to the people of Israel which, mowed down as it were and removed from its native soil, had been banished to Babylon, and there subjected to a tyrannical rule,—that is what the prophet in his vision has perceived (שָׁמַעְתִּי, as in xxviii. 22).

THE ORACLE CONCERNING THE SILENCE OF DEATH (EDOM), CHAP. XXI. 11, 12.

This oracle consists of a question addressed to the prophet from Seïr, and of the prophet's answer. Seïr is the hill country in the south of Palestine which was taken possession of by Edom after the expulsion of the Horites. Thus דּוּמָה of the heading cannot be any of the places of this name elsewhere with which we are acquainted. It is not the Judean דּוּמָה, Josh. xv. 52; nor the *Dûma* in the Damascene *Gûṭa;* nor one of the *Dûmas* (*Dauma*) in the district of the Euphrates and Tigris. It is not even the *Dûma* of the Eastern Hauran, but, supposing that the word is the name of a place, the *Dûma* (Gen. xxv. 14) in the lowest district of the Syrian *Nufûd* country, the so-called جوف (Gôf). It was situated on the great Nabataean line of traffic between the northern ports of the Red Sea and 'Irâk, and was called more exactly *Dûmat el-ǵendel*, or "the rocky Dûma," because lying in a basin surrounded on every side by rugged sandstone hills.[1] This Arabian *Dûma* lies eastwards from the mountains of Seïr (now *'Serâh*), and was a settlement (*ḥaḍîra*) for a time at least loosely united with

[1] Duma itself is also called الجوف; *nufûd* are tracts of loose sandy ground. See *DMZ.* x. 828 sq., 742.

Edom. That the name of this דּוּמָה[1] should appear in the heading of the oracle, is due to the circumstance that this very name lent itself to symbolical treatment. דּוּמָה from דּוּם, to smooth, to still, is entire deep silence, and therefore the land of the dead (Ps. xciv. 17, cxv. 17). The name אדום, by the removal of the sound at the beginning to the end of the word, is made the emblem of the fate of Edom. It becomes a land of deathly silence, of deathly sleep, of deathly gloom.[2] To this the inquiry from Seïr corresponds. Ver. 11: "*A cry comes to me from Sĕʻîr: Watchman, how far is it in the night? Watchman, how far in the night?*" Those making this inquiry are not Israelites (Hitzig), the cry proceeds from Seïr; an oracle occupying a place between oracles concerning Babylon and Arabia, in virtue of its very position refers to the inhabitants of Seïr. Luther translates קֹרֵא rightly "they cry" (*man ruft*), for it is a participial present with a perfectly general subject (as in xxx. 24, xxxiii. 4). It is only for the purpose of bringing out to some extent the change from מִלַּיְלָה to מִלֵּיל that, as regards the rest, we have departed from Luther's excellent translation. The more winged form of the second question expresses heightened anxious urgency; they would like to hear that already the night is well through, and will soon be over. מִן is used partitively (Saad.)—What part of the night is it now? Just as a sick person wishes for the end of a sleepless night, and is constantly inquiring as to the hour; so the inquiry comes to the prophet from Edom whether the night of trouble will not soon be past. It must not, however, be supposed that messengers from Edom really, as matter of fact, came to Isaiah. The event possessed only a spiritual reality. What now is the prophet's answer? He lets the inquirers see, δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, in ver. 12: "*Watchman says, Morning cometh and also night. If you will inquire, inquire! Return, come.*" The answer intentionally takes a kind of foreign

[1] The Codex of Rabbi Meir had for דומה the reading רומה (רומי), Jerus. Talm., *Taanith* i. 1 (by the people Edom was regarded as equivalent to Rome), cf. Jerome on our passage, *Quidam Hebraeorum pro Duma Romam legunt.*

[2] By Arabian poets a wilderness is mentioned, called أُصْمُتْ, "be silent!"

form, though Nägelsbach goes too far when he says, "the prophet mocks them with Edomitic sounds." אָתָא (with א at the end, like اتا = *atawa*, according to another reading אָתָה, as in Deut. xxxiii. 2, Arab. اتى = *ataya*) is the Aramaic word for בּוֹא, while בָּעָה (בְּעָא) is the Aramaic word for שָׁאַל, and from בְּעִי, بغى, the fundamental form of the latter, are formed here the imperfect *tib'āyûn* (as in xxxiii. 7) and the imperative *b*ᵉ*āyu*. The analogous imperative from אתה (אתי) is אֱתָיו; here, however, it is pointed in Syrian fashion, as in lvi. 9, 12, אֵתָיו. What is the meaning of the verse? Ewald (*Gram*. § 354*a*) gives וְגַם here the meaning of "and yet" (ὅμως δέ). Morning comes, and yet it remains night, inasmuch as the dawning morning will be at once swallowed up again by night. There is a difference between the cases of Edom and Israel, for the night of Israel's history has for irrevocably fixed close a promised dawn. The prophet therefore sends the inquirers home. If they wish to make further inquiries, they may do so, they may return and come. There is a significant hint in שֻׁבוּ. The prophet has a comforting answer for them only if they return, come, *i.e.* only if they come converted. So long as there is no change on them, their future is enveloped in endless night for the prophet as much as for themselves.

The Oracle in the Evening, Chap. XXI. 13–17.

The heading, when pointed מַשָּׂא בַּעֲרָב, means (according to Zech. ix. 1, cf. Isa. ix. 7) oracle against Arabia. But why have we not מַשָּׂא עֲרָב, seeing that in the three other headings the simple genitive follows משׂא? Is this the only heading of the four that is not symbolical? The object of the ב, by which it is distinguished, is almost certainly to make it symbolical. The prophet undoubtedly pronounced it בָּעֶרֶב (Cheyne), and the LXX. Targum, Syr. Jerome, and Arab. thus read the second בערב, though there was no necessity for their doing so. Even without this change on בַּעְרַב the oracle begins with an evening scene, and on this ground the Massa received its symbolical title. Just as אֱדוֹם becomes דּוּמָה, because a night without a morning falls on the mountain land of Seïr, so בַּעֲרָב will it soon be בָּעֶרֶב, seeing that the sun of Arabia is sinking,

the darkness of evening is settling over it, and the land of the Orient is becoming a land of the Occident. Vers. 13–15: "*In the wilderness in Arabia ye must pass the night, caravans of the Dedanites. To the thirsty bring water! The inhabitants of the land of Tema come with his bread before the fugitive. For before swords they are fleeing, before a drawn sword, and before a bent bow, and before oppressive war.*" There is the less call for making any alteration on בַּיַּעַר בַּעְרַב, that the second ב (wilderness in Arabia = of Arabia) corresponds to Isaianic usage (xxviii. 21, ix. 2, cf. 2 Sam. i. 21; Amos iii. 9). עֲרַב, عَرَب, Ezek. xxvii. 21 (in pause, עֲרָב, Jer. xxv. 24), is the collective for עַרְבִים (xiii. 20), عَرَبِيُّون, inhabitants of the ʿAraba deserticola,[1] and יַעַר is here the solitary barren wilderness as distinguished from the land covered with cities and villages. Wetzstein[2] remarks, that to say they will have to flee from the steppe into the wood would be a promise rather than a threat—a shady tree is the most delightful dream of the Beduin; in the wood he finds not only shade, but a constant supply of green pasture, and fuel for his hospitable hearth,—and so he explains it: "Ye will take refuge in the *wʿar* of Arabia," *i.e.* the open steppe will no longer afford you protection, and so you will be forced to hide yourselves in the *wʿar*. وَعْر is the name applied to the trachytic district of the Syro-Hauranitic volcanoes which is covered with a layer of stones. Undoubtedly in יער, as used here, the idea of a wilderness is more prominent than that of wood. The meaning then is: the trading caravans (אֹרְחוֹת, wandering troops, like נִדְגָּלוֹת, bannered troops, Cant. vi. 4) of the Dedanites journeying from east to west, probably to Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 20), whom the war in its progress from north to south has driven from the ordinary route followed by such traders, must encamp in the wilderness. The prophet,

[1] It was only at a later time that عَرَبِيَّة, 'Ἀραβία, was used as the name of the deserts of the Arabian peninsula regarded as a whole. See Wetzstein, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. vii. pp. 463–465.

[2] *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1859, p. 123.

whose sympathy in this instance mingles itself also with the revelation, asks water for the panting fugitives. הֵתָיוּ (according to the Eastern reading, הֵיתָיוּ), as in Jer. xii. 9, is the imperat. = הֵאתָיוּ = הֵאֱתָיוּ (Ges. § 76. 2*c*); cf. 2 Kings ii. 3, and هَاتِ, give. קִדְּמוּ, which is more suited to the parallelism, is read by Targum, Ewald, Diestel; but קִדְּמוּ increases the vividness of the picture. "His bread," לַחְמוֹ, refers to נֹדֵד; it is the bread which was needful for him, the fugitive, in order to save him. The request is addressed to the Temanites. It is open to discussion whether תֵּימָא (تَيْمَاءُ) means the trans-Hauranitic *Têmâ*, three-quarters of an hour from which there is a *Dûma*,[1] or the *Têmâ*, situated on the pilgrim-road from Damascus to Mecca between *Tebûk* and *Wâdi-el-korâ*, almost equally distant (four days) from both these places and from *Chaibar*,[2] and lying forty hours in a southerly direction from the Duma of the Syrian desert. The latter is the more probable. Just as uncertain is it whether by the caravans of the Dedanites are meant those of the so-called Cushites (Gen. x. 7), who, according to Wetzstein, lived in North-Eastern Africa, and provided for the transport of caravans between Egypt and Ethiopia on the one hand, and Syria and the Tigris-Euphrates districts on the other; or those of the Keturean Dedanites, whose name, according to Wetzstein, is preserved in that of the ruined city الدِّيدَان (*Yakût*, ii. p. 636), which he places at the eastern base of the mountains of Ḥismâ. While it seems as if Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20, xxxviii. 13 must be understood of the Cushite Dedanites, there can be no doubt that Ezek. xxv. 13, Jer. xxv. 23, xlix. 8 have in view the Keturean Dedanites, to the borders of whose district the land of Edom stretched. Our prophet also seems to refer to these. While on their way to the Euphrates regions, especially Babylon, they were driven by the bursting of the war-cloud southwards into the parched sandy desert as far as Têmâ, to which the prophet appeals on behalf of these thirsty and hungry ones for kindly and hospitable treatment. Drechsler

[1] See Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, p. 202.
[2] See Sprenger, *Post und Reiserouten des Orients*, part i. (1864) p. 118 sq.

well remarks, How mortifying to be forced to show hospitality, that on which the Arab most prides himself, in so restricted a manner, and with such indecent secrecy! But no other course is open; for, as the four times repeated מִפְּנֵי shows, without pause the arms of the foe press forward (נְטוּשָׁה, used of the sword, and in *Sanhedrin* 95*b* of the sickle, like פְּתוּחָה, in the sense, drawn for the purpose of cutting at, Ezek. xxi. 33), and, without pause, the war, like an overwhelming Colossus, rolls on its onward way.

Thus is realized and pictured by the prophet the impending fate of Arabia, which is revealed to him in vers. 16, 17: "*For thus hath the All-Lord spoken unto me: Within a year as the years of a hireling, it is over with all the glory of Kedar. And the remnant of the number of bows of the heroes of the Kedarenes will be small, for Jehovah the God of Israel has spoken.*" Here the noun קֵדָר (Assyr. *Ḳidru*) is a general name for the Arabian tribes. In its narrower sense, Kedar, like the neighbouring Nebaioth, is a tribe of Ishmaelite nomads, whose camping-ground extended to the Elanite Gulf. In a year's time, calculated as exactly as is the custom between employers and employed, Kedar's freedom, military strength, numbers, and wealth (these together being its כָּבוֹד) shall have vanished. Only a small remnant is left of the brave archer sons of Kedar. They are numbered here, not by heads, but by bows, so specifying the fighting men — a mode of numbering common, for example, among the Indians of America. The noun שְׁאָר is followed here by five genitives (just as פְּרִי is by four, x. 12; see Ges. § 114. 1), and the predicate יִמְעָטוּ is in the plural because of the fulness of content of the subject. The time specified for the fulfilment of the prophecy apparently ties us down to the Assyrian period—though Wetzstein connects the oracles concerning Edom and Arabia with that concerning Babylon, the fall of which threatens Edom and the tribes of the desert with bloody subjection to the new Medo-Persian world monarchy. We have no exact information as to the fulfilment. In Herodotus (ii. 141, cf. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1. 4) Sennacherib is called *βασιλεὺς 'Αραβίων τε καὶ 'Ασσυρίων*, and both Sargon and Sennacherib, in the annals of their reigns, boast of the subjugation of Arab tribes. Jeremiah, however, prophesies in the Chaldean period similar things

against Edom and against Kedar (chap. xlix., where xlix. 30 sq. is in reciprocal relation to the oracle in Isaiah). After a short glimmer of morning, night has fallen for the second time on Edom, evening for the second time on Arabia.

The Oracle concerning the Valley of Vision (Jerusalem), Chap. XXII. 1–14.

The חָזוּת concerning Babylon, and the no less visionary prophecies concerning Edom and Arabia, are followed by a Massa, the object of which is the גֵּיא חִזָּיוֹן itself. Of course these four prophecies did not originally form a group of four as they now stand side by side. Only at a later date were they collected into such a group, and to this, notwithstanding that the cycle of prophecy in chaps. xii.–xxiii. referred to the nations of the world, was attached this prophecy against Jerusalem, resembling them as it did in having a symbolical heading, and in being of the nature of a vision. The internal arrangement of this group was not determined by the chronological sequence of composition, but by the idea of a storm advancing from the distance, and at last breaking over Jerusalem. The time of Sargon (Cheyne, Nowack) does not correspond to this, for although it is the case that Sargon calls himself once in the Nimrod inscription (Lay. xxxiii. 8) *mušakniš mât Ya-u-du* (he who has subjugated the land of Juda), still the annals of his reign are silent on the matter.[1] This being so, the occasion of the Isaianic oracle must be sought in the time of Sennacherib, at some point or other in the campaign which he entered on against Phenicia, Philistia, and Juda, 701. The mention of Jerusalem under the name גיא חזיון may cause wonder, for *αὐτὴ ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο, μέσῃ φάραγγι διῃρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι* (Joseph. *Wars*, v. 4. 1). But it is quite in place, in so far as round Jerusalem there are mountains (Ps. cxxv. 2), and the very city, which in relation to the country occupied an elevated position, in relation to the mountains of the immediate neighbourhood appeared to stand on a low level (*πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα ταύτης γηόλοφα χθαμαλίζεται*, as Phocas says). Because of this twofold aspect

[1] See Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (1889), p. xvi. sq.

Jerusalem is called (Jer. xxi. 13) the "inhabitant of the valley," and immediately on the back of this the "rock of the plain" and (Jer. xvii. 3) the "mountain in the fields," whereas (Zeph. i. 11) not all Jerusalem, but a part of it (probably the ravine of the Tyropaeum), is called מַכְתֵּשׁ, the mortar, or as we say, basin. If we add to this that Isaiah's house was situated in the lower city, and that therefore the point of view from which the epithet was applied was there, the expression is perfectly appropriate. Furthermore, the epithet is intended to be more than geographical. A valley, גַּיְא, is a lonely, quiet depression, shut in and cut off by mountains. Similarly is Jerusalem the sheltered peaceful place closed against the world, which Jehovah has chosen in order to show there to His prophets the secrets of His government of the world. On this holy city of the prophets, Jehovah's judgment is coming, and the announcement of the judgment upon it has place among the oracles concerning the nations of the world! From this we see that at the time when the prophecy was uttered, the attitude of Jerusalem was so worldly and heathenish as to call for this threat, so dark and unrelieved by any gleam of promise. Neither the prophecies dating from Ahaz's reign, however, and referring to the Assyrian age of judgment, nor those uttered in the midst of the Assyrian troubles, are at the same time so entirely without promise and so peremptory as this one. This Massa falls then in the interval, probably in the time when the people under the influence of freedom had grown light-headed, and, trusting to an alliance with Egypt, were cherishing the hope of being able to bid defiance to Assyria. The threat harmonizes with xxviii. 1–22. The prophet gives expression to the confidence of the time, and also its worthlessness, in vers. 1–3: "*What aileth thee then, that thou art wholly ascended to the house-tops? O full of uproar, thou noisy city, joyously shouting fortress, thy slain are not slain with the sword nor killed in battle. All thy chief men, making their escape together, are made prisoners without bow; all those of thee who are seized are made prisoners together, while they are fleeing far away.*" From the flat house-tops they are looking out, the whole of them at once (כֻּלָּךְ for כֻּלֵּךְ, xiv. 29, 31; Ges. § 91. 1, Remark 2), eager for the fight and sure of victory, at the approaching army of the enemy.

They are so confident, cheerful, and defiant because they have no suspicion of what is threatening them. תְּשֻׁאוֹת מְלֵאָה is an inversion for מְלֵאַת תְּשֻׁאוֹת, like אֲפֵלָה מְנֻדָּח in viii. 22. עַלִּיזָה is used of self-confident rejoicing, as in Zeph. ii. 15. How terribly they deceive themselves! Not even the honour of falling on the field of battle would be theirs. Their chief men (קָצִין, judge, and then generally person of distinction), one and all, would depart from the city and be made prisoners outside מִקֶּשֶׁת, without the bow needing to be bent against them (מִן, as in Job xxi. 9; 2 Sam. i. 22; Ewald, § 217*b*). All, without exception, who are met with (נִמְצָאַיִךְ, as in xiii. 15) in Jerusalem by the invading foe, would, while trying to escape (*perf. de conatu*, corresponding to the classical *presens de conatu*) to a distance (see note on v. 26), be made unresisting prisoners. The conative clause cannot be translated who had fled from a distance, *i.e.* to Jerusalem, in order to find refuge there, for this thought is not evident enough to remain unexpressed. The city would be besieged (indirectly stated), and in consequence of the long siege hunger and pestilence would destroy the inhabitants, and every one who tried to reach the open would become the prize of the enemy, and, because exhausted by hunger, without venturing on resistance. The prophet on realizing the fate of the infatuated Jerusalem and Judah is seized with inconsolable anguish. Vers. 4, 5: "*Therefore I say, Look away from me that I may weep bitterly; press not on me with comfort for the destruction of the daughter of my people! For a day of uproar, and of treading down and of confusion, cometh from the All-Lord Jehovah of hosts, in the valley of vision, dashing walls into ruins, and a cry of woe is echoed from against the mountains.*" Isaiah here adopts the Kîna style, the same that we meet with later in the Lamentations of Jeremiah. This prophet uses שֶׁבֶר for שֹׁד (Lam. iii. 48), and בַּת־עַמִּי is there interchanged with בַּת־צִיּוֹן and בַּת־יְהוּדָה. מָרַר בַּבְּכִי is more than בָּכָה מַר (xxxiii. 7); it means to give up oneself with full consent of the mind to bitter weeping, to take one's fill of weeping. The day of the divine judgment is called (ver. 5) a day in which bodies of men surge, raging through each other (מְהוּמָה), in which Jerusalem and its inhabitants are trodden down (מְבוּסָה) by enemies and thrown into wild con-

fusion (מְבוּכָה). This is one of two plays upon sounds in the passage. The other strikes on our ears like the crash of the walls overthrown by the siege-engines. מְקַרְקַר קִר is to be explained as meaning he tears down walls according to Num. xxiv. 17, and like the phrases occurring in the Palestinian Talmud and Midrash, מקרקרים קירות בתיהם, they tore down the walls of their houses, and קרקר בו, to demolish a thing (see Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterbuch*, iv. 391). When that happens which is stated in ver. 5, then שׁוֹעַ אֶל־הָהָר, there sounds at the mountain a cry of woe (שׁוֹעַ like שׁוֹעַ, שַׁוְעַ; cf. عوث, help, cry for help), *i.e.* it strikes on the mountains surrounding Jerusalem, and returns as an echo. Against the translation, *Kir undermineth and Shoa is at the mount* (Cheyne, following Fried. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 235 sq.), is the arrangement of the words in מְקַרְקַר קִר, and the lack of clearness in ושוע אל־ההר.

The description does not move forward step by step as would an historical narrative. Ver. 5 at once depicts the day of Jehovah in the light of its final cause and effect, and only in vers. 6 and 7 is described the advance of the besiegers, leading at last to the destruction of the walls. "*And Elam has taken the quiver together with chariots with men, horsemen, and Kir has uncovered the shield. And then it comes to pass that thy choice valleys are filled with chariots, and the horsemen firmly establish themselves in the direction of the gate.*" Of the nations in the Assyrian army there is mentioned 'Êlam, the Semitic nation of Susiana (Chuzistân), whose original habitation is the series of valleys between the mountain chain of Zagros and the chain of outlying mountains that bound the plains of Assyria on the East. They were greatly feared as archers (Ezek. xxxii. 24; Jer. xlix. 35). Though this people appears here as a contingent of the Assyrian army, there is no instance of this in the inscriptions (*Paradies*, p. 237); but it is to be remembered that the testimonies of the inscriptions and of the Bible are mutually illustrative. קִיר also is fully proved by the Bible to have been a land under Assyrian rule (2 Kings xvi. 9; Amos i. 5, ix. 7), and yet down to the present it has not been possible to illustrate this from the inscriptions; for the tract of land through which the river Cyrus flows can surely not be meant, since

the river Kur, which joins the Araxes and debouches into the Caspian, is written with *k*, not *ḳ*. The readiness for battle, characteristic of the people of Kur, is expressed by עֵרָה מָגֵן,— what Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* ii. 21) calls *scutis tegimenta detrahere*, for the Talmudic meaning *applicare* (Buxtorf, *Lex. col.* 1664) is not to be thought of. These nations, whose custom it was to fight on foot, are accompanied (בְּ, as in 1 Kings x. 2) by רֶכֶב אָדָם, chariots filled with men, *i.e.* war-chariots (as distinguished from עֲגָלוֹת), and, as is added ἀσυνδέτως, by פָּרָשִׁים, horsemen (*i.e.* riders trained to arms). The historical tense is introduced by וַיְהִי (ver. 7), but in a future sense. It is only for the sake of the arrangement of the words here preferred that the sentence does not proceed וּמָלְאוּ (*i.e.* vav consec.). עֲמָקַיִךְ are the valleys by which Jerusalem is encircled on the east, west, and south: the valley of Kidron on the east, the valley of Gihon on the west, the valley of Rephaim, stretching along on the right of the road to Bethlehem (xviii. 5), on the south-west, the valley of Hinnom meeting the Tyropaeum in a south-eastern corner, perhaps also the valley of Jehoshaphat, running on the upper side of the valley of Kidron in the north-east of the city. These valleys, especially the southern and finest ones, are now cut up by the wheels and hoofs of the enemies' chariots and horses, and already have the enemies' horsemen taken up position, *i.e.* firmly established themselves (שִׁית with שׁוּת, to strengthen it, as in Ps. iii. 7; שִׂים, 1 Kings xx. 12; cf. 1 Sam. xv. 2) in the direction of the gate, in order that on the signal being given they may gallop at the gates and press in at them.

When Judah now, after having so long given itself up to the intoxication of hope, becomes aware that it is in extreme danger, it adopts wise measures, but without God. Vers. 8–11: "*Then does he draw away the covering of Judah, and thou lookest on that day to the store of arms of the forest-house, and the breaches of the city of David ye see, that there are many of them, and ye collect the waters of the lower pool. And the houses of Jerusalem ye count, and pull down the houses in order to fortify the wall. And a basin ye make between the two walls for the waters of the old pool; and ye do not look to Him who done it, and Him who formed it from afar ye do not regard.*"

מָסָךְ is the curtain or covering which made Judah blind to the threatening danger. Their eyes now turn first of all to the forest-house on Zion (it may have stood in the middle of the outer court of the royal palace) which had been built by Solomon for the storage and display of valuable weapons and implements (נֵשֶׁק, or, according to the Masora on Job xx. 24 and old editions, נֶשֶׁק), and bore this name because it rested on four rows of cedar pillars that ran all round. They notice also in the city of David, the southern and highest part of the city of Jerusalem, how ruinous is the wall, and begin to think of repairing it. With this end in view they examine the houses of the city, in order to obtain building material for the strengthening of the walls and the repair of their breaches by pulling down buildings likely to be useful in this way and capable of being dispensed with (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 4). The compensative duplication in וַתִּתְצוּ from נָתַץ is dispensed with in spite of the inconvenient combination of sounds, תְצ, in order that the two *t* may not coalesce into one (cf., on the other hand, תִּתֹּצוּ, Deut. vii. 5, and also תֻּתְּכוּ, Ezek. xxii. 22, where the duplication remains on account of the aspirated כ). The "old pool" has hitherto been held to be the same as the upper Gihon (2 Chron. xxxii. 30) = the upper pool (vii. 3) = *Birket-el-Mamilla*, in the west of the city, the tank of the תְּעָלָה, or conduit (mentioned vii. 3), through whose artificial channel the water of the tank was carried into the interior of the city to the so-called pool of Hezekiah or the Patriarchs. This conclusion, however, is based on the identification of the upper pool (Isa. vii. 3) with the Gihon. This identification is at present rightly universally given up; for, according to 1 Kings i. 33, cf. 45 ("from the royal castle on Zion down to Gihon"), 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, etc., the Gihon coincides rather with the present Spring of the Virgin on the eastern slope of the temple-hill. Thus, if we found on 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 (explanatory of 2 Kings xx. 20), a passage also claiming attention in connection with 9*b* and 11*a* of Isaiah's prophecy, Hezekiah's peculiar work consisted in stopping (סתם) the discharge (מוֹצָא) of the waters of the upper Gihon, *i.e.* in diverting the Gihon spring, so that it no longer appeared above ground, but sent its waters towards the west side of the southernmost part of the temple-hill, which lay

inside the city wall, through a covered subterranean rocky channel, *i.e.* through the Siloah channel, which at present opens into the Siloah basin, lying thirty metres below the level of the Spring of the Virgin. This excludes the possibility of the intention expressed in ver. 11 having anything to do with the pool of the Patriarchs (*Birket-el-Batrak*), the Amygdalon of Josephus, for during the rainy season it is served by a small conduit descending from the upper pool along the surface of the ground under the wall at or near to the Jaffa Gate. On the contrary, the "basin for the waters of the old pool" must be sought in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Siloah channel, where also, in reality, lies the place 'between the two walls," *i.e.* between the independent ramparts of the city of David and the old city, which extended along both sides of the Tyropaeum.[1] The "old pool," which supplied the water for the new basin in the valley of the Tyropaeum, was therefore one of the several old water-basins of the Tyropaeum Valley,[2] and Hezekiah's new channel conducted the waters of this "old pool" into the new basin "between the two walls." But what is meant here by the "lower pool"? Formerly it was thought to be the *Birket-es-Sultân*, situated below the upper pool. Since, however, the Gihon lies on the east side of the city, and the bringing into use (*Anspannung*, literally "yoking," Heb. קבץ) of the lower pool is certainly connected with the waterworks at the end of the Siloah channel, the lower pool also must be sought in the lower part of the Tyropaeum valley. It therefore gets this name in order to distinguish it from another upper pool than that mentioned in vii. 3. It is perhaps the same as Tobler's "lower pool of Siloah," which lay close to the city wall, and is now called *Birket-el-Ḥamrâ*. In no other passage than this one do we meet with the "lower pool" under this name. The collection also of the waters of this lower pool is one of

[1] Cf. the digest of the most recent views as to the locality "between the two walls," in Bertheau-Ryssel's *Commentary on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, pp. 195, 206, 215.

[2] There is a basin at the mouth of an old (now blocked-up) channel, which led down from the Spring of the Virgin, *i.e.* the Gihon, on the eastern border of Ophel, and is older than the channel constructed by Hezekiah. Perhaps this channel is the pre-Hezekian Siloah (ix. 6), and this basin the "old pool;" cf. Ryssel, *loc. cit.* p. 213 sqq.

the prudent measures which will be resorted to in Jerusalem in view of the impending siege. This will happen, however, too late, and in self-reliant alienation from God, with no regard to Him who, in accordance with a plan adopted long ago before its realization, both executes and gives form to the fate which by these measures they are seeking to ward off. As in chap. liv. 5, עֹשֶׂיהָ might be plural, but the parallel יֹצְרָהּ favours the singular; cf. as to the form (from עֹשֶׂי = עֹשֶׂה) xlii. 5, and the note on v. 12, i. 30. Here, as in xxxvii. 26 (cf. Eccles. iii. 11), we have the same doctrine of ideas as is an underlying prevailing note of the second part of Isaiah. Whatever is realized in time exists long before as a spiritual image, *i.e.* as an idea in God. God discloses it to His prophets, and prophecy in foretelling the future thereby proves that the fulfilment has been the work as also the long predetermined counsel of God. Thus in the passage before us the punishment that befalls Jerusalem is said to have been fashioned beforehand in God. Jerusalem might avert its realization by repentance, for it is not a *decretum absolutum.* As soon as Jerusalem repented, the realization would proceed no farther.

The realization, therefore, so far as it has gone, is a call by Jehovah to repentance. Vers. 12–14: "*The All-Lord Jehovah of hosts calls in that day to weeping, and to mourning, and to the pulling out of hair, and to girding with sackcloth, and behold: joy and gladness, slaughtering of oxen and killing of sheep, eating of flesh and drinking of wine, eating and drinking, for 'to-morrow we die.' And Jehovah of hosts hath revealed Himself in mine ears; Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated to you until ye die, saith the All-Lord Jehovah of hosts.*" The first antecedent condition of repentance is the feeling of pain caused by the punishments of God. In the case of Jerusalem, however, they produce the opposite effect. The more threatening the future, the more callously and madly do the people give themselves up to coarse sensual enjoyment of the present. As harmonizing with שָׁחוֹט, שָׁתוֹת, the feminine form of the infin. abs., takes the place of שָׁתוֹ (for שָׁתֹה, as in vi. 9, xxx. 19, lix. 4). A similar case occurs in Hos. x. 4.[1]

[1] Similarly there stands in the Pesach-Haggada (in the prayer לְפִיכָךְ אֲנַחְנוּ חַיָּבִים) between לְבָרֵךְ and לְקַלֵּס the incorrect infin. לְעַלֵּה (to raise).

Elsewhere also, for the sake of sound-play, the author ventures what is unusual (see iv. 6, viii. 6, xvi. 9, xxxii. 7, xxxiii. 6; cf. Ezek. xliii. 11, and the *Kerî*, 2 Sam. iii. 25). Flesh and wine stand side by side, as in Prov. xxiii. 20, The absolute infinitives sketch the conduct of the revellers; their own statement of the reason for this conduct follows כִּי. What is expressed there is not a joyful welcome of death, but a love of life that scoffs at death. Then the unalterable will of the all-commanding God is announced to the prophet in a way that he can clearly understand. Such disdainful defiance of God's chastisements will not be otherwise expiated than by the death of those bidding defiance. To be covered and so to be expiated is the meaning of כֻּפַּר (from כפר, كفر, *tegere*). This is effected for sin, either by God's justice, as here, or by God's mercy (vi. 7), or by God's justice and mercy combined (xxvii. 9). In all three cases it is divine holiness that demands the expiation. This holiness requires a cover or covering between itself and the sin, in virtue of which the sin becomes as though it were not. In this particular case the act of blotting out consists in punishing. That punishment may also be called expiation is shown by Num. xxxv. 33; uncovered blood (xxvi. 21) is just unexpiated blood. So here, the sin of Jerusalem will not be expiated until the sinners meet death. The verb תְּמֻתוּן stands without qualification, and is therefore all the more dreadful (cf. ἀποθανεῖσθε, John viii. 21). The Targum renders: till ye die the second (eternal) death (מוֹתָא תִנְיָנָא).

So far as this prophecy holds forth the threat of Jerusalem's destruction by Assyria, it was not fulfilled. Still the prophet did not withdraw it. For, in the first place, it is a monument of divine mercy which, on the manifestation of repentance, departs from or lessens the threatened judgment. The revolt against Assyria was accomplished, but, on the part of Hezekiah and many who had taken to heart the announcement of the prophet, as an affair which had been surrendered into the hands of the God of Israel, and with regard to which nothing was hoped for from their own strength or from the help of the Egyptians. In the second place, it stands here as the announcement of a judgment which, though deferred, was not revoked. God's declared counsel remains, and the

time will come by and by when it will be realized. It remains hovering over Jerusalem like an eagle, and in the end, sure enough, Jerusalem becomes its carrion.

Against Shebna, the Steward, Chap. XXII. 15–25.

(*Appendix to the Tetralogy*, xxi.–xxii. 14.)

Shebna (שֶׁבְנָא; 2 Kings xviii. 18, 26, שֶׁבְנָה[1]) bears the official designation אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת.[2] This is the name of a high office of state in both kingdoms (1 Kings iv. 6, xviii. 3), in fact of the very highest, and it was so superior in rank to all others (xxxvi. 3, xxxvii. 2) that even the heir to the throne sometimes held it (2 Chron. xxvi. 21). The office is that of minister of the household, and resembled the Merovingian office of *major domus* (*maire du palais*). The אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת had under his care the whole domestic affairs of the king, and was, on this account, also called הַסֹּכֵן (from סָכַן, Assyr. שכן, whence *šaknu*, governor[3]), the administrator, as being the official next to him in rank. In this high office Shebna showed that he united in extraordinary degree that haughty self-security and forgetfulness of God in pursuit of enjoyment for which the people of Jerusalem had just been threatened with death (cf. chap. vii. in relation to chap. vi.; in the one a judgment of hardening is proclaimed, in the other Ahaz appears as a conspicuous example of it). He may also have been a leader of the party of notables whose sympathies lay on the side of Egypt, and so in connection with a policy foreign to the spirit of a theocracy the opponent of Isaiah in advising the king. Therefore the general content of xxii.

[1] The brother of the celebrated Hillel was so named (*Sota* 21*a*); in the full form of the name שְׁבַנְיָה (also Phoenician), which is interchangeable with שְׁכַנְיָה (*vicinus Dei*), שְׁבַן is equivalent to שְׁכַן (constr. of שָׁכֵן), cf. Aram. שֵׁבָב, שְׁבָב, *vicinus*. Nestle supposes that שׁבניה from שׁבן = ܫܒܩ, *donare, largiri*, is a synonym of נְתַנְיָה, זְבַדְיָה, and such like names.

[2] Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22, וַאֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ, the popular rendering of the Aramaic דְמַלְכָּא, *βασιλικοί*.

[3] Cf. Fried. Delitzsch, § 46, p. 108.

1–14 takes the specific form of a prophecy against this Shebna. The time when this happened is the same as in xxii. 1–14. Defiance is being bidden to what is threatening, and the great dignitary not only drives about in magnificent equipages, but is engaged superintending the erection of a family tomb. Vers. 15–19 : "*Thus spake the All-Lord, Jehovah of hosts, Go, get thee unto this administrator, to Shebna the steward. What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hewest thee out here a grave, hewing out his sepulchre on high, digging out in the rock a dwelling for himself? Behold, Jehovah hurleth thee hurling with a man's throw, and graspeth thee grasping. Clewing, he clews thee a clew, a ball into a land far and wide ; there shalt thou die, and thither the chariots of thy glory, thou shame of the house of thy lord ! And I thrust thee from thy post, and from thy station he pulleth thee down.*" אֶל after לֶךְ־בֹּא (repair to, as in Gen. xlv. 17; Ezek. iii. 4) is changed into עַל (used commonly of attack by the stronger, 1 Sam. xii. 12). The expression הַסֹּכֵן הַזֶּה points contemptuously to the subordinate though high position of the court servant. We already feel from this introduction of the divine address that ambition is a leading feature of Shebna's character. What Isaiah is to say to Shebna follows rather abruptly, but the LXX. insertion καὶ εἰπὸν αὐτῷ at once suggests itself. The question, What hast thou to do here, and whom hast thou to bring here? is put in view of the fate awaiting Shebna. This building of a sepulchre is useless: neither will Shebna ever lie there, nor will he be able to bury those connected with him there. The triple פֹּה is forcible in the extreme: here where he is acting as if he were at home it is not fated that he shall remain. The participles חֹצְבִי and חֹקְקִי (with *ḥireq compaginis*, see note on Ps. cxiii.) are still part of the address; the third person which comes in here is syntactically correct, although the second person is used also (xxiii. 2 sq.; Hab. ii. 15). There were rock-tombs, *i.e.* tombs in the form of rock-hewn chambers, for the reception of several bodies on the south of the valley of Hinnom, and on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, and in the north-west of the city beyond the upper pool. The מָרוֹם, however, when we keep before us the triple פֹּה and the contemptuous הַסֹּכֵן הַזֶּה, points to the city of David (1 Kings ii. 10), or

מַעֲלֵה קִבְרֵי בְנֵי־דָוִיד (2 Chron. xxxii. 33), *i.e.* the east slope of Zion, in the rock of which from the top downwards the tombs of the kings were hewn. So high a position does Shebna occupy, and so great does he think himself, that he hopes after his death to be laid to rest among kings, and by no means far down.

How he deceives himself! Jehovah throws him far away (טוּל, طال, to be long, Pilp. to throw or stretch far [1]), טַלְטֵלָה גָּבֶר. Either this expression is equivalent to טַלְטֵלָה טַלְטֵלַת גֶּבֶר, with a man's throw (Rosenmüller), or גֶּבֶר is in apposition to יהוה (Gesen. Knobel): throw, a man, *i.e.* throw of a man, like מַיִם בִּרְכָּיִם, water, measure of the knees, *i.e.* reaching to the knees (cf. note, xxx. 20). The vocative rendering, "O man" (Syriac, Böttcher, Cheyne), is contrary to custom and *style*. Jerome gives the strange rendering, "as they carry off a cock" (תַּרְנְגוֹל=גֶּבֶר), which he had from the lips of his Hebraeus. The verb עטה means in Jer. xliii. 12 to be covered (غطا), not to roll up; in 1 Sam. xv. 19, xxv. 14, xiv. 32, to fly or rush upon anything (with בְּ, אֶל); here, like عطا, to grasp, to lay hold of (Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Knobel, and others). And as צנף means to roll into a ball or clew, צְנֵפָה, the clew or roll, so כַּדּוּר means that which Shebna becomes by being rolled up. For כ is not to be taken as the particle of comparison, כַּדּוּר, as we see from the Talmud (cf. note on Job xv. 24), being used in the sense of *globus, sphaera*, while دور (cf. دهر) means only *gyrus, periodus*. Shebna becomes a clew, a ball, which is thrown into a land stretching far out on both sides, where with nothing to stop it it flies farther ever farther. Thither he goes to die,—the man who had degraded his own office and the Davidic court as well by an undue exercise and misuse of his power,—and with him his splendid equipages. In order to prepare for the transition to the installation of another into Shebna's office, the punishment of deprivation of his office is put at the end of the first half of the prophecy, though it cannot be otherwise conceived of than as preceding the punish-

[1] In later usage this verbal root means generally "to move on," whence טִיוּל, movement, walk; מְטַלְטְלִין, movables, personal property.

ment of banishment. In 19*b* not the king (Luzzatto), but, as in 19*a*, Jehovah (cf. x. 12) is the subject. First of all, he gives him the push that makes him stagger in his place, then he pulls him completely down from this lofty station of his.

The object of this, that he may make way for a worthier man, is stated in vers. 20–24: "*And it will come to pass in that day that I call to my servant Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, and clothe him with thy robe, and with thy sash I bind him round, and thy authority I give into his hand, and he will become a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah. And I place the key of David upon his shoulder, and when he opens no man shuts, and when he shuts no man opens. And I strike him as a peg into a sure place, and he becomes a seat of honour to his father's house. And the whole body of (the members of) his father's house hangs on him, the descendants and the offshots, all the small vessels, from the vessels of the basins to all the vessels of the pitchers.*" Eliakim is called עֶבֶד ה׳, as being the servant of God in his heart and conduct, to which official service is now first added. Usually this title of honour includes both kinds of service (xx. 3). Investiture is the means by which the transfer of office is carried through (cf. 1 Kings xix. 19). חִזֵּק, with the double accusative of the official girdle and the person, means here to tie firmly, to tie round (cf. חָזַק, حزق حزك), to put the girdle round him, so that the whole dress sits firmly without any looseness. From מֶמְשַׁלְתְּךָ we see how almost kingly dignity attaches to the office forfeited by Shebna. The word אָב likewise shows the same, for elsewhere it designates the king as the father of the land (ix. 5). Key means here the power of the keys, and therefore it is not placed in the hand, but on the shoulder (ix. 5) of Eliakim. It is used by the king (Rev. iii. 7), by the steward only in his stead. The power of the keys consists not merely in supervision of the royal chambers, but also in the decision as to who was and who was not to be received into the king's service. Similarly in the New Testament the keys of the kingdom of heaven are handed over to Peter. There, the mention of binding and loosing introduces a metaphor related to the other in sense; here, in פָּתַח and סָגַר, the metaphor of the key is retained. The comparison of the settlement of Eliakim in his office with

the driving in of a tent-peg was all the more readily available that יָתֵד is in general the designation of a nation's rulers (Zech. x. 4), who stand in the same relation to the community as a tent-peg to the tent which it holds firmly and keeps up. As the tent-peg is driven into the ground in such a way that a person can, if necessary, sit on it, so by development of the metaphor the peg is changed into a seat of honour. As a splendid chair adorns a room, so Eliakim graces his hitherto undistinguished family. The closely connected thought, that the members of his family in order to attain to honours would sit on this chair, is expressed by a different figure. Eliakim is once more presented to us as a יָתֵד, now, however, as a high one, somewhat like a pole on which coats are hung up, or as a peg driven into the wall at a distance from the ground. On this pole or peg they hang (תָּלוּ), *i.e.* one hangs, or there hangs כֹּל כְּבוֹד, *i.e.* the whole heavy lot (as in viii. 7) of the family of Eliakim. The prophet proceeds to split up this family into its male and female components, as the juxtaposition of masc. and fem. nouns shows. The idea in צֶאֱצָאִים and צְפִעוֹת (from צָפַע, by straining and pressure to bring forth and form, cf. צְפִיעַ, dung, with צֵאָה, filth) is that of a widespreading and undistinguished connection. The numerous metaphorical collection of refuse is made up of nothing but vessels of a small kind (כְּלֵי הַקָּטָן, like חֵיל כָּבֵד, xxxvi. 2, צִיצַת נֹבֵל, xxviii. 4, combinations in which the genitive expresses the genus). None of them are larger than אַגָּנוֹת (Arab. *iǵǵâna, inǵâna*, wash-hand basin), basins like those used by the priests for the blood of the sacrifices (Ex. xxiv. 6), or in a house for mixing wine (Cant. vii. 3); most of them are only נְבָלִים, leathern pitchers, earthenware bottles (xxx. 14). The whole of this large but as yet plebeian set attaches itself to Eliakim, and through him rises into distinction. At this point the prophecy that hitherto has spoken of Eliakim most respectfully suddenly assumes a tone in which there is an element of satire. We are impressed with the idea that the prophet is now dealing with nepotism, and ask ourselves, "What propriety is there in letting Shebna hear that?" Eliakim is the peg, that beginning so brilliantly comes to an ignominious end. Ver. 25: "*In that day, saith Jehovah of hosts, will the peg that is struck into a sure place give way, and*

it is knocked down and falls, and the burden that it carried perishes: for Jehovah hath spoken." In this verse the prophet does not revert to Shebna (Gesen. Ewald, Driver), he could not more clearly express the identity of the object of his threat with Eliakim (Cheyne, G. A. Smith). Eliakim also comes to ruin in the exercise of the plenary power attaching to his office by giving way to nepotism. His family makes a wrong use of him, and with an unwarrantable amount of good nature he makes a wrong use of his official position for their benefit. He therefore comes down headlong, and with him all the heavy burden which the peg sustains, *i.e.* all his relations, who, by being far too eager to make the most of their good fortune, have brought him to ruin.

Hitzig says that vers. 24 sq. are a later addition. It may be so, but it is also possible that the prophet wrote down xxii. 15–25 at one sitting, after the fate of both dignitaries, revealed to him at two different times, had found its fulfilment. We know nothing but that in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign the אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת was no longer Shebna, but Eliakim (xxxvi. 3, 22, xxxvii. 2). Shebna, however, also fills another high office, that of סוֹפֵר. Was he really made prisoner by the Assyrians and carried away? This is conceivable even without an Assyrian captivity of the nation. Or did he prevent the threatened judgment by penitence and self-abasement? To these and other questions we have no answer.

The Oracle concerning Tyre, Chap. XXIII.

As the series of prophecies against the nations began with Babylon, so it ends with the other leading type of the pride and power of heathenism. So says Stier. Babylon is the city of the empire of the world, Tyre the city of the trade of the world; the former is the centre of the greatest land power, the latter of the greatest maritime power; the former subjugates the nations with an iron hand, and secures its rule by means of deportation; the latter carries off as peaceably as possible the treasures of the nations, and secures its interest by colonies and factories. The Phoenician cities formed at first from six to eight independent States, the government of which was

in the hands of kings. Of these Sidon was older than Tyre. The ethnological table (Gen. x.) mentions Sidon only. Tyre's celebrity dates first from the time of David. In the Assyrian era, however, Tyre had already attained to a kind of supremacy over the rest of the Phoenician cities. It lay on the coast, rather more than twenty miles from Sidon; but being hard pressed by enemies, it had transferred the real seat of its trade and wealth to a rocky island,[1] three miles farther north, and only 1200 paces from the mainland. The strait that separated this insular Tyre (*Τύρος*) from ancient Tyre (*Παλαίτυρος*) was, upon the whole, shallow, and the ship channel in the neighbourhood of the island was only about eighteen feet deep, so that a siege of insular Tyre by Alexander was carried out by the erection of a mole. Luther refers the prophecy to this attack by Alexander. But earlier than this event was the struggle of Tyre with Assyria and Babylon, and first of all the question arises, Which of these two struggles has the prophecy in view? In consequence of new disclosures, for which we are indebted to Assyriology, the question has entered a new phase. Down to the present, however, it still permits of only a hypothetical and unsatisfactory solution. The point that continues to call for the exercise of ingenuity lies in ver. 13. Let us therefore content ourselves until such time as we come to try our skill on this verse with the knowledge that it is the dominant world-power to which Tyre succumbs.

The beginning of the prophecy places before us homeward-bound Phoenician trading vessels, which are appalled by the evil tidings of their country's fate. Ver. 1: "*Mourn, ye ships of Tarshish, for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entrance any more! From the land of the Kittaeans it is made known to them.*" Even while at sea they hear it as a rumour from ships that meet them. For they have long and far to sail; they come from the Phoenician colony on the Spanish Baetis, the Guadalquivir, as it has been called since the days of Moorish rule. אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ (cf. ii. 16) are ships that sail to Tartessus (LXX. inaccurately πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος). These are to howl (הֵילִילוּ, instead of the fem. as in xxxii. 11), for the hand of the devastator has been at work (*sc.* on Tyre, easily

[1] See Socin in Baedeker's *Palestina und Syrien*, 2nd ed. p. 324.

understood), and now home and city, to entering which the returning travellers were looking forward with joy, are swept away. Cyprus is the last station on this return journey. כִּתִּים are the *Κιτιεῖς*, the inhabitants of the Cyprian port *Κίτιον* and its district. Cyprus, the principal Phoenician emporium, is the last place of call. As soon as they put in here, what they had heard as a rumour on the high sea is disclosed to the crews (נִגְלָה), *i.e.* it becomes clear, undoubted certainty, for they are now told of it by eye-witnesses who have escaped hither.

What follows is addressed to the Phoenicians at home, who have the devastation before them. Vers. 2, 3: "*Be horror-struck, ye inhabitants of the coast! Sidonian merchants, sailing over the sea, replenished thee once on a time. And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile, was brought into her* (lit. *her ingathering*), *and she became gain for the nations.*" The feminine suffixes of מִלֵּא (to fill with merchandise and riches) and תְּבוּאָה (ingathering, *i.e.* into barns and storehouses) refer to the name of the country,—אִי, applied to the Phoenician coast, including insular Tyre. Sidonian merchants are, as in Homer, Phoenician merchants in general, for the ancient and great Sidon (צִידוֹן רַבָּה, Josh. xi. 8, xix. 28) is the mother city of Phoenicia, which stamped its name on the whole people so deeply, that on coins Tyre is called אֵם צִדֹנִם. The meaning of ver. 3*a* is not that the revenue of Tyre, which was produced on the great barren sea, was like a Nile-sowing, an Egyptian harvest (Hitzig, Knobel). This would be a fine comparison; but as matter of fact the Phoenicians were in the habit of buying the corn stores of Egypt, the granary of the ancient world, and of gathering up in the warehouses of their cities what was brought in בְּמַיִם רַבִּים (on the great Mediterranean). The name שִׁחֹר (in Dionys. Perieg. and Pliny, *Σῖρις*, the native name of the Upper Nile) means the black river (*Μέλας*, Eust. on Dion. Per. 222), the dark-grey, almost black mud of which gives such fertility to the land. קְצִיר יְאֹר is added more by way of amplification than explanation. The Nile valley was the field where this invaluable grain crop was sown and reaped, the Phoenician coast its granary. Phoenicia being thus the basis for further trade in grain and other articles of commerce, became a gain (const. of סַחַר, meaning the same as in ver. 18, xlv. 14; Prov. iii. 14, xxxi. 18), *i.e.* a

means of gain, a source of profit and subsistence for many entire peoples. Others translate the word "emporium," but סְחַר has not this meaning. Moreover, foreigners did not come to Phoenicia, but the Phoenicians went to them (Luzzatto).

From addressing the whole coast land, the prophet now turns to address the ancestral city. Ver. 4: "*Tremble, O Sidon, for the sea speaketh, even the stronghold of the sea; I have not travailed nor brought forth, and have not reared young men, brought up virgins.*" The sea, not this itself (Nägelsbach), but more specifically the stronghold of the sea (מָעוֹז, with unchangeable pretonic vowel, like מָגֵן, מָסָךְ), *i.e.* the rocky island on which New Tyre, with its lofty strong dwelling-houses, stores, and temples stood, lifts up its voice in lamentation. Sidon, the ancestress of Canaan, must hear what cannot but cover her with shame,—the lament of her own daughter Tyre, that robbed as she is of her children, she is like a barren woman. Because her young men and virgins have been done to death by war, she is in the very same case as if she had never brought forth or reared them (cf. i. 2). The fate of Phoenicia causes dismay even in Egypt. Ver. 5: "*When the report comes to Egypt, they writhe at the report of Tyre.*" The expression למצרים in 5*a* requires us to supply in thought a verb, יָבֹא (cf. xxvi. 9); the כְּ in 5*b* means "at the same time as," "simultaneously with," as in xviii. 4, xxx. 19 (Gesen. *Thesaurus*, p. 650). In 5*a* the report is not defined, in 5*b* it is specially referred to the fall of Tyre. The genitive after שֵׁמַע and שְׁמוּעָה (*e.g.* 2 Sam. iv. 4) is almost always (except in liii. 1) the genitive of the object. Then anxiety and horror lay hold of the Egyptians, because along with Tyre, to which they sold their grain, their own prosperity is ruined, and a similar fate awaits themselves, now that such a bulwark is fallen. יָחִילוּ is the imperfect Kal of חַלְתִּי in ver. 4.

The inhabitants of Tyre, however, who wish to avoid death or deportation, must make their escape to the colonies, the more distant the better; not to Cyprus, nor to Carthage (as when Alexander attacked insular Tyre), but to Tartessus, the farthest west and most difficult to reach. Vers. 6–9: "*Pass ye over to Tarshish; mourn, ye inhabitants of the coast! Fareth it thus with you, O joyous one, whose origin is of ancient days, whom her feet carried afar off to settle? Who hath determined*

such a thing concerning Tyre, the giver of crowns, whose merchants are princes, whose traders are the honourable of the earth? Jehovah of hosts hath determined it, to desecrate the magnificence of every ornament, to disgrace all the honourable of the earth." The call הֵילִילוּ implies that they had a right to give themselves up to their grief. Elsewhere complaint is unmanly, but here (cf. xv. 4) it is justifiable. In 7*a* it is doubtful whether עַלִּיזָה is a nominative of predication, as it is explained by most ("Is this, this deserted heap of ruins, your formerly so joyous one?"), or a vocative. We prefer the latter, because in this case the omission of the article is not strange (xxii. 2; Ewald, 327*a*); whereas in the other case, although the omission is possible (see xxxii. 13), it is harsh (cf. xiv. 16). To עַלִּיזָה attaches itself the descriptive attributive sentence—the beginning of whose existence (קַדְמָה, Ezek. xvi. 55) dates from the days of olden time—and also a second—whose feet carried her far away (רַגְלַיִם, masc., as *e.g.* in Jer. xiii. 16) to dwell in foreign parts. Deportation by force into the land of the enemy is not intended. Luzzatto rightly remarks against such a view, that יֹבִלוּהָ רַגְלֶיהָ is the very strongest expression for voluntary migration, with which also לָגוּר agrees, and also that this interpretation makes us feel the want of an antithetical תַּעְתֶּה. What the words refer to are the trading journeys (whether by sea or land) to a distance (see as to מֵרָחוֹק, note on xvii. 13) and the colonies, *i.e.* settlements abroad (for which גּוּר is the most suitable word). This fundamental characteristic of the Tyro-Phoenician people is expressed by יֹבִלוּהָ, *quam portabant.* Sidon is no doubt older than Tyre, but Tyre is also ancient. It is called by Strabo the oldest Phoenician city after Sidon (*μετὰ Σιδῶνα*); by Curtius, *vetustate originis insignis;* while Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3. 1; cf. Herod. ii. 44) estimates the interval between the foundation of Tyre and the building of Solomon's temple at 240 years. Tyre is called הַמַּעֲטִירָה, not as wearing a crown (Jerome: *quondam coronata*), but as conferring crowns (Targum). As matter of fact, both meanings are suitable; but the latter answers better to the Hiphil (since הִקְרִין, הִפְרִיס, which expresses production from within, cannot be brought into comparison). In the colonies, such as Kition, Tartessus, and at first Carthage, the government was in the hands of kings, appointed by, but independent of, the mother city. Her mer-

chants were princes (cf. x. 8), the most honoured ones of the earth. נִכְבַּדֵּי acquires a superlative force from standing in the genitive. Because the Phoenicians had the commerce of the world in their hands, a merchant was called simply כְּנַעֲנִי, the merchandise כִּנְעָה. The plural formation כִּנְעָנֶיהָ corresponds to the sense in which it is intended the word should be taken (that of a common noun), her merchants. The question, ver. 8, serves only to give prominence to what the answer, ver. 9, states. גְּאוֹן כָּל־צְבִי, like עַלִּיזָה, has an Isaianic ring. The verb חַלֵּל, to desecrate, causes us, on the mention of "magnificence of every ornament," to think specially of the holy places of continental and insular Tyre, among which the temple of Melkart, in insular Tyre, was celebrated on account of its great antiquity (cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 16: *παλαιότατον ων μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνη διασώζεται*). These glories, which were supposed to be inviolable, Jehovah profanes. לְהָקֵל, *ad ignominiam deducere* (Jerome), as in viii. 23.

The consequence of the fall of Tyre is that the colonies, of which Tartessus is mentioned by way of example, achieve their independence. Ver. 10: "*Overflow thy land like the Nile, O daughter of Tarshish! No girdle confines thee any more.*" The girdle, מֵזַח, is the supremacy of Tyre, which has hitherto restrained all independent action on the part of the colony. Now they no longer need to wait in the harbour for the ships of the mother city, no longer need as her bondservants to dig in the mines for silver and other metals; they have full and free possession of the colony's territory, and can freely spread themselves over it, like the Nile, when, leaving its bed, it overflows the land.

The prophet next relates, as if to the Phoenicio-Spanish colony, the daughter, *i.e.* the population of Tartessus, what has befallen the mother-country. Vers. 11, 12: "*His hand hath He stretched over the sea, thrown kingdoms into trembling; Jehovah hath given command concerning Canaan, to destroy her fortresses. And He said, Thou shalt not rejoice any longer, thou dishonoured one, virgin daughter of Sidon! Set out for Kittim, pass over; there also thou wilt not find rest.*" Jehovah has stretched His hand over the sea (Ex. xiv. 21), in and on which Tyre and its colonies lie; He has thrown into a state of anxious excitement the countries of anterior

Asia and the Egypto-Ethiopian quarter, and with regard to Canaan (אֶל, like עַל, Esth. iv. 5) has commissioned instruments of destruction. The Phoenicians themselves called their country כְּנַעַן, but in the Old Testament the name occurs in this most restricted application only here. לַשְׁמִיד for לְהַשְׁמִיד is the same syncope as in iii. 8 (cf. i. 12); Num. v. 22; Amos viii. 4; Jer. xxxvii. 12, xxxix. 7. The form מָעֻזְנֶיהָ (Babyl. מעֻזְניה) is stranger, but it is not amorphous (Knobel, Meier, Olshausen, Nägelsbach); there are other examples of this way of resolving duplication and transposition of letters (it stands for מָעֻזֶּיהָ), viz. תַּמְנוּ, Lam. iii. 22, cf. on Ps. lxiv. 7, and, at least according to Jewish grammarians (see, however, Ewald, § 250*b*), קָבְנוֹ, Num. xxiii. 13.[1] "Virgin of the daughter of Sidon," equivalent to virgin daughter of Sidon (two epexegetical genitives, Ewald, § 289*c*), is synonymous with כְּנַעַן. The name of the ancestral city (cf. xxxvii. 22) has here become the name of the whole people that has sprung from it. Hitherto this people was untouched, like a virgin; now it resembles one who has been ravished and overpowered. If, now, they flee over to Cyprus (כִּתִּים; according to the Oriental reading, כתיים, *Kethîb;* כִּתִּים, *Kerî*), there will be no rest for them even there; because the colony, emancipated from the Phoenician yoke, will be glad to rid itself also of the unwelcome guests from the despotic mother-country.

The prophet proceeds, vers. 13, 14, to relate the fate of Phoenicia: "*Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people that has not been (Assyria—it hath prepared the same for desert beasts) — they set up their siege-towers, destroy the palaces of Canaan, make it a heap of ruins. Mourn, ye ships of Tarshish, for your fortress is laid waste.*" So taken, the text which has been handed down says that the Chaldeans have destroyed Canaan, in fact Tyre. הֵקִימוּ is to be referred to the plural idea, and בַּחוּנָיו (*Kethîb*, בַּחִינָיו) to the singular idea in זֶה הָעָם; the feminine suffixes, on the other hand, to Tyre,—

[1] Perhaps, however, the נ is part of the suffix, and the form an intentional imitation of Phoenician, like עזרנם, their helper, אבנם, their father, and like the dialectic שְׁמִי=שְׁמֵנִי (my name), *Chullin* 51*a*, *Erubin* 64*b*. Reifmann in *Maggid*, p. 350, compares עזניה, Lev. xv. 13 = עוֹן, *Kelim*, xvii. 15. The conjecture of Abramsohn, מָעֹז נָוֶיהָ (מָעֻז), couples two indisparate words.

they (the Chaldeans) have laid bare the palaces (אַרְמְנוֹת from אַרְמֹנֶת) of Tyre, *i.e.* have pulled or burned them down (עוֹרֵר, here not from עוּר, but from עָרַר = עָרָה, Ps. cxxxvii. 7, like עַרְעֵר, Jer. li. 58) to the foundations, it (the Chaldean people) has made her (Tyre) a rubbish-heap. If this were all, the text would be clear and free from difficulty. But in the group of words אַשּׁוּר יְסָדָהּ לְצִיִּים is Assyria subject or object? If the former, the prophet, in order to describe the instruments of divine wrath, points to the land of the Chaldeans, calls them a people לֹא הָיָה, which up to this point has not been, and explains this by the statement that Assyria at the first laid for them, the wild hordes (Ps. lxxii. 9), the foundations of the land which they (the Chaldeans) at present inhabit, or better (seeing that ציים can hardly be supposed to mean mountain hordes), that Assyria appointed it (this people, עָם, fem. as at Jer. viii. 5; Ex. v. 16) inhabitants of the steppe (so Knobel). This can convey only the idea that Assyria settled the Chaldeans, whose place of abode was among the mountains of the north, in the land now bearing the name of Chaldea, and so made the Chaldeans a people, *i.e.* a settled civilised people, and a people by conquest playing a part in the history of the world (at first, according to Knobel, as a part of the Assyrian army). But that the Assyrians brought down the Chaldeans from the mountains to the lowlands (Calvin), and that about the time of Shalmaneser (Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, Segond, and others), is an unhistorical, untenable hypothesis, nothing but an inference from this passage. On this account I have tried in my *Commentary on Habakkuk*, p. xxii., to give another meaning to אַשּׁוּר יְסָדָהּ לְצִיִּים: Assyria, *i.e.* Nineve—it has assigned the same to the desert beasts. For the transference of the name of the country to the chief city there are many examples, as *Sham* = Damascus, *Miṣr* = Cairo (*Zeitschrift deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxix. 341): צִיִּים is commonly used of beasts of the desert, *e.g.* xiii. 21, and יָסַד לְצִיִּים may be explained in accordance with Ps. civ. 8 (cf. Mal. i. 3, שָׂם לְתַנּוֹת, to make over to the jackals); while the form of the parenthetical sentence would be like that of the concluding sentence of Amos i. 11. This passage, however, would be the only one where Isaiah prophesies, and that only in passing, how the transition from an Assyrian to a Chaldean world-empire will

come about; the drawing of this connecting-line is the business of Nahum and Zephaniah. For this reason Cheyne, Driver, and others, as already Riehm, refer 13*a* to the subjugation of the land of the Chaldeans by Assyria. This leaves us a choice. We may think either of the conquest of Babylon (Babel) by Sargon in 709, or by Sennacherib in 703, and again in 696/5. The translation would run, See the land of the Chaldeans, this people is no more; Assyria has assigned it to the desert beasts. We would then need to refer יְסָדָהּ to Babylon (Babel), which is not mentioned; since, however, of course, conquest of Babylon (Babel) and devastation of Babylonia do not coincide, and since "the Assyrians" is the subject of הקימו, we must suppose that הן points to their irresistibility as proved in the case of Babylon (Babel). This is so forced, so unprepared for, so destructive of the unity of the prophecy, that my own translation, given above, according to which the land of the Chaldeans is the population of Chaldea and Assyria is the city of Nineveh, which had been reduced to ruins by them, appears in comparison much more natural, although it does not admit of our maintaining Isaiah's authorship. Ewald's and Schrader's conjecture, that the text originally ran הֵן אֶרֶץ כְּנַעֲנִים is still the best way of escape. The first sentence read thus runs: See the land of the Canaanites, this people has perished (literally, has come to nothing), Assyria has prepared it (their land) for the desert beasts. לֹא הָיָה, it is true, usually means, not to be in existence (Obad. ver. 16), not to have been, but since לא is used with a slightly substantive force (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 25), it has also the sense to come, or to have come to nothing, Job vi. 21, Ezek. xxi. 32, and perhaps also Isa. xv. 6. By this alteration of הכשׂדים into הכנענים all objections to Isaiah's authorship are removed. But the traditional text as it runs makes it necessary for us to suppose that a later prophet was the author. As the destroyers of the palaces of Tyre he names the Chaldeans—this people which hitherto, notwithstanding its great antiquity (Jer. v. 15), has not distinguished itself as a conqueror of the world (cf. Hab. i. 6), but was subject to the Assyrians, which now, however, after it has destroyed Assyria, *i.e.* Nineveh, has risen to power. The summons to lamentation addressed to the ships of Tarshish (ver. 14) brings the prophecy back to its starting-

point (ver. 1). The fortress is here, as ver. 4 shows, insular Tyre.

Since in this way the prophecy is a completely closed circle, vers. 15–18 may appear to be a later addition. Here the prophet announces that Tyre will once more rise to prominence. Vers. 15, 16: "*And it will come to pass in that day that Tyre will be forgotten seventy years like the days of one king — after the expiry of the seventy years it will fare with Tyre according to the song of the harlot: 'Take the lute, roam through the city, O forgotten harlot. Play bravely, sing zealously, that thou mayest be remembered.'*" The days of one king are a period that is characterized throughout by sameness and absence of change; for, especially in the East, all circumstances are then determined by one sovereign will, and so stereotyped. The seventy years are compared to the days of one king in this sense. In itself seventy is a suitable number to designate such a uniform period, for it is 10 multiplied by 7, and so a completed series of heptads of years שַׁבָּתוֹת. If a Deutero-Isaiah is taken to be the author, we will have to understand by the seventy years the seventy years of Chaldean rule, Jer. xxv. 11 sq., cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. During these Tyre has against its will to give up the traffic which hitherto had been carried on over the whole world. וְנִשְׁכַּחַת is not the perfect consec. (for וְנִשְׁכְּחָה) with the original fem. termination ת, which occurs only in the case of verbs ל״א and ל״ה, vii. 14, Ps. cxviii. 23, but the participle following the same syntax as in Ps. lxxv. 4, Prov. xxix. 9, Lat. *oblivioni traditâ Tyro . . . evenict Tyro.* After the seventy years the harlot once more finds acceptance. It fares with her as with an alma or bayadère, who moves through the streets singing and playing, and so draws attention again to her charms. The prophecy at this point passes into the strain of a street song. As in the popular song it fares with such a common musician and dancer, so fares it with Tyre. Then, when it begins again to play the harlot with all the world, it will get rich again from the profit of such traffic with the world. Ver. 17: "*And it will come to pass at the end of seventy years, Jehovah will visit Tyre, and she comes again to the wages of prostitution, and plays the harlot with all kingdoms of the earth on the broad face of the earth.*" In so far

as commercial activity, thinking only of earthly advantage, does not recognise a God-appointed limit, and carries on a promiscuous traffic with all the world, it is called זְנוּת, as being a prostitution of the soul; and, moreover, at markets and fairs, especially Phoenician ones, prostitution of the body was an old custom. For this reason the trades-profits now once more enjoyed by Tyre are called אֶתְנַן (Deut. xxiii. 19). The fem. suffix to this word, according to the Masora, has no *Mappik*, whereas the same authority writes in ver. 18 ואתננה. Here וְשָׁבָה is Milra; in vi. 13, on the other hand, Milel; this is an inconsistency in punctuation (cf. on xi. 2).

This resuscitation of the trade of Tyre is called a visitation of Jehovah; for however worldly the activity of Tyre is, the end which Jehovah makes it serve is a holy one, though it is true this does not hallow it. Ver. 18: "*And her gain and her wages of prostitution become holy unto Jehovah; it is not stored up and not gathered, but theirs who dwell before Jehovah will be her gain from trade, to eat their fill, and for splendid clothing.*" In this passage סחר (it was not necessary to assume another form, סְחָר, for ver. 3), being used side by side with אתנן, is the business itself which yields the profit. This, as well as the profit made, becomes holy unto Jehovah. The latter is not, as previously, treasured up (יֵאָצֵר) and stored (יֵחָסֵן from חָסַן = خزن, whence magazine = store-place), but they give tribute and presents from it to Israel, and contribute to maintain in abundance, and to clothe with splendid garments (מְכַסֶּה, what covers = covering, and עָתִיק, like Arab. عتيق, old, time-honoured, noble, from עָתַק, *provehi*, of time, place, and rank), the people that dwell before Jehovah, *i.e.* whose proper dwelling-place is in the temple before the divine presence (Ps. xxvii. 4, lxxxiv. 5). A strange prospect! *Haec secundum historiam necdum facta comperimus*, says Jerome.

We return now to the question whether the prophet points to the Assyrians or the Chaldeans being the destroyers of Tyre. Shalmaneser IV., concerning whom there are no cuneiform records, had to do with Tyre; we are informed of this by the excerpt from the chronicle of Menander, preserved in Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14. 2. Elulaeus, king of Tyre, had

once more brought the Cyprians (*Κιτταῖοι*) into subjection. In order to recover Cyprus, the king of Assyria made war on Phoenicia, but a general peace soon put an end to this campaign. Thereupon Sidon, Arke, Old Tyre, and many other cities deserted Tyre (insular Tyre) by placing themselves under the supremacy of Assyria. As the Tyrians did not do this, Shalmaneser renewed the war, and the Phoenicians subject to him supplied him with sixty ships and eight hundred rowers for this purpose. The Tyrians fell upon these with twelve ships, scattered the hostile vessels, and took about five hundred prisoners. By this the reputation of Tyre was much increased. The king of Assyria had to content himself with leaving guards on the river (Leontes) and the conduits in order to cut off the supply of fresh water from the Tyrians. This lasted five years, during which time the Tyrians obtained water by digging wells. We have information in at least one cuneiform inscription as to the relation in which Sargon, Shalmaneser's successor, stood: he punished the Ionians, and procured rest (*ušapšiḫu*) for the city of Tyre (*'ir Ṣurri*) from these dreaded pirates.[1] From this we may infer that the relation was a friendly one, indeed, one of vassalage. Under Sennacherib, Tyre tried to become more independent. It is not named among the cities of Phoenicia which Sennacherib boasts he conquered in his third campaign.[2] Nebuchadnezzar's expedition against Tyre also was not crowned with success. Josephus knows (*Ant.* x. 11. 1) from the Indian and Phoenician histories of Philostratus only that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre thirteen years while Ithobaal was king. He also reports (*c. Ap.* i. 21) from a Phoenician source that Nebuchadnezzar (from the seventh year of his reign onwards) for thirteen years besieged Tyre under Ithobaal, and the history of the Tyrian reigns which follows this leads us to suppose that previous to the Persian period the Tyrians were dependants of Chaldea, for twice they got their king from Babylon. Phoenicia (whether including insular Tyre or not, we do not know) became a satrapy of the Chaldean empire (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11. 1; *c. Ap.* i. 19, from Berosus), and was so still towards the end of the Chaldean rule. Berosus says expressly, that Nebuchad-

[1] Schrader, *KAT*², p. 169. [2] *Assyrische Lesestücke*³, p. xii. sq.

nezzar again suppressed the revolt which had broken out in Phoenicia and returned to Babylon, whither he had been recalled by the death of his father, with Phoenician captives. What we fail to find, however, is information as to an actual conquest of Tyre by the Chaldeans. Neither Josephus nor Jerome was able to produce such a thing. The following word of Jehovah was addressed to Ezekiel (xxix. 17 sq.) in the twenty-seventh year of the deportation under Jehoiachin (the sixteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem): "Son of man! Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, has made his army perform a long and grievous service against Tyre: every head has lost its hair, every shoulder is skinned without himself and his army obtaining any recompense from Tyre for the grievous service which they have endured on account of it." Then it is added that Jehovah will give up Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar, and that this will be his army's recompense. Hengstenberg (*de rebus Tyriorum*, 1832), Hävernick, Drechsler, and others are of opinion that this passage presupposes the conquest of Tyre, and only declares the disproportion between the profit which Nebuchadnezzar derived from it and the exertions which it cost him. So Jerome before them (on Ezek. *loc. cit.*): At the time when the army of Nebuchadnezzar with immense exertion had secured access for themselves to insular Tyre by throwing up a mole, and were able to make use of their siege-engines, the Tyrians had already shipped off all their riches to the islands, *ita ut capta urbe nihil dignum labore suo inveniret Nabuchodonosor, et quia Dei in hac parte obedierat voluntati, post aliquot captivitatis annos Tyriae datur ei Aegyptus.* It is, however, surely far likelier that he did not succeed in conquering Tyre (Gesen. Hitzig, Grote, and others), not even in compelling it to capitulate (Winer, Movers, Kuenen); for this last would surely have brought him gain, and would itself have been of this nature. All our authorities speak only of a subjugation of Phoenicia, but not of Tyre; all that can be adduced in support of the vassal-relation of the latter to the great king of the Babylonian empire is that one statement of the Phoenician authorities, that the Tyrians obtained from Babylon (*ἀποστείλαντες μετεπέμψαντο ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος*) two of their rulers, Merbal and Eirom; but it has no evidential value.

But even assuming that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Tyre, it is still the case that he did not destroy it, as we are led to expect from the words of the two prophecies. The true solution lies in the character of all prophetic vision into the distant future. In the view of the prophet, all the destruction by which at last the downfall of Tyre was completed moves forward in company with the impending humiliation and subjugation of the Phoenician mother-country by Assyria and Babylon. Even Alexander did not destroy Tyre, at least insular Tyre, when, after seven months' exertions, he conquered it. Under Syrian, and later, under Roman supremacy, Tyre still was an important and flourishing commercial city. At the time of the Crusades it was so still, and even the Crusaders who conquered it in 1124 did not destroy it. Only one hundred and fifty years later did the work of destruction begin with the removal of the fortifications by the Saracens. At present all the glory of Tyre is either sunk in the sea or buried under drifted sand—an inexhaustible mine of building material for Beyrout and other coast towns. On this large ruin-covered spot, once occupied by the island city, at the north-west corner of the island, there stands the present Tyre (*Ṣûr*), a miserable decaying little place. The island is an island no longer. Alexander's mole, through the washing up of sand, has become a pretty broad neck of land, and connects the island with the shore. This picture of destruction meets the prophet's outlook into the distance; but the interval of two thousand years being so much compressed that the whole appears continuous, the place it occupies is close on the back of the attack by the Chaldeans on Tyre. The law by which prophecy is governed all through is the well-known one of perspective. Prophecy itself cannot have been ignorant of this law, for it needed it in order to vindicate itself in its own eyes. Still greater need had posterity, in order not to be led astray by prophecy, to know about this law, which, everywhere governing it, combines human limitation and divine vision in such a way that, while the former retains its place and power, the latter perceives things, not under the form of time, but in a sort of eternity.

But one other enigma presents itself. The prophet announces that after seventy years Tyre will once more rise

to a high position, and that its world-wide trade will be transferred to the service of the community of Jehovah. As matter of fact, the Tyre that did rise to note again in post-Chaldean times, especially after the capture by Alexander the Great in 333 B.C., had no political importance, but was only a great emporium. *Tyrus olim clura*—says Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17—*nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio atque purpura constat.* Moreover, in post-Chaldean times events also occurred that were preludes to the fulfilment of this prophecy. In accordance with the command of Cyrus, Sidonians and Tyrians assisted in the building of the temple in Jerusalem (Ezra iii. 7, cf. i. 4), and at the very beginning of the apostles' labours there existed in Tyre a Christian community, which was visited by Paul (Acts xxi. 3 sq.), and thenceforth continued to grow steadily. Is it not, however, Christian Tyre which is lying in ruins? One of the most noteworthy ruins is the magnificent cathedral of Tyre, for the consecration of which Eusebius of Caesarea composed an address. Down to the present, then, there have indeed been preludes in which there are features belonging to the fulfilment of the prophecy; but the real fulfilment has apparently become impossible. Whether the prophecy will in the end be fulfilled only ideally, *i.e.* in so far as along with the kingdoms of the world its commerce also becomes God's and His Son's, or πνευματικῶς in the sense in which this word is used in the Apocalypse, *i.e.* by the reproduction in another city of the essential nature of old Tyre, just as Rome was a reproduction of Babylon in this respect, or *in propria persona*, *i.e.* by the disappearance of the present miserable *Ṣur* before a Tyre that rises again from its ruins,—this no expositor, who is not himself a prophet, is able to say.

PART IV.—FINALE OF THE GREAT CATASTROPHE, CHAPS. XXIV.-XXVII.

The cycle of prophecy that begins here finds a counterpart in the Old Testament only perhaps in Zech. ix.–xiv. Both these sections are eschatological and apocalyptic in content.

Even so, they start from apparently sharply-defined historical circumstances, which, however, like will-o'-the-wisps, elude any attempt at following out and grasping them. The particular reason for this is that the root of the idea in the circumstances being laid hold of, they are lifted forward out of the sphere of mere history and made symbols of things in the far-distant final future. It is not matter for wonder, therefore, that in the case of these chapters (xxiv.–xxvii.) Isaiah's authorship has been denied since the time of Eichhorn and Koppe, notwithstanding the fact that, so far as the mere words are concerned, they contain nothing later than the Assyrian period. This was done by Rosenmüller in the first edition of his Scholia, but in the second and third editions he again deviated from this view, mainly because the prophecy nowhere passes beyond the political horizon of Isaiah's own time. We cannot allow any weight to the reason mentioned for the genuineness; it is the light thrown by it which we compared to a will-o'-the-wisp. As a consequence, too, of following this light, however, critics in the course of their search after another historical basis for this cycle of prophecy to take the place of that offered in Isaiah's own times, are involved in contradictions. According to some, the author wrote in Babylon; according to others, in Judah: according to some, towards the end of the exile; according to others, as early as the fall of the kingdom of Judah. Hitzig holds that the city of the world (*Weltstadt*) whose destruction is prophesied is Nineveh; most others, that it is Babylon. Only Egypt and Assyria are mentioned by the prophet as powers that enslave Israel, and so Knobel is led to think that he is speaking figuratively for fear of the enemies still dwelling in Judah. All attempts to settle the historical circumstances break down, because everything that seems to belong to this or that historical period is only eschatological symbol. There is no way of determining whether what reads as history belongs to the present or the past of the prophet; his stand is taken in advance of the farthest point as yet reached by history in its course. These chapters (xxiv.–xxvii.), joined on as they are to chaps. xiii.–xxiii. without any heading, demand that they should be viewed as connected with the oracles concerning the nations in a relation of continuous progress, and this relation is

supported by retrospective allusions, and the fact that Jeremiah (cf. xxiv. 17 sq. with Jer. xlviii. 43 sq.) seems to have read these chapters and xiii.–xxiii. together.[1] The particular judgments prophesied in the oracles against the nations run out into this final judgment as into a sea, and all the salvation that encircles with a halo of radiance the oracles against the nations concentrates here its light and warmth. Chapters xxiv.–xxvii. are the *finale* to chaps. xiii.–xxiii., and that in the strictest sense of the word. This concluding cycle performs the same function as the *finale* in musical compositions, —it gathers into one grand impressive whole the previously scattered themes. It is also, however, in reality full of music and song. The description of the catastrophe in chap. xxiv. is followed by an echo in the simple form of a hymn. As the book of Immanuel (chaps. vii.–xii.) concludes with a psalm of the redeemed, so here there rise the strains of a fourfold song of praise. It celebrates the overthrow of the city of the world (xxv. 1, 2), the appearing and beatific presence of Jehovah (xxv. 9), the restoration and resurrection of Israel (xxvi. 1–19), the vineyard of the community bringing forth fruit under Jehovah's protection (xxvii. 2–5). This song, too, assumes every form from the most sublime hymn to the most ordinary kind of popular ditty. It is a great and varied concert to which we are listening, opened and closed only as it were with the epic beginning chap. xxiv., and the epic conclusion chap. xxvii. 6 sqq., and interspersed with sort of recitative pieces in which the thread of prophecy is carried forward. Nowhere, too, do we find so much music in the very sound of the words. This entire *finale* is a great Hallelujah to chaps. xiii.–xxiii., hymnlike in content, musical in form. The form does not make us hesitate to attribute it to Isaiah; even Driver notes verses and groups of verses quite Isaianic in style, and admits the type to be fundamentally Isaianic and non-Jeremianic. But this cannot be denied:— the contents, in order to find a place in the development of the Old Testament knowledge of salvation, must be referred to post-Isaianic times. The author is not Isaiah himself, but a disciple of Isaiah's who in this case surpasses his master. Isaiah is great in himself, greater still in his disciples, as

[1] See the closing remarks, Drechsler's *Isaiah*, iii. 405 sq., cf. 399 sq.

rivers are greater than the source whence they issue. It must, however, always appear strange, that tradition has been so careless as to let the name of a prophet who, like the author of Isa. xxiv.–xxvii., played so important a part in the history of thought on the subject of salvation, sink into oblivion.

THE JUDGMENT UPON THE EARTH, CHAP. XXIV.

Like xix. 1, the first verse of chap. xxiv. places us at once in the very midst of the catastrophe, and the contents of the subsequent description of the judgment are gathered together in a few comprehensive sentences (as in xv. 1, xvii. 1, xxiii. 1, cf. xxxiii. 1). Vers. 1–3: "*Behold, Jehovah poureth out the earth and layeth it waste, and marreth its form and scattereth its inhabitants. And it fareth as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the creditor, so with the debtor. Emptying the earth is emptied out, and plundering is plundered, for Jehovah hath spoken this word.*" As it does everywhere in Isaiah (iii. 1, xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxx. 27, and frequently), הִנֵּה points to something future. It is also only in Isaiah that we find prophecies beginning like this with nothing but הנה; for though the most nearly parallel beginnings, Jer. xlvii. 2, xlix. 35, cf. li. 1, Ezek. xxix. 3, do commence with הנה, an introductory formula precedes. The emphatic כִּי ה' דִּבֵּר, which everywhere in Isaiah forms the conclusion of a statement about the future, occurs by no means exclusively (Obad. 18; Joel iv. 8; Micah iv. 4; 1 Kings xiv. 11), though, no doubt, principally in the Book of Isaiah (i. 20, xxi. 17, xxii. 25, xxv. 8, xl. 5, lviii. 14; cf. in addition, specially xix. 4 and xvi. 13, xxxvii. 22). The detailed enumeration of ver. 2 has Isaianic parallels in ii. 12–16, iii. 2 sq., 18–23, cf. ix. 13 (cf. also xix. 2–4, where there is a judgment unfolded which concludes similarly). The prophet begins at this early stage to play with sounds. There is a similarity in the ring of בֻּקָּה (root בק, reproducing the sound of a liquid gradually emptying itself out) and בֻּלָּקָה (cf. Arab. *ballûḳa*, an empty bare desert), as in Nah. ii. 11,

cf. 3; Jer. li. 2. The Niphal imperfects are intentionally written תִּבּוֹק and תִּבּוֹז (instead of תִּבַּק, תִּבַּז), as if from hollow roots, in order that they may rhyme with the absolute infinitives (cf. xxii. 13). Instead, too, of the regular כַּגְּבִרְתָּהּ, we have כְּגְבִרְתָּהּ with more closely attracted כְּ for the sake of getting the same opening sound as in the case of the other ten words. מַלְוֶה is a lender, and לֹוֶה one who deals in loans (borrower). In the clause in which the comparison is drawn, נֹשֶׁא (so here according to the Massora, whereas in 1 Sam. xxii. 2, נֹשֶׁא) is written instead of נֹשֶׁה. Similarly נָשָׁא elsewhere also occurs alongside of נָשָׁה, and indeed from comparison of نسأ, to prorogue, to delay, to credit, is the original form. נֹשֶׁה is the creditor, and אֲשֶׁר נֹשֶׁא בוֹ is not the person who has borrowed from him, but, as נָשָׁה everywhere means to credit (*Hiph.* give credit), the one whom he lends to (with ב of *obj.* like נָגַשׂ בְּ, ix. 3), not the person through whom he is נֹשֶׁא (Hitzig on Jer. xv. 10). Hence—likeness of creditor, likeness of debtor—*i.e.* it fares with the one exactly as with the other. The judgment is one that embraces all without distinction of rank and condition. It is universal, too, not merely within the borders of the entire land of Israel, but as regards the inhabitants of the earth, for הָאָרֶץ means the earth here, and implies even the New Testament ethical idea of *κόσμος* as in xi. 4.

That it is so, vers. 4–9 show, where the condition of the curse-smitten earth is more particularly described, and its cause stated: "*Stricken down, lying withered is the earth; languishing and withered is the world; they have languished away, the foremost of the people of the earth. And the earth is become regardlessly wicked under its inhabitants, for they transgressed revelations, violated the statute, broke the everlasting covenant. Therefore Curse hath devoured the earth, and they who dwell in it make expiation; therefore are burnt up the inhabitants of the earth, and there remain few mortals. The juice of the grape mourns, withered is the vine, all the merry-hearted groan. Hushed is the joyous playing of timbrel, ceased has the uproar of the exultant, hushed is the joyous playing of the lute. They do not drink wine with song, bitter tastes strong drink to them who drink it.*" תֵּבֵל (always without the

article, after the fashion of proper nouns) and הָאָרֶץ, which are in general in this cycle of prophecy interchangeable, are used here (ver. 4), as in xxvi. 9, as parallel expressions. In poetry תֵּבֵל signifies the earth, and that without limitation (also xiii. 11, xviii. 3), so that הָאָרֶץ also is used here in the most comprehensive sense (not as in the passage xxxiii. 9, which contains the same play on sounds). The earth, including מְרוֹם, the high ones (*abstr. pro concr.* like כָּבוֹד, v. 13, xxii. 24) of the earth's people (עָם, as in xlii. 5, xl. 7, of humanity), is plunged into mourning, and is become like a withered heat-wasted plant. אֻמְלְלוּ (from אָמַל, أمل, to be or become long, to hang down far, loosely, withered) stands in semi-pause, thus bringing into prominence the following subject. It is the penalty of the sin of the earth's inhabitants which the earth has to share, for the iniquity of those who live on it has been imparted to it. חָנֵף (חָנַף) means to be degenerate, set on evil (ix. 16), regardlessly wicked, used thus intransitively of a land to have the guilt of iniquity, especially blood-guiltiness, attaching to it (Ps. cvi. 38; Num. xxxv. 33; cf. *transit.* Jer. iii. 9). The regardlessly wicked conduct of men, by which the earth has been made חֲנֻפָּה, is expressed in three short hurried indignantly excited sentences (cf. xv. 6, xvi. 4, xxix. 20, xxxiii. 8; also xxiv. 5, i. 4, vi. 8, and not in Isaiah; Joel i. 10; and, perhaps, Josh. vii. 11). In view of the universal reference in הָאָרֶץ, we cannot understand by law merely the positive law of Israel. There is, however, also a positive law older than Israel. It was with the human race in the person of Noah, and so before it had split into peoples, that God made an everlasting covenant consisting of promises and obligations. But the inhabitants of the earth have transgressed (עָבְרוּ) this revealed rule of life; they have forsaken (left behind them, חָלְפוּ; cf. *aḫlafa*, to become faithless, *ḫulf*, the non-fulfilling what was promised) this law; they have broken this covenant (הֵפֵרוּ, root פר, separate, *dirimere*). Israel is included among the transgressors, and by this the choice of expression is determined. With עַל־כֵּן the prophecy, exactly as in v. 25, cf. 24, makes the transition from the sin to the punishment. אָלָה is the curse of God with which the transgressors of His law are threatened (Dan.

ix. 11; cf. the borrowed passage Jer. xxiii. 10, from which, in some codices and editions, אָבְלָה in place of אָכְלָה has passed into our passage). The curse of God devours, for it is fire, and a fire devouring from within outwards (see i. 31, v. 24, ix. 18, x. 16 sq., xxix. 6, xxx. 27 sqq., xxxiii. 11–14). חָרוּ (*Milel*) from חָרַר, they are burned out, *exusti*. With regard to וַיֶּאְשְׁמוּ, it is hardly necessary to remark that it is not to be referred to אָשֵׁם = יָשַׁם, שָׁמֵם, but of the two meanings *culpam contrahere* and *culpam sustinere* has the latter. We should note in the vanishing away of men till there is only a small remnant an Isaianic feature; נִשְׁאַר (שְׁאָר) is the formal word for this remnant. מִזְעָר (used of number here and in xvi. 14, of time, x. 25, xxix. 17) is exclusively Isaianic, and אֱנוֹשׁ is used as in xxxiii. 8; cf. xiii. 12. Ver. 7 reminds us of Joel chap. i. (cf. on the short sentences xxix. 20, xvi. 8–10) vers. 8 and 9, of v. 12, 14, and other Isaianic passages. עַלִּיז is found only in Isaiah (Zeph. ii. 15 derives it from Isa. xxii. 2, xxxii. 13; Zeph. iii. 11, like Isa. xiii. 3), and for בַּשִּׁיר (with joyous song), cf. xxx. 32 (with beating of timbrels and playing of lutes) together with xxviii. 7. The description is elegiac, and dwells so long on wine (cf. chap. xvi.), because as a vegetable product and as a drink it is of all the gifts of God in nature the one that most gladdens the human heart (Ps. civ. 15; Judg. ix. 13). All the means of enjoyment are destroyed, and even though much of what gladdens still exists, it is bitter to men's taste.

The world and its pleasure are judged, judged also the city of the world, where the world's power and pleasure were concentrated. Vers. 10–13: "*Broken to pieces is the city of Tōhu, shut up every house, not to be set foot in. A cry of lamentation because of the wine is in the fields, all gladness has set, the joy of the earth is banished. Of the city there is left desolation, and the gate was battered into ruins. For so will it be within the earth, in the midst of the peoples, as at the beating of the olive, as at the gleaning, when the vintage is over.*" In view of the fact that קִרְיַת is joined on to תֹהוּ (a kind of proper name), it is not possible to take קִרְיַת תֹהוּ collectively (like Rosenmüller, Drechsler), and the context, in which, as we saw, הָאָרֶץ has the sense of κόσμος, prevents our understanding it (like Schegg, Stier, and others) of Jerusalem (according to

xxxii. 13 sq.). It is the city that is the centre of the world and its alienation from God, whose end will be תֹהוּ as its essence was תֹהוּ; destruction of the harmony of the divine order was its essence, destruction of its existence and precipitation back into the chaos of the primeval beginning will be its end. Rome is similarly called *turbida Roma* in Persius, i. 5. Here, too, everything is Isaianic: תֹהוּ is used as in xxix. 21; and with regard to מִבּוֹא (*ita ut ingredi nequeas, scil.* on account of the ruins that block up the entrance), cf. xxiii. 1, vii. 8, xvii. 1; also v. 9, vi. 11, xxxii. 13. Crying on account of the wine in the fields outside, ver. 11 (cf. Job v. 10), is lamentation over the destruction of the vineyards. Wine, which is one of the favourite Isaianic symbols, stands here, too, for all the natural sources of joy conjointly. The expression עָרְבָה כָּל־שִׂמְחָה presupposes an affinity between joy and light, for עָרַב, غَرُبَ, means to go away, and, especially, to set of the sun (Assyr. *erêb šamši*, sunset). Of the city (בָּעִיר, partitive, as in case of בּוֹ, x. 22) nothing more is left (נִשְׁאַר) than שַׁמָּה, which it has become (cf. v. 9, xxxii. 14). The strong gates, which once swarmed with men, are battered (יֻכַּת, as in Micah i. 7, for יוּכַּת, Gesen. § 67, Rem. 8) into ruins (שְׁאִיָּה, ἀπ. λεγ., noun predicative of consequence, as in xxxvii. 26, into desolated heaps; cf. vi. 11 and elsewhere). Then there is left in the wide circuit of the earth (vi. 12, vii. 22; but הָאָרֶץ, the earth, as in x. 23, xix. 24), and in the midst of what has hitherto been a crowd of peoples (cf. Micah v. 6 sq.), only a small remnant of men. The metaphors of this passage, which is a miniature of xvii. 4–6, express the fundamental thought which runs through the Book of Isaiah from beginning to end. The state of matters produced by the catastrophe is like the olive-beating, which recovers the fruit left hanging when the trees were stripped, and like the grape-gleaning after the grape harvest has been fully gathered in (כָּלָה, here as in x. 25, xvi. 4, xxi. 16, and frequently = to be past, whereas it means to be hopelessly gone, xxxii. 10, like xv. 6); there will be as few men left in the great wide world as olives and grapes after the principal harvest in each case. Those who are saved belong especially, but not exclusively (Joel iii. 5), to Israel. The place where they assemble is the land of promise.

There a community now exists which, purified by the judgment, now rouses itself to discharge its calling as the apostle of the world. Vers. 14, 15: "*Those will lift up their voice, shout exultingly; because of Jehovah's majesty they shout from the sea: 'Therefore in the lands of the sun praise ye Jehovah, in the isles of the sea the name of Jehovah the God of Israel.'*" The reason and matter of rejoicing is גְּאוֹן ה׳, *i.e.* that Jehovah has shown Himself so majestic in judgment and mercy (xii. 5 sq.), and is now so manifest in His exaltedness (ii. 11, 17). Therefore the sound of rejoicing comes from the Mediterranean (מִיָּם), by which the land where Jehovah's community dwelt is washed. The community when turned in that direction had before it the islands and coastlands (אִיֵּי הַיָּם, as only once more, xi. 11; cf. Ezek. xxvi. 18) of the European west, and behind it the lands of the Asiatic east, called אֻרִים, the lands of the light, *i.e.* of the sunrise. This is the meaning that we, along with F. Schelling, Drechsler, Grünbaum (*Ztschft. deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxi. 597), put on the word אֻרִים (a ἁπ. λεγ., like מְאוּרָה, xi. 8).[1] The reading באיים (Lowth, J. D. Michaelis, Hitzig, Cheyne, Driver, on authority of LXX.) destroys the antithesis of east and west, which we are led to look for. The summons goes forth in both directions, and calls, because of the manifestation of the glory of Jehovah, Israel's God (xviii. 7) to the praise of His name. His שֵׁם (cf. xxx. 27) is just His essence or nature as made known and rendered capable of being named in His acts of judgment and mercy.

The summons, too, does not go forth in vain. Ver. 16*a*: "*From the border of the earth we hear songs, 'Praise to the righteous one!'*" It is not unnatural to think that in לַצַּדִּיק Jehovah is meant; but, as Hitzig rightly remarks, הַצַּדִּיק is never used thus absolutely of Jehovah (cf. Ps. cxii. 4, where,

[1] Döderlein compares the Arabic اور, *septentrio*, but this is the Greek εὖρος. It is more natural to think of regions in the west, for ايوار means the time between mid-day and sunset, like the Talmudic אור (אוּרְתָּא), the evening, in Pehlvi אורוראן, *urwerân*, western; cf. אוּרְיָא, western region, *Bathra* 25*a*, *Kiddushin* 12*b*, which, however, according to Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien*, p. 141, might be a contraction of the Assyrian *aharru*.

however, it is connected with other attributes, and Ex. ix. 27 where it occurs in an antithesis), and, in addition to this, צְבִי is what Jehovah bestows (iv. 2, xxviii. 5), while what is given to him is not צְבִי but כָּבוֹד. We must therefore explain the passage in accordance with iii. 10; cf. Hab. ii. 4. It is the community of the righteous whose faith has outlasted the fire of the judgment of wrath that is intended. Its summons to praise Jehovah is answered from the border of the earth with songs, in which it is thanked and congratulated. The earth is thought of under the figure of a garment spread out; כְּנַף is the edge or end of it—the most distant eastern and western extremities (cf. xi. 12). The grateful songs, whose echo sounds in the ears of the community of the future, rise from that quarter.

The prophet feels himself ἐν πνεύματι to be a member of this community. Still all at once he becomes conscious of sufferings that must first of all be got over, and which he cannot see without himself experiencing also. Vers. 16*b*–20: "*Then I said, Ruin to me! Ruin to me! Woe to me! Robbers rob, and, like robbers robbing, they rob. Terror and pit and snare are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth! And it comes to pass, whoso fleeth from the tidings of the terror falls into the pit, and whoso escapeth out of the pit is taken in the snare; for the trap-doors of the height above are opened, and the earth's foundations quake. Breaking breaks up the earth; bursting bursts up earth; tottering totters earth to its fall: reeling reels earth like a drunken man, and swings like a hammock; and the weight of its crimes presses heavily on it, and it falls and rises not again.*" וָאֹמַר (cf. vi. 5) is connected with an apocalypse in the same way as, *e.g.*, in Rev. vii. 14. He said it at that time when in a state of ecstasy; now when he is writing down what he saw, this saying is a thing of the past. Behind the final salvation there is a final judgment of wrath, and looking back to that he broke out into the cry of pain; רָזִי־לִי, consuming, wasting away (see x. 16, xvii. 4) to me, *i.e.* I must pass away. The word רָזִי is formed like מְרִי, קָלִי, שָׁנִי, עָנִי, and is really a neuter adjective, meaning *emaciatum* = *macies*: it is from רָזָה, to make disappear, wipe away, Arab. رزا, رزى, more general in signification = to damage, whence *razîya*, plur. *razâyâ*, Palmyr. רזאן,

calamities (*Ztschft. deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xviii. 81); cf., however, also رَذِيَ, to be enfeebled, exhausted. He sees a dreadful fierce people at work among men and treasures thinning them out (cf. for the play upon sound in בגד, *tecte agere, i.e.* from behind, treacherously, trickily, xxi. 2, xxxiii. 1). The exclamation, "terror and pit," etc. (applied by Jer. xlviii. 43 sq. to the fate coming on Moab from the Chaldeans), is not an invocation, but only the deeply-felt statement of the inevitable. The words pit and snare compare men to game and the enemies to hunters (cf. Jer. xvi. 16; Lam. iv. 19). פַּחַת is derived from a strong verb, פָּחַת (cf. the popular Arabian proverb, "whoever digs a pit for others, فاحت بير, falls into it himself"); יִלָּכֵד, as in viii. 15, xxviii. 13. The עַל in עָלֶיךָ is used exactly as in Judg. xvi. 9; cf. Isa. xvi. 9. Whoever, on hearing the terrible news, flees before it (מִן, as in xxxiii. 3), by no means escapes the destruction, but falls into its clutches, if not in the one way, then in the other (the very same thought which is expressed twice by Amos in v. 19, and again at greater length and in more terribly sublime words in ix. 1–4). The instruments of punishment referred to in בּוֹגְדִים are kept in the background. What stands in the foreground and dominates the whole is the thought that the judgment is a direct act of God Himself. For this reason it is described as if it were another flood (for the אֲרֻבּוֹת, sluices, *καταῤῥάκται*, of the *rakia'* point back to Gen. vii. 11, viii. 2; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 23), and represented as an earthquake. מוֹסְדֵי אֶרֶץ are the foundations on which the visible body of the earth rests. The three reflexive forms in ver. 19 together with their gerundives, the latter of which help the mind to take in, by keeping steadily before it, each stage of the catastrophe, fix in a word-picture the way in which the earth in its quaking first breaks, then bursts and falls. רֹעָה seems to be a slip of the pen for רֹעַ, unless, as in Hab. iii. 9, it is a *nomen actionis* instead of the *inf. abs.*; the accentuation, however (different from Prov. xxv. 19, where *Dechî* does not indicate the place of the tone), treats the *ah* as a toneless addition, and the form therefore (like קֹב, Num. xxiii. 25) as *inf. absol.* The reflexive form הִתְרֹעֲעָה is here, of course, not *Hithpal.* from רוּעַ, *vociferari*, but *Hithpo.* from רָעַע (רָצַץ),

frangere. The earth first of all gets fractured, then yawning chasms open, once more it sways to and fro, and falls. It is no longer possible for it to keep upright, its enormities bear it heavily down (כָּבַד for כָּבֵד, the weight being represented as active), so that now for the last time it reels like a drunk man (xxviii. 7, xxix. 9), or like a hammock (i. 8), then falls never to rise again. The articles with כ express the genus. נוד, whence הִתְנוֹדֵד, is connected with נוט (Ps. xcix. 1), just as ماد, to turn oneself hither and thither in walking, *se balancer*, with מוט, whence הִתְמֹטֵט.

If the old earth perishes in such a manner from its place in the universe, God will at the same time (the prophet does not break up in thought and chronologically arrange what belongs to the end of all things) punish the princes of heaven as well as the princes of earth. The secrets of two worlds here unveil themselves to the gaze of the Old Testament seer. Vers. 21–23: "*And it comes to pass in that day, Jehovah will visit the host of the height in the height, and the kings of the earth on the earth. And they are immured as one immures prisoners in the pit, and shut up in the prison, and after the expiry of many days they are visited. And covered with shame is the moon and confounded the sun, for as king reigns Jehovah of hosts on Mount Zion, and before His elders is glory.*" In view of the antithesis of מָרוֹם and אֲדָמָה (cf. xxiii. 17*b*), which is made as sharp and prominent as possible, we cannot (with the Targum, Luther, Calvin, Hävernick) understand by the host of the height earthly powers. The name itself is also opposed to this view; for צְבָא מָרוֹם, as is shown by ver. 18 (where מִמָּרוֹם = מִשָּׁמַיִם, cf. xxxiii. 5, xxxvii. 23, xl. 26), is equivalent to צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, and everywhere this is either the starry host (xl. 26) or the angelic host (1 Kings xxii. 19; Ps. cxlviii. 2), occasionally both in one without distinction (Neh. ix. 6). As sun and moon are mentioned in ver. 23, we might be inclined to think (with Baudissin, G. A. Smith, and others) that here the host of the height is the starry host: "The shining kingly forms of the sky, the stars out of which idols have been made fall from their altars, and the kings of the earth from their thrones" (Umbreit). The antithetical member מַלְכֵי, however, compels us to suppose that צְבָא המרום also designates personal powers, and the par-

ticularizing account of the penal visitation (פָּקַד עַל, as in xxvii. 1, 3, cf. xxvi. 21, and the verbal and material parallel, Jer. xlvi. 25), "they are immured," etc., which in some way or another must be applicable also to the host of heaven, postulates personality. It might be objected that it is the kings who are immured, and that in the putting to shame of the sun and moon in ver. 23, the penal visitation of the host of heaven is expressed. The fact, however, that sun and moon are thrown into the shade by the revelation of the glory of Jehovah, we cannot for a moment admit to be punishment. But if צְבָא מָרוֹם is the angelic host, the penal visitation referred to must be one that, happening within the spirit-world, stands in causal connection with the history of humanity, specially with the history of the peoples. Consequently צְבָא מָרוֹם will have to be understood as meaning the angels of the peoples and kingdoms (Abn Ezra, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, Knobel), and the presupposition of this prophecy is what is stated in Deut. xxxii. 8*a*, LXX. (cf. Syriac, xvii. 14), and represented in the visions of the Book of Daniel, viz. that there is a world of spirits which God employs to carry on His government of the world, and which influences not only the life of the individual, but also the history of the peoples. God's judgment here goes forth, as against the kings of earth so against the celestial guardian powers of the peoples, though it need not from this be supposed that these guardian powers were from the first rebel angels. They come under God's penal visitation, because they have misled the peoples whom it was their duty to lead.[1] Ver. 22*a* states the preliminary punishment of the angelic as well as of the human princes. אֲסֵפָה takes the place of an *inf. intens.* like טַלְטֵלָה, xxii. 17. עֶרְיָה, Hab. iii. 9, cf. רֹעָה, ver. 19, and the construction אֲסֵפָה אַסִּיר, following the verbal expression אָסַף אַסִּיר, to immure a captive, means "immuring after the manner of immuring captives;" for אָסַף, to gather, in x. 14, xxxiii. 4, has here the signification to immure (thrust into), as in Gen. xlii. 17. Both verbs are used with עַל, because the captives are thrust down into pit and ward from above (עַל contains

[1] Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. p. 814 sq., shows how familiar later Judaism was with this idea.

the two ideas *upon* or *over* anything and *into* it, *e.g.* 1 Sam. xxxi. 4; 2 Kings iv. 4; Job vi. 16; see Hitzig on Nah. iii. 12). How we are to understand this is shown by 2 Pet. ii. 4, Jude 6, with the parallels in the Book of Henoch (xviii. 14–16, cf. x. 12 sq.) and the Jubilees (chap. v.). The prophet is thinking of the abyss of Hades, where they are reserved, bound with chains of darkness *εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας*. In accordance with this parallel, we must apparently understand by יִפָּקֵדוּ, on the analogy of xxix. 6, Ezek. xxxviii. 8, cf. פָּקַד, *seq. acc.*, xxvi. 21 (also xxvi. 14), Ps. lix. 6: visitation in wrath, and so execution of the final punishment. Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, Luzzatto, on the other hand, understand by it a visitation in mercy; Gesenius, Umbreit, and others (without support in idiom or custom), a citation. A comparison of xxiii. 17 in relation to xxiii. 15 (following which the Targum and Saadia paraphrase, they will come again into remembrance) is in favour of visitation in mercy; they are visited in getting free again (cf. Rev. xx. 3). They then begin again their former life, but only immediately (as ver. 23 says) to lose for ever their temporarily re-acquired dominion. Then the Lord reigns with His own in the new Jerusalem in such glory that the silvery moon (לְבָנָה) shamefacedly veils itself, and the glowing sun (חַמָּה) is confounded with shame (see on i. 29), because in the presence of such glory the two great lights of heaven will be, according to a Jewish expression, כשרגא בטיהרא, like a lamp in the noontide sunshine. Noteworthy among the many parallels to ver. 23 found in Isaiah (חַמָּה and לְבָנָה, xxx. 26; חָפֵר and בּוֹשׁ, i. 29; מָלַךְ, xxxiii. 22; on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, x. 12) are those to the concluding noun-sentence וְנֶגֶד זְקֵנָיו כָּבוֹד, especially xi. 10 (also iv. 5), and for the definition of the idea in זְקֵנִים, i. 26, cf. iii. 14. "His elders," as also the twenty-four *πρεσβύτεροι* of the Apocalypse, are not angels, but men. Angels never become זְקֵנִים (see *Iris*, p. 174). They are elders after God's own heart, such as in contrast with its present bad זְקֵנִים (iii. 14) are promised to the Israel of the Jerusalem of the future (i. 26). These, being admitted to God's immediate presence and reigning with Him, are confronted with nothing but glory, and it they reflect.

The Fourfold Hymnic Echo, Chaps. XXV., XXVI.

A.—*The first echo: salvation of the peoples after the fall of the city of the world*, chap. xxv. 1–8.

But what at this time is accomplished finds not only its reflection but also its echo. At xxv. 1 sqq. the hymnic echoes begin. The prophet, transported to the end of time, celebrates what he saw in psalms and songs. These do not reproduce merely the contents of the prophecy, but by penetrating to its depths and drawing out of it, they partly develop, partly provide the means for developing it further. The first echo is xxv. 1–8, or more exactly xxv. 1–5. The prophet, whom from chap. xii. we already know to be a psalmist, acts as leader of the community of the future, and praises Jehovah for having destroyed the mighty city of the world, and for having proved Himself the shield and defence of the hitherto oppressed community against the tyranny of the city of the world. Vers. 1–5: "*Jehovah, my God art Thou! I will exalt Thee, praise Thy name, that Thou hast done wonders, counsels from afar, truthfulness, truth. For Thou hast turned what was a city into a heap of stones, the steep castle into ruins, the erection of barbarians into a city of the past, for ever not to be rebuilt. Therefore will a fierce people honour Thee, cities of violent nations fear Thee. For Thou didst prove Thyself to be a stronghold to the humble, a stronghold to the poor in his distress, a shelter from the rain-storm, a shade from the sun's burning; for the blast of violent ones became like a rain-storm against a wall. Like the sun's burning in a thirsty land Thou didst subdue the uproar of the barbarians; like the sun's burning before the shadow of clouds had the violent men's song of victory to subside.*" The introduction, in structure reminding us somewhat of the "Aufgesang" of the Minnesingers, is to be understood in accordance with Ps. cxviii. 28: Jehovah (*vocat.*), my God art Thou. This confession of faith now sounds forth in tones of increased strength and fervour. Among the many plays on sound in the cycle of prophecy the rhyme *aromimcha* (see as to *i* on i. 15, lii. 12), *ōdeh šimcha* is noteworthy. עָשִׂיתָ פֶּלֶא (like Ps. lxxvii. 15, lxxviii. 12) is taken from Ex. xv. 11 (as xii. 2 from Ex. xv. 2). The

wonders now accomplished are עֵצוֹת מֵרָחוֹק, resolutions taken far back, *i.e.* long before, God's thoughts from eternity,—the same ideal view as in xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26 (a perfect parallel in every respect to our passage), and all through the second part. Nägelsbach translates, "counsels with a distant object," but even לְמֵרָחוֹק of xxxvii. 26 points to the past in such a connection. It is the manifold עֵצָה of the Holy One of Israel (v. 19, xiv. 24–27, xix. 12, 17, xxiii. 8, xxviii. 29) which displays its wonders in the events that happen in time. The phrase עָשָׂה חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת requires us to connect *emûma ômen* with עָשִׂיתָ as accusative of the second and third object. Derivatives from the same original stand side by side in order to emphasize the idea as much as possible, as in iii. 1, xvi. 6. אֱמוּנָה means faith and faithfulness (from the root idea of firmness) as qualities and conditions; אֹמֶן (only here) is faithfulness proved and maintained in deeds. Jehovah has shown constancy, has been constant, *i.e.* once having allowed His word to take effect, He has stood to it. The city of the world is overthrown. Jehovah has, as the first sentence, ending with *zakef*, says, transposed out of the nature of a city into the condition of a heap of stones. The parallel member might lead us to look for הָעִיר, but the sentence as it stands brings only the change effected into prominence. לְ is used as in, *e.g.*, xxiii. 13; cf. xxxvii. 26; and מִן as in vii. 8, xvii. 1, xxiii. 1, xxiv. 10. מַפֵּלָה (here and xxiii. 13) or מַפָּלָה (xvii. 1) is a word, instances of which are found only in the Book of Isaiah. עִיר, קִרְיָה, and אַרְמוֹן are likewise words commonly used by Isaiah in parallelisms (i. 26, xxii. 2, xxxii. 13 sq.); and זָרִים, as in i. 7, xxix. 5, is the most general designation of the enemies of the people of God. The fall of the world-empire is followed by the conversion of the heathen; for the songs, xxiv. 16, come from the lips of the farthest peoples. Ver. 3 runs parallel with Rev. xv. 3 sq. Peoples, down to this time uncivilised and slaves of their passions (עַז), submit to Jehovah with proper reverence; those hitherto despotically oppressive (עָרִיצִים, as in xiii. 11 of the form שָׁלִישִׁים, פָּרִיצִים), with humble fear. The reason for this conversion of the heathen is, as stated in the Apocalypse, ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν. דַּל and אֶבְיוֹן (cf. xiv. 30, xxix. 19) are names of the *ecclesia pressa*, as we know from their use in the Psalms. Jehovah has proved Himself to

her in her distress (בַּצַּר לוֹ, as in xxvi. 16, lxiii. 9, cf. xxxiii. 2) a stronghold (מָעוֹז from עָזַז) or refuge (from עוּז, عاذ, see on xxx. 3), in short, a place of safety, a protection against the storm, and shade from the heat (cf. as to the figures, iv. 6, xxxii. 2, xvi. 3; Sir. xxxi. 16, Greek text), so that the blast of the tyrants (cf. רוּחַ, xxx. 28, xxxiii. 11; Ps. lxxvi. 13) became like a wall-storm, *i.e.* like a storm which comes in contact with a wall (cf. ix. 3, shoulder-stick, *i.e.* one which comes in contact with the shoulder), dashes against it and is broken, without being able to wash it away (xxviii. 17; Ps. lxii. 4), for it is the wall of a strong castle, and this strong castle is Jehovah Himself. As Jehovah is able to subdue all of a sudden the sun's intense heat in dryness (צָיוֹן, *abstr. pro concr.*, as in xxxii. 2 = אֶרֶץ צִיָּה, xli. 18), and it is allayed as soon as He raises a shady cover (Jer. iv. 29), *i.e.* of clouds (Ex. xix. 9; Ps. xviii. 12), so does He of a sudden subdue the raging (שָׁאוֹן, as in xvii. 12) of the hordes that assail His people, and the tyrants' song of triumph (זָמִיר, elsewhere only Cant. ii. 12), which spread over the world like scorching heat, is made to subside. עָנָה has its neuter root meaning, "to bow or bend" (Arab. عنا, *impf. o.*), as in xxxi. 4.

So the first hymnic echo dies out, and the eschatological prophecy, returning to xxiv. 23, but with a power of insight increased by prayer, proceeds. Ver. 6: "*And Jehovah of hosts prepares for all peoples on this mountain a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things rich in marrow, of wines on the lees well strained.*" "This mountain" is Zion, the place of God's presence, the place of His community's worship. The feast thought of therefore is a spiritual one, an antitype of the meals in connection with the Shelamîm sacrifices (cf. Ps. xxii. 26 sqq.), which it far surpasses. שְׁמָרִים, elsewhere lees (from שָׁמַר, to lay past or up, to let ferment), are here *vina faecata*, as Cato, *de re rust.* c. 154, calls wines which have lain on the lees for a long time for the sake of gaining in strength, colour, and durability. Of course שְׁמָרִים really means the *faeces* themselves; and bad wines might bear this name, as *faex Laletana* in Martial, i. 27. But the adjective does away with the idea of dregginess. For שְׁמָרִים מְזֻקָּקִים are wines which, left on their lees after the first fermentation, have

thoroughly fermented and long settled, and which are filtered before drinking (Greek, *οἶνος σακκίας, i.e.* *διϋλισμένος* or *διηθικός*, from *διηθεῖν*, *percolare*), hence strong clear wines. שְׁמָנִים is equivalent to חֲלָבִים from חֵלֶב, שֶׁמֶן being also applied to animal fat (x. 27, xvii. 4, x. 16). שְׁמָנִים מְמֻחָיִם does not mean pieces of fat meat deprived of the marrow, for the *Piel* (Arab. مَخَّخَ) is used privatively, but never the *Pual*, and seldom the *Kal* (see Mühlau on Prov. xxxi. 3); then "to deprive of marrow" can only be applied to bones, not to fat meat itself; thirdly, we expect in this place rather to find mention of abundance of marrow. So the meaning of the adjective is "made marrowy," "provided with marrow," *medullata*. The thing thus symbolized is the full enjoyment of blessedness in the perfected kingdom of God. The heathen are not only humbled in such a way that they submit to the Lord, they also have share in the blessedness of His community, and are satisfied with the abundance of His house, and given to drink of delight as of a stream (Ps. xxxvi. 9). This verse (6) sounds like the joyful music of the heavenly feast. The choice of the more flexible form מְמֻחָיִם (from the original מְמֻחֶה = מְמֻחַי) instead of מְמֻחִים is intentional. We hear, as it were, the playing of rapidly-bowed stringed instruments.

The feast is on earth, for the Old Testament knows nothing of a heaven where blessed men are gathered. Still the promise takes a higher flight than anywhere else. Vers. 7, 8: "*And He swallows off on this mountain the veil that veils over all peoples, and the cover that is covered over all nations. He swallows off death for ever, and the All-Lord, Jehovah, wipes the tear from every face, and the shame of His people He takes away from the whole earth; for Jehovah hath spoken it.*" On the back of what Jehovah bestows comes what He removes. "This mountain" is specified as the place where this also is accomplished. He who decreed death and now also abolishes it is Jehovah Elohim. Veil and cover (מַסֵּכָה from מָסַךְ = נָסַךְ, xxii. 8, from נסך, whence *nâsik*, protector, prince; *mussikku*, protection = sovereignty, supremacy. *Ztschft. deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxviii. 128) are symbols, not of grief and affliction, but of spiritual blindness, like the *κάλυμμα* on the heart of Israel in 2 Cor. iii. 15. פְּנֵי הַלּוֹט (cf. Job xli. 5) is the outer or upper

side of the veil. Nägelsbach asks, "Was He then likely to take hold of it from behind?" Undoubtedly it is possible to tear off a veil in this way, but Jehovah grasps it by the פָּנִים, removing it, not with violence, but with care. The second הַלּוֹט is not a passive form (Kimchi), but for the sake of the homophony, takes the place of הַלָּט (see iv. 6, vii. 11, viii. 6, xxii. 13); cf. the obscure Niphal forms, xxiv. 3 (Gesen. § 72, Rem. 1). With regard to the names for the veil,—in לוֹט the idea of all-sidedness predominates; in מַסֵּכָה that of density. The removing of the veil, as well as of death, is called בִּלַּע, a word which is used of God also in xix. 3; Ps. xxi. 10, lv. 10. He has abolished death (בִּלַּע, *absorbere*, see on iii. 12), so that no trace of its former sway is to be seen. Paul renders freely: κατεπόθη (בֻּלַּע[1]) ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος, 1 Cor. xv. 54 (following the Aramaic נֶצַח, which, like זָכָא, cf. Ps. li. 6, LXX., developes the meaning of "conquering," from the root-idea of being prominent, bright, outshining). The Syriac version, uniting the ideas of the Targum (לְעָלְמִין) and of Paul, translates *absorpta est mors per victoriam in sempiternum.* The annihilation of death, however, is in itself not yet the perfection of blessedness. There are sufferings which wring out a sigh for death as bringing deliverance. From all these sufferings, too, which are to be traced finally to sin, Jehovah grants release. דִּמְעָה, here as in Eccles. iv. 1, is a collective idea; cf. Rev. xxi. 4, πᾶν δάκρυον. Wherever there is a tear on any face whatever, Jehovah wipes it away; and since Jehovah does so, it is thoroughly done. He removes the cause along with its manifestation, the sin along with the tear. Naturally this applies to the *ecclesia triumphans.* The world is, of course, judged, and what it is possible to save is saved. There is therefore, too, no such thing now as shame of the people of God. In the whole earth it has no place at all; Jehovah has cleared it out. Thus, then, the earth is a holy abode of blessed men. The new Jerusalem is indeed Jehovah's throne, but the whole earth is Jehovah's glorious kingdom. The prophet's vision of things has brought him to the same point as that reached by Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 28, and John on the last page of his Apocalypse.

[1] See No. IV. of my *Reformationsgeschichtliche Curiosa* (*Evan. Luth. Kirch. Ztg.* 1884, March 28): Eine alttest. Frage Luthers (בִּלַּע or בֻּלַּע?) und die Antwort Bernhard Zieglers.

B.—*The second echo: the abasement of Moab,* chap. xxv. 9–12.

After the predictive vers. 6–8, which followed the first hymnic echo like a recitative introduced at that point, the song of praise begins anew, but this is soon changed into the prophetic tone. The dishonour done to the people of God, mentioned in xxv. 8, reminds us of their hostile neighbours, who, though they cannot tyrannize over it like the imperial power, yet scoff and persecute. Of these foes, the representative and emblem (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 2) in the present passage is the boastful Moab, xvi. 6; Jer. xlviii. 29; Ezek. xxv. 8–11. It is the prediction of Moab's humiliation, in this spiritual sense, which prepares the way for the second echo by celebrating the appearance of Jehovah, who is now manifestly present as the conqueror of death, the drier of tears, the preserver of the honour of His oppressed Church. Ver. 9: "*And people say on that day, 'Behold our God, for whom we waited that He might help us; this is Jehovah, for whom we waited; let us be glad and rejoice in His salvation!'*" The undefined but self-evident subject of וְאָמַר is the Church of the latter days; הִנֵּה זֶה are connected, as in xxi. 9. The waiting is spoken of with reference to the remote past, even as far back as the exclamation of Jacob, "For Thy salvation do I wait, O Jehovah" (Gen. xlix. 18). The summons, "Let us be glad," etc., has changed into the beautiful "Praise ye" of Ps. cxviii. 24.

In the land of promise there is jubilation, but on the other side of the Jordan there is the anguish of destruction. Vers. 10–12: "*For the hand of Jehovah will sink down on this mountain, and Moab will be trodden down where it is, as a heap of straw is trodden down in the water of the dung-pit. And he spreadeth out his hands in the pool therein, as the swimmer spreadeth them out to swim; but Jehovah humbleth his [Moab's] pride, in spite of the artifices of his hands. Yea, thy steep, lofty walls He brings down, humbles, hurls to the earth, even into dust.*" Upon Zion the hand of Jehovah is brought down (נוּחַ being here used, as in vii. 2) in order to protect (Ezra viii. 22, 31), and this, too, by taking vengeance. Moab will be threshed down, stamped or trodden down (Job xxxix. 15) where it stands (תַּחְתָּיו being employed, as in

2 Sam. vii. 10, Hab. iii. 16, to signify "in his place," "in his own land," with the additional notion of banishment without any possibility of escape),—just as straw is trampled down into a dung-pit in order to become manure. הִדּוּשׁ is the construct infinitive with *û*, probably to distinguish it from the absolute infinitive הִדּוֹשׁ (see Ewald, § 240*b*). Instead of בְּמוֹ (as in xliii. 2), the *Kethib* has בְּמֵי (cf. Job ix. 30),—much more correctly, inasmuch as מַדְמֵנָה in itself does not denote the hole with dung-water, but the dung-heap, like the Arabic *dimna*. It might also be possible, however, that בְּמוֹ is meant as an allusion to the name *Moab* (מוֹאָב), as מַדְמֵנָה has probably been chosen with allusion to the Moabitish city *Madmen* (מַדְמֵן, Jer. xlviii. 2). In ver. 11, if בְּקִרְבּוֹ referred back to Moab, Jehovah would be the subject (Targum, Aben-Ezra, and Kimchi); but though the figurative representation of Jehovah as pressing down the pride of Moab, by spreading out His hands within it like a swimmer, might possibly, in another connection, produce an impression of boldness and sublimity; yet here, where Moab is described as having been forced down into the watery filth, to compare Jehovah to a swimmer would be offensive: the swimmer is Moab itself. בְּקִרְבּוֹ points back, in a neuter sense, to the place, ill-suited for swimming, into which Moab has been violently plunged. In a manure-pond one cannot swim; but, to save himself, Moab attempts it, though without success, for Jehovah presses down the pride of Moab in spite of (עִם being used as in Neh. v. 18) the אָרְבּוֹת (thus written without Dagesh), "artifices," *i.e.* the clever and cunning movements of his hands. Ewald, with ארבות, compares the Arab. إِرْب in the sense of a "member" or "joint" (Kimchi, אצילות יָדָיו); but the comparison of أَرَب in the sense of "cunning, intelligence with craft and forecast" (see Lane's *Arab. Lex.*), comes nearer the Hebrew usage of אָרַב. Saadias rightly renders it by *muḥâtala*, *i.e.* tricks and devices; Hitzig by "machinations," *i.e.* twistings and turnings, which Moab makes with his arms in order to keep himself upon the water. The noun אָרְבָּה is here the *nomen actionis* from אָרַב, which originally signifies to entwine firmly and closely, then to lay wait for cunningly (cf. such

expressions as "to forge lies," "lay plans," etc.). The figurative statement in ver. 11 is exemplified literally in ver. 12. If the reading of the text were משגב חמות מבצריך, one would require to think of Kir-Moab (xv. 1, xvi. 7); the text as it stands, however, refers to the strong and lofty walls of the cities of Moab in general. Hitherto mention was made of but one hostile city—the imperial city of the world. This closing verse is remarkable, so that Ewald and Cheyne suppose that it originally stood in some other place; Smend, however, derives from this verse a new illustration of the whole cycle of prophecy.[1]

C.—*Third echo: Israel as restored, or raised to life again.* chaps. xxvi.–xxvii. 1.

The second hymnic echo has thus its confirmation in a prediction against Moab, on the basis of which a third hymnic echo now arises. While on the other side, in the land of Moab, the people are being trodden down and their lofty castles razed, the people in the land of Judah can boast of an impregnable city. Ver. 1: "*On that day will this song be sung in the land of Judah: Ours is a city of defence; salvation He sets for walls and bulwark.*" According to the pointing, one ought to translate "A city is a stronghold (עָז) for us;" but it is better, in accordance with Prov. xxi. 22, to render the words "a city of powerful offence and defence belongs to us." The subject of יָשִׁית is Jehovah; the imperfect is used to signify what He is constantly doing, and always doing anew; for the main walls and the outer walls of Jerusalem (חֵל, as in Lam. ii. 8, indicating the small outermost wall which encloses the whole of the fortifications,—according to the Rabbinical interpreters, בַּר־שׁוּרָא, as the Syriac also translates the word) are not inanimate stone, but יְשׁוּעָה, an

[1] See the remarks of this author on Isa. chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1884, pp. 161–224, where he endeavours to make out that the historical setting of this cycle of prophecy belongs to the time of the expedition of Alexander and the fall of the Persian monarchy. The portion about Moab (in xxv. 10–12) we regard as an episode, while he considers it the centre of the whole; on this view there certainly results a state of affairs (viz. the enslavement of the Jews by the Moabites) for which no historical testimony can be adduced.

ever-living and never-dying salvation (lx. 18). In the same sense, Jehovah Himself is elsewhere called the wall of Jerusalem, and a wall of fire too, Zech. ii. 9,—parallels which show that יְשׁוּעָה is meant to be taken as the accusative of the object, not (as in v. 6; Ps. xxi. 7, lxxxiv. 7; Jer. xxii. 6) as the accusative of the predicate,—the view of Luzzatto and Nägelsbach.

In ver. 1, the city is still regarded as empty; hence the summons in ver. 2: "*Open ye the gates, that a righteous nation may enter, one that maintains fidelity!*" The cry is a heavenly one, and those who open—if we have at all to inquire who they are—are angels. We are reminded of Ps. xxiv. 7, 9, but the scene is different; the present passage has been individualized by the writer of Ps. cxviii. (vers. 19, 20). As in xxiv. 16, the "righteous nation" is the congregation of the righteous ones; and גּוֹי is here used (as in ver. 15 and ix. 2) of Israel, which has now through grace become righteous, and has been confirmed in covenant-faithfulness towards God, who maintains His faithfulness (Ps. xxxi. 24. The form אֱמֻנִים is from אֵמֻן).

Ver. 3 shows that the relations between Israel and Jehovah now continue the same on both sides: "*A firmly settled mind Thou keepest in peace, peace; for on Thee rests his confidence.*" This is an apothegm taken from Ps. cxii. 7, 8, but set in a lyric context, and employed with reference to the Church of the latter days. The disposition of mind here designates him who has it, in accordance with his inmost nature. יֵצֶר is the constitution of man as inwardly taking shape in act and disposition (*i.e.* thinking and willing),—the form assumed by his whole mental life. This inner life is said to be "firmly settled" (סָמוּךְ) when it has a firm hold within itself, and this it has when it keeps a firm hold on God (x. 20). The new Israel has such a mind, and Jehovah preserves this subjective condition (נָצַר, with an object indicating the mental disposition, Prov. xxii. 12), in "peace, peace,"—an accusative of the predicate used instead of a consequential clause, and signifying "so that deep, constant, and imperturbable peace prevails within" (cf. Phil. iv. 7),—for its trust is placed on Jehovah. According to Ewald (§ 149*d*), בָּטוּחַ refers to יֵצֶר, and is thus equivalent to בָּטוּחַ הוּא

(cf. Ps. vii. 10, lv. 20), the passive participle being here used like the Lat. *confisus, fretus.* To depend on God, to be resigned to Him, brings stability and peace.

Once more a cry goes forth, as if from heaven, exhorting Israel to continue in this frame of mind. Ver. 4: "*Trust ye in Jehovah for ever; for in Jah, Jehovah, is an everlasting rock.*" עֲדֵי is the construct form of עֲדִי, which comes from עָדָה (like מְתֵי from מָתָה); and עַד, which is likewise formed from the same verb (like שַׁל, a fault, from שָׁלָה), properly signifies progress, far-reaching duration. The combination יָהּ יְהוָֹה is found only here and in xii. 2: it is the proper name of God the Redeemer in its most emphatic mode of expression. The so-called *Beth essentiae* stands pretty frequently before the predicate (see the remarks on Ps. xxxv. 2); here, as in Ps. lxviii. 5, lv. 19, it stands before the subject: "in Jah, Jehovah, there is an everlasting rock," *i.e.* He is essentially such a rock (cf. Deut. xxxii. 4; as Ex. xv. 2 may be compared with Isa. xii. 2), or one has such a rock in Him.

He has shown Himself to be a rock, on which everything breaks that would attack the faithful whom He encompasses. Vers. 5, 6: "*For He hath bent down those who dwell on high, the towering fortress; He tore it down, tore it down to the earth, hurled it into dust. The foot treads it to pieces,—feet of the needy one, steps of the lowly.*" After passing rapidly over the fall of Moab, there is at once celebrated the fall of the imperial city (xxv. 1, 2, xxiv. 10–12) to which Moab was but an adjunct. The imperfects are regulated by the preterite; and the anadiplosis which in other passages (like xxv. 1; cf. Ps. cxviii. 11) places words of a common derivation beside each other, here contents itself with a change in the suffix-forms. The second thought in ver. 6 is an intensification of the first: she is trodden,—trodden is she who oppressed those who have hitherto been oppressed.

The righteous ones, who, in the estimation of the world, go astray, thus reach a goal from which their way appears in quite another light. Ver. 7: "*The path on which the righteous man goes is smoothness; smooth dost Thou level the path of the just.*" יָשָׁר is the accusative of the predicate, indicating the result or consequence; פִּלֵּס means to make even or level, and also (as a denominative form פֶּלֶס, a balance,

by means of which an equipoise is effected) to "weigh," but not to "make horizontal:" the fundamental meaning of the word is sufficient here, so that there is no need for thinking of the balance to explain the expression. This part of the song has fallen into the style of the Solomonic proverbs (cf. Prov. iv. 26, v. 6, 21): there is a pause, as if the writer were reflecting.

In vers. 8, 9, there is then made a new beginning in lyric style: "*We have also waited for Thee [that Thou shouldest come] in the path of Thy judgments, O Jehovah; after Thy name and Thy remembrance [went] the desire of the soul. With my soul I desired Thee in the night; yea, with my spirit deeply within me I longed for Thee; for, when Thy judgments [strike] the earth, the inhabitants of the world learn righteousness.*" The Church of the last days, looking back into the past, tells how she waited longingly for the manifestation of God's righteousness which has now taken place. אַף is here employed in the same way as when we say, after something wished for has happened: "and we were right in waiting for this." "The path of Thy judgments" belongs to the "Thee," after which we must supply such a connecting expression as "that Thou shouldest come:" the poetic expression בּוֹא אֹרַח, following the analogy of הָלַךְ דֶּרֶךְ, forms the basis of the construction here. They longed for God to come as Redeemer along the path of His judgments. "Name" and "remembrance" denote the essential nature of God which becomes capable of being made the subject of speech and thought through the revelation which He makes of Himself (Ex. iii. 15). They desired that God would again come before the consciousness and memory of man in an act which would break through His concealment and silence. The prophet declares this of himself especially, for he feels himself "in spirit" to be a member of the perfected Church. נַפְשִׁי and רוּחִי are accusatives of closer specification (Ewald's *Syntax*, § 281*c*). "The night" is that of trouble and sorrow, as in xxi. 11; and with reference to this stands שִׁחֵר, with an allusion to שַׁחַר ("dawn"); for the morning dawn after a night of suffering was the object for which he (נַפְשִׁי, *i.e.* with his whole personality, see *Psychology*, English translation, p. 239; and רוּחִי בְקִרְבִּי, *i.e.* with the spirit of his mind, πνεῦμα τοῦ νοός,—see

Psychology, p. 180) longed. And why? Because men were brought to the knowledge, and possibly also to the self-application, of what is right, whenever God showed Himself as the Judge, punishing men for their sins (cf. Ps. ix. 17). In the clause כַּאֲשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ לָאָרֶץ, the verb to be supplied is suggested (as in xxiii. 5) by the ל which indicates the object or point on which the movement terminates; the rendering of the LXX. is *διότι φῶς* (כאור) *τὰ προστάγματά σου.* The perfect לָמְדוּ is the usual form in gnomic poetry, and expresses a fact of experience that has often occurred and still continues frequently to happen.

Here once more the שִׁיר has struck the tone of the מָשָׁל; and continuing in this strain it here pauses anew to reflect, as at the end of a strophe. Ver. 10: "*If favour were shown to the wicked man, he did not learn righteousness; in the most upright land, he acts perversely, and has no eye for the majesty of Jehovah.*" יֻחַן רָשָׁע is a hypothetical clause, left to be marked as such by the manner in which it is uttered, like Neh. i. 5 (Ewald's *Syntax*, § 357*b*; cf. Ges. § 159. 2), and meaning "even supposing that kindness (חֵן = *χρηστότης*, Rom. ii. 4) is shown to the wicked man:" the Hophal form יֻחַן is either written defectively for יוּחַן, or it has virtually a doubled ח; the latter is the more probable view, considering Prov. xxi. 10 (where it is written in the same way); cf. Dan. iv. 24 (where the ח of מִחַן must be regarded as virtually a doubled letter) and Job xix. 23 (יֻחָקוּ). אֶרֶץ נְכֹחוֹת (cf. Isa. xxx. 10, lix. 14) is a land in which everything is right and is done uprightly. A villain, even supposing he were placed in such a country, will nevertheless act as a scoundrel; and for the majesty of Jehovah, which shows itself in premonitory visitations for sin, in the midst of which he is still spared, he has no perception; this thought the prophet utters in a way which reveals pain combined with his indignation.

In vers. 11–13 also the state of matters remains essentially the same: "*O Jehovah, Thy hand has been exalted, but they do not care to look: they will look, becoming ashamed, upon the zeal for a people; actually fire will devour Thine adversaries. O Jehovah, Thou wilt establish peace for us, for assuredly all our works Thou hast performed for us. O Jehovah our God, lords besides Thee had enslaved us—only through Thee will we*

praise Thy name." There are three prayer-ejaculations, each beginning with יְהוָה, which, in the case of the third, is heightened into the fuller expression "Jehovah our God." The standpoint of the first is the time before the judgment; that of the other two is in the midst of the redemption accomplished throughout the whole course of the judgment. Hence, what the prophet utters in ver. 11 will be a general truth which has now received its most splendid confirmation through the fall of the empire. The complaint of the prophet is similar to what is found in liii. 1. With this passage we are not to compare Ps. x. 5, but Ex. xiv. 8, etc. (רום does not mean to remain in the distance and unrecognised, but to prove oneself high); the hand of Jehovah has already made itself known as highly exalted (רָמָה is 3rd pers. sing.) by revealing itself in the history of the nations, protecting the Church, and, in the midst of its humiliation, preparing the way for its exaltation. But they have no eye to see this hand (בַּל marks not mere negation, but negation combined with a manifestation of feeling; its accompanying verb is followed by another, יֶחֱזוּ, but this with an objective meaning): they will be obliged to see, though they do not like to do so,—they will come to feel the hand of Jehovah in itself, especially as the Avenger of His people. The expression קִנְאַת־עָם, "zeal concerning a people," changed from this abstract form into the concrete, means the zeal of Jehovah of hosts (ix. 6, xxxvii. 32) regarding His people (עָם being used as in xlix. 8); this expression, moreover, forms the object of יֶחֱזוּ, for וְיֵבֹשׁוּ forms a dependent clause, not an interruption which disturbs the flow of the sentence; cf. Micah vii. 16. The words "Thou wilt establish peace," in ver. 12, express the sure hope of a state of peace which will no longer be destroyed; and this hope is based on the fact that everything which the congregation has hitherto accomplished (מַעֲשֶׂה is the carrying out of work to which one is called, as in Ps. xc. 17; cf. the remarks on v. 12) has not been their own performance, but the work of Jehovah *for them.* In this way the liberation from the yoke of the imperial power, which they now desire, is also the work of Jehovah. The meaning of the complaint, "lords besides Thee had enslaved us," etc., is precisely the same as in lxiii. 19, with this difference, that the standpoint there is in the midst of the circum-

stances regarding which the complaint is made, while here it lies in the future beyond. Jehovah is the King of Israel. He seemed to have lost His dominion when the lords of the world ruled Israel as they liked; but it is otherwise now, and it is only Jehovah through whom (בְּךָ, "through Thee") Israel can again gratefully celebrate Jehovah's name.

The tyrants who usurped authority over Israel have disappeared without leaving a trace behind. Ver. 14: "*Dead men live not again; shades rise not again; therefore hast Thou visited and destroyed them, and annihilated every memorial to them.*" The meaning is not that they are dead for ever, as if there were no resurrection at all after death; the prophet knows certainly there is such a thing, as afterwards appears. When he speaks of מֵתִים and רְפָאִים, he has in his mind those who have hitherto been oppressors of Israel, who (like the king of Babylon, chap. xiv.) have been cast down into the realm of the shades, so that we are not to think of a self-resuscitation, a rising up again. The conjunction לָכֵן ("therefore," "then"), like the Greek ἄρα, introduces what has happened along with another event, and is bound up with the very fact of its occurrence (cf. similar cases in lxi. 7; Jer. v. 2, ii. 33; Zech. xi. 7; Job xxxiv. 25, xlii. 3); and the meaning of the passage is that they have fallen into Sheôl, from which they cannot be brought back (Ps. xlix. 15),—then God has utterly swept them away, so that not even their name is perpetuated. When Israel has cause to praise Jehovah in this way, it will again have become a numerous people. Ver. 15: "*Thou hast added to the nation, O Jehovah, Thou hast added to the nation; Thou hast glorified Thyself, Thou hast extended all the boundaries of the land.*" The verb יָסַף, elsewhere construed with עַל or אֶל, is here followed by לְ, and contains its object within itself, "to add to" being the same as to give increase. What is here stated is of parallel import with ix. 2 (cf. xlix. 19 f., liv. 1 f.; Micah ii. 12, iv. 7; Obad. 19 f., and many other passages; regarding רִחַקְתָּ, see especially Micah vii. 11); it is also contained, in germ, in vi. 13*b*.

The prayer now returns once more to the retrospect already taken, in vers. 8, 9, of the night of sorrow which preceded the redemption that had taken place. Vers. 16–18: "*O Jehovah, in distress they missed Thee; they poured out gentle prayers*

because Thy chastisement fell on them. As a woman with child, who is nearing her delivery, writhes, cries out in her pangs, so have we been before Thee, O Jehovah. We have been with child, we have writhed in pain; it was as if we brought forth wind: deliverance we have not wrought for the land, nor did inhabitants of the world come to the light." The circumstantial clause, מוּסָרְךָ לָמוֹ, "while Thy chastisement was afflicting them" (לְ being used as in ver. 9), corresponds to בַּצַּר in the parallel member; and to פְּקָד (here used in the sense of looking and longing for, as in xxxiv. 16; 1 Sam. xx. 6, xxv. 15; Jer. iii. 16) corresponds צָקוּן לַחַשׁ, "they pour out complaint,"—the perfect (from צוּק = יָצַק, Job xxviii. 2, xxix. 6, to pour out, melt), with the plural termination וּן (which elsewhere occurs only twice, viz. in Deut. viii. 3, 16, for יְקֹשׁוּן in xxix. 31 is the imperfect from קוֹשׁ); and לַחַשׁ means "whispering," not here as in iii. 3, a whispered utterance of incantation-formulas (G. A. Smith: "they pour out incantations"), but a whispered prayer; for sorrow and consciousness of guilt form so depressing a burden that one cannot venture to speak aloud to God (cf. xxix. 4). Pregnancy and pangs here symbolize a state of most intense expectancy, the end of which seems to be so much the nearer the more the sufferings are intensified. The Church, looking back upon the past, says: "We often thought that deliverance would certainly break forth, but our hope was ever anew disappointed." The first כְּמוֹ is equivalent to כְּ ("like a woman with child who," etc.; see the remarks on viii. 23); the second כְּמוֹ is equivalent to כַּאֲשֶׁר (cf. Gen. xix. 15; Prov. xxiii. 7), "[it was] as if we brought forth wind," etc.; the mode of construction is not an inversion for "we brought forth, as it were, wind," but כְּמוֹ in the sense of "[it was] as if" governs the whole clause. The result of the painful labour was, like that of the seeming pregnancy, a wind-birth; but this state of matters also, as is declared by מִפָּנֶיךָ, was the effect of Jehovah's working; it was assuredly the consequence of the sins of Israel, and the nation's continued want of the proper capacity for receiving salvation. Along with disappointed hope, ver. 18 sets forth the fruitlessness of man's own work. Israel's own doings,—no, these availed not to "make the land salvation," *i.e.* to aid it in reaching full and satisfactory salvation; and (for so we may understand the clause at the end)

they waited in vain for the judgment of Jehovah upon the sinful world opposed to them,—or, they made vain efforts to conquer these nations. This explanation is favoured by the fact that the expression יֹשְׁבֵי תֵבֵל, throughout the entire cycle of prophecy, does not denote the inhabitants of the Holy Land, but those of the world, in the sense of *κόσμος* (see ver. 21, xxiv. 5, 6). The correlation between יִפְּלוּ and תַּפִּיל (ver. 19), however, as well as the preceding figure of the birth-pangs, preponderatingly declares for the view that נָפַל is meant to refer to the falling of the fruit of the body (cf. Wisd. vii. 3; *Iliad*, xix. 110, *καταπεσεῖν* and *πεσεῖν*, Talm. to miscarry, as in *Kerîthôth* ii. 4, and generally to throw off or separate in the manner of birth). And the expression יֹשְׁבֵי תֵבֵל suits this meaning (viz. that the expected increase of population did not take place), from the fact that it does not here signify "*the* inhabitants of the earth," but (indefinitely) "inhabitants of the earth," or, as we say, young, new-born "mortals." The condition of the country, as chastised through the oppression of the imperial power, still continued, and there was no appearance of a new generation to repeople the waste land (*Bibl. Psychology*, p. 485, Eng. trans.).

But this has now taken place; and instead of singing in ver. 19 of what has occurred, the prayer places itself in the midst of the occurrence: "*Thy dead ones shall live, my dead bodies shall rise again: awake and exult, ye who lie in the dust. For thy dew is the dew of lights, and the earth will bring shades to the light.*" Such is the language of the Church in the last days, after it has turned to God. Through long-continued sufferings and chastisements, it has melted away to a small remnant; and many of those who could truly be reckoned among its members are now lying dead in the dust of the grave. In the confidence of faith, and in full persuasion of a hope that shall not be put to shame, the cry is raised, "Thy dead ones (those who belong, O Lord, to Thee, and who therefore cannot be lost) shall live again" (*reviviscent*, as in תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים, the reawakening of the dead); and comfort is drawn from the workings of God's power and grace which were at that very time being set in operation: "My dead bodies shall rise again" (נְבֵלָה being a word without plural form, but frequently used with plural meaning, as in

v. 25, and therefore here conjoined with תְּקֻמֶנָה = יְקוּמוּן; in the present form, before the light suffix, there is retention of the ē, which under other circumstances is lost); while the certainty of the divine purpose gives the ground for the powerful word of faith proclaimed over the field where lie the dead, "Awake, and shout for joy, ye that dwell in the dust,"—this utterance of strong faith finding its justification of itself in looking up to Jehovah with the confession, "Thy dew is dew born out of (supernatural) lights, as the natural dew is born of the morning-dawn" (Ps. cx. 3). Instead of "dew upon herbs" (אורות = יְרָקוֹת, as in 2 Kings iv. 39) we take אורות (from אוֹרָה, as in Ps. cxxxix. 12), in the sense of אוֹר הַחַיִּים, "the light of life." The plural indicates that there is a perfect fulness of the lights of life in God ("the Father of lights," Jas. i. 17). Of these is born the gentle dew that revivifies the bones which have been sown in the earth (Ps. cxli. 7),—a deeply significant figure, which is quite obliterated by Hofmann, who would here read טַל חורות, "dew of thorough saturation." Luther, who renders "thy dew is a dew of the green field," stands alone among the earlier translators; the Targum, Syriac, Jerome, and Saadia all translate, "thy dew is the dew of light," and, considering the intimate connection in which the Scriptures everywhere place אוֹר, φῶς, and חַיִּים, ζωή, this is natural enough.

But we go on to translate, "and the earth (וָאָרֶץ being the subject, as in Prov. xxv. 3; cf. lxv. 17, where it is the object; this form is used instead of וְאֶרֶץ, which, except in Job xx. 27 and 1 Kings xi. 18, is always only in the construct state) will bring shades to light" (הִפִּיל being the causative from נָפַל, ver. 18), *i.e.* bring forth again the dead who have sunk into it; this is the rendering of Luther in the edition of 1541, "and the land will cast forth the dead" (see *Biblical Psychology*, p. 485, Eng. trans.), and it was also preferred by A. H. Franke. The dew from the glory of God falls like a heavenly seed into the bosom of the earth; and in consequence of this the earth gives up the shades which it has hitherto held fast, so that they again appear alive on the surface of the earth. Those who understand ver. 18 as referring to the earnestly expected overthrow of the masters of the world, explain this expression, in conformity with that view, as

meaning "and to the earth (אֶרֶץ being taken as a local accusative = עַד־אֶרֶץ, ver. 5, or לָאָרֶץ in xxv. 12) dost thou cast down shades," or even, "and the earth causes shades to fall" (*i.e.* into itself). Such is the view of Rosenmüller, who says, "terra per prosopopoeiam, ut supra, xxiv. 20, inducta, deturbare in orcum sistitur impios, eo ipso manes eos reddens." But though, according to that view, רְפָאִים agrees with ver. 14, in which the oppressors of God's people received this designation, yet the rendering would be doubtful here, where the term would need to signify, "those who by that very fact are becoming shades;" but especially, if it be understood as referring to the fall of the oppressors, this succeeding clause gives no natural sequence and progress to the next words, "thy dew is the dew of lights," whereas, according to our explanation, it confines and seals the faith, hope, and prayer of the Church by what follows. Compared with what is stated in the Apocalypse of the New Testament, it is the "first resurrection" which is here predicted. Reuss remarks that the reference here is to national restitution, and not to the resurrection of individuals; this may be true of Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14, but the prophet here plainly means to say that those who acknowledge Jehovah will be awakened out of their graves and restored to the Church. The Church of the times of glory is a Church of those who have been miraculously saved and awakened, both in the present dispensation and in the life to come. Beneath the ground at their feet lie their persecutors.

Of the judgment upon these persecutors no mention is made till after the Church is made up through the addition of its members who had died, though that judgment, in order of actual occurrence, precedes. The standpoint of prophecy in these chapters (xxiv.–xxvii.) continually oscillates backwards and forwards, and this fact explains the exhortation and the attendant reason assigned in vers. 20, 21: "*Go, my people; enter into thy chambers, and shut thy door behind thee: hide thyself for a little moment, until the judgment of wrath passes by. For, behold, Jehovah goeth forth from His place, to visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and the earth reveals the blood she had drunk in, and no more covers her dead.*" The song (שִׁיר) has now come to an end,

and the prophet as such speaks once more. While the judgment of wrath (זַעַם) goes on till it shall have passed away (on the future perfect, cf. x. 12, iv. 4; and on the thing itself, see אַחֲרִית הַזַּעַם, Dan. viii. 19), the people of God are to continue in the solitude of prayer (Matt. vi. 6; cf. Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 21). This they can do, for the judgment by which they are delivered from their foes is the work of Jehovah alone; and this they are to do, for only those who are hidden by God in prayer escape the wrath. The judgment lasts but כִּמְעַט־רֶגַע (x. 24, 25, liv. 7, 8; cf. Ps. xxx. 6), "a little moment," a short time, shortened for the sake of the elect. Instead of the dual-form דְּלָתֶיךָ (as the house-door, but not the chamber-door is called), the word has with greater show of reason been pointed דְּלָתְךָ (from דְּלָה = דֶּלֶת); in like manner חֲבָה is perhaps purposely changed into the feminine form חֲבִי, because Jehovah acts for the people, while they in a purely passive manner commit themselves to His keeping. Just as Noah, behind whom Jehovah shut the door of the ark, was hidden in it while the torrents of water poured down in judgment outside,—so is the Church to shut itself off from the world without, in its life of prayer, because a storm of judgment is impending. "He goes forth from His place" (the words being exactly the same as in Micah i. 3), *i.e.* not out of His own immanent divine life, but out of the sphere of manifested glory in which He has shown Himself as present to the spirits. Thence He goes forth, prepared for executing judgment, to visit the inhabitant (יֹשֵׁב is to be regarded as a collective) of the earth for his misdeeds, especially his blood-guiltiness. The prohibition of murder dates from the times of Noah, hence it was inserted as one of the conditions in the "everlasting covenant" (xxiv. 5). The earth brings forward two witnesses: (1) The innocent blood, violently shed (on דָּמִים see i. 15), which she was forced to drink in, but which, now disclosed, cries aloud for vengeance; (2) the persons themselves who have been innocently murdered (cf. הֲרוּגִים, Ezek. xxxvii. 9), and who slumber within her. Streams of blood come to light and bear witness; martyrs arise and testify against their murderers. The earth is appeased through vengeance being taken for the martyr-blood it has drunk (Deut. xxxii. 43; cf. Num. xxxv. 33).

In xxvii. 1 the special objects of Jehovah's judgment are indicated in figurative but enigmatical language: "*On that day will Jehovah visit with His sword—the heavy, large, and strong one—leviathan the fleet serpent, and leviathan the tortuous serpent, and He will slay the dragon which is in the sea.*" The three animals are doubtless symbols of three empires. There is no truth in the assertion (by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Knobel, Umbreit, and Luzzatto), that there are no more three animals than there are three swords. If the preposition with the suffixed noun "his sword" were repeated before each adjective (בְּחַרְבּוֹ הַקָּשָׁה וּבְחַרְבּוֹ הַגְּדוֹלָה וגו׳) we should have to understand that there were also three swords; but it is in this threefold manner (with עַל repeated) that the statement is made regarding the number of the animals. We have thus to ask what are the three empires. Now, the תַּנִּין (the long aquatic animal) is the constant emblem of Egypt (li. 9; Ps. lxxiv. 13; Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2). And as the country of the Euphrates and Assyria are mentioned in vers. 12, 13 along with Egypt, it is highly probable that the two other animals will mean the kingdom on the Tigris (*i.e.* Assyria, with its capital Nineveh, on the Tigris), and the kingdom on the Euphrates (*i.e.* Chaldea, with its capital Babylon, on the Euphrates). Besides, the designation of the two kingdoms by means of the common term "leviathan," while the difference is indicated merely by the attributive in each case, certainly points to two related kingdoms. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the fact that נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ in Job xxvi. 13 indicates a constellation; here we have not בַּמָּרוֹם as in xxiv. 21, and we are therefore on the surface of the earth. The primary occasion of the designation here given was the situation of the two cities. Nineveh stood on the Tigris, the Hebraized name of which (viz. חִדֶּקֶל) points to its rapid course and terrible rapids; hence Assyria is compared to a serpent moving in a rapid, impetuous, and long-extended course (בָּרִחַ as in xliii. 14, for בָּרִיחַ, following the form עָלִיז, — different from בְּרִיחַ, a bar or bolt, xv. 5); Babylon, on the other hand, is compared to a winding serpent, *i.e.* one that moves in serpentine curves, because it was situated on the Euphrates, which has many turns and labyrinth-like windings, especially in the vicinity of Babylon.

For the river, which formerly used to flow straight on, was made to wind about through curves artificially formed, in such a way that it had thrice to pass the same place (called Arderikka), which, in the time of Herodotus, as he assures us, every one who sailed down the river could not avoid passing three times in three days.[1] The peculiar feature of the tortuous serpent symbolizes, it would seem, both the longer duration of the one empire than the other, and the more numerous complications in which it will involve Israel. The empire on the Tigris soon pounces upon Israel, so that the fate of this kingdom is quickly decided; whereas the empire on the Euphrates advances by many windings, and surrounds its prey with many folds. These windings are all the more numerous because, in the view of the prophet, Babylon is the final form in which the empire of the world appears; hence Israel continues to be entwined by this serpent till the last days. The judgment on Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt is the judgment on all the world-empires together.

D.—*The fourth echo: the fruitful vineyard under the protection of Jehovah*, chap. xxvii. 2–6.

The prophecy now, in vers. 2–5, for the fourth time passes into the form and spirit of a song. In the judgments on the world, the Church recognises itself as Jehovah's carefully protected and beloved vineyard.

"On that day,—
A merry vineyard,—sing of it!
I, Jehovah, its keeper,—
Every moment I water it.
That nothing may visit it,
Day and night I keep it.

[1] In Greek, several rivers are called Δράκων or Ὄφις; moreover Φίδαρι, the modern Greek name of the Euênos, is equivalent to Ὀφιδάριον. Cf. Paul Cassel's *Drachenkämpfe* (1868), p. 106. The Books of the Augurs called the river Tiber *colubrum tanquam flexuosum* (Serv. on *Aen.* viii. 95). Moreover, both Aratus (*Phaen.* 45) and Virgil (*Georg.* i. 244) compare the constellation known by the name of the Dragon to a stream winding its way, *flexu sinuoso*, between the two Bears.

Wrath have I none—
O, had I thorns, thistles before me!
In battle would I break forth on them,
Burn them all together.
Men would then need to lay hold of my protection—
Make peace with me,
Peace make with me."

Instead of introducing the song, as in xxvi. 1, with "this song shall be sung," or "they shall say," or similar words, the prophecy at once makes a transition into the song: the case is the same as in Ps. lxxxvii. 7. It forms a descending scale of strophes,—one of five lines (vers. 2, 3), one of four lines (ver. 4), and one of three lines (ver. 5). The theme or subject stands at the beginning, in the absolute case: כֶּרֶם חֶמֶר may mean a vineyard (cf. כֶּרֶם זַיִת in Judg. xv. 5), and this, too (for the term خَمْر, which in Arabic means "wine" —from its fermenting—is a choice poetic word in Hebrew), one which produces fiery, generous wine; perhaps, however, the reading should be כֶּרֶם חֶמֶד, as indicated in xxxii. 12, the LXX., Targum, and some MSS. The expression עָנָה לְ (as in Ex. xxxii. 18, and more frequently the Qal, Num. xxi. 17; Hos. ii. 17; cf. our remarks on Ps. cxlvii. 7) signifies to strike up or begin a song regarding anything: it is a different word from עָנָה (عنى, cognate with عن, to "meet," ἀμείβεσθαι), to make a nasal sound, then to sing through the nose (*i.e.* in Oriental fashion). The term כֶּרֶם, "vineyard," is feminine here, like בְּאֵר in the song of the well, Num. xxi. 17 f., and like Israel, which is symbolized by the vineyard (iii. 14, v. 1 f.), and is sometimes regarded as a masculine, sometimes as a feminine (xxvi. 20). Jehovah Himself is introduced as speaking. He is the keeper of this vineyard, who waters it every moment when there is need (the plural form לִרְגָעִים being used distributively, instead of the doubled singular,—like לַבְּקָרִים, "every morning," in xxxiii. 2), and watches it by night as well as by day, so that nothing may "visit it,"—the expression פָּקַד עַל, which is elsewhere used to signify visitation by punishment, being here used of visitation through mis-

fortune of any kind.[1] Because it is the Church which has been purified through misfortunes, the feeling of Jehovah towards it is one of pure love, without any admixture of burning wrath (חֵמָה)—a disposition which is displayed only towards those who venture to injure this vineyard. It is by way of challenge that Jehovah says, "Who, then, gives me thorns, thistles!" The form יִתְּנֵנִי is used instead of יִתֵּן לִי, as in Jer. ix. 1; cf. Josh. xv. 19. The unconnected "thorns, thistles" instead of "thorns and thistles," which is the form usually employed elsewhere, is quite in keeping with the impassioned state of the great protector. If He had thorns, thistles before Him, He would burst forth upon them (בָּהּ being used in a neuter sense,—upon such a mass of bushes) in war, and set them on fire (הִצִּית = הֵצִית). The arrangement of the strophes requires us, with Knobel, against the accents, to connect בַּמִּלְחָמָה with אֶפְשְׂעָה; the vocalisation of this word (instead of which there is also found the reading אֶפְשְׁעָה) is to be decided in the same way as that of סֻבְּלוֹ in ix. 3, and לֻקֳחָה in Gen. ii. 23, בַּסְּעָרָה in 2 Kings ii. 1, 11, etc. In the very choice of the expression בַּמִּלְחָמָה, we may plainly see that thorns and thistles represent the enemies of the Church (2 Sam. xxiii. 6 f.). In this sense the brief song concludes with ver. 5: only by giving themselves up to mercy will they find mercy. When אוֹ is followed by the voluntative, it signifies "unless," as in Lev. xxvi. 41; הֶחֱזִיק בְּ (as in 1 Kings i. 50, where it is applied to Adonijah, who seized the horns of the altar) is here combined with מָעוֹז, in which are intertwined the meanings of a "strong rock" (from עָזַז) and a "place of refuge" (from עוּז, to hide oneself, flee for refuge; cf. the remarks on xxx. 2); עָשָׂה שָׁלוֹם לְ is employed as in Josh. ix. 15. Here ends the song. What the Church expresses in it is her consciousness of the gracious protection of her God, —a conviction that has been confirmed by her most recent experiences.

To the song of the vineyard the prophet adds, as if by way

[1] The rabbis of Tiberias (Menahem ben Seruk, etc.) read אֶפְקֹד instead of the form in the text; and the older expositors (followed by Abarbanel) explain the passage as if it read פֶּן יִפָּקֵד עָלֶהָ, "that its foliage may not be found wanting:" see Ewald-Dukes, *Beiträge*, ii. 146.

of explanation, in ver. 6: "*In the future will Jacob strike roots, Israel will blossom and bud, and fill the surface of the earth with fruits.*" That the peculiar language of prophecy recommences here is seen even in the use of הַבָּאִים (a temporal accusative, as in Eccles. ii. 16, which in meaning is equivalent to הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים וְ, "behold, days are coming when . . ." Jer. vii. 32, etc.). On the employment of the active form וּמָלְאוּ, cf. Jer. xix. 4, Ezek. viii. 17, etc. The divergent reading תְּבוּנָה has arisen from an error of the scribes. Some editors have יפרח as the *Kethîb*, and וּפָרַח as the *Qerî*. The prophet says, in figurative language (cf. xxxvii. 31), the same as what the apostle declares in Rom. xi. 12, that Israel, when restored to favour as a nation, will become "the riches of the Gentiles."

Jehovah's dealings with Israel for their Chastisement and for their Salvation, Chap. XXVII. 7–13.

The prophet does not now, even in ver. 7 ff., return to his own actual present, but, certain that Israel will not be exalted before it has been thoroughly humbled on account of its sins, he places himself in the midst of this condition of punishment. And then, in full view of the glorious future of Israel, there comes out clearly before his eyes the fact that the punitive dealings of God towards Israel are quite different from those directed against the world. Vers. 7, 8: "*Hath He smitten it like the smiting of its smiter, or hath it been stricken down, like the striking of those stricken by it? In measure, when thou didst drive it away, didst thou punish it, sifting with strong blast on the day of the east wind.*" מַכֵּהוּ, "its smiter," is the empire that attacked Israel (x. 20), and הֲרֻגָיו are the slain ones of the empire who have fallen under the strokes of Jehovah. The former smites unmercifully, and its slain ones are lying without hope (xxvi. 14); Jehovah smites differently, and it is different with the Church which was slain in the persons of many of its righteous members. (On the two cases of play upon words, cf. xxiv. 16, xxii. 18, x. 16.) When Jehovah rejected Israel (as if by means of a "bill of divorcement," l. 1), He contended against it (xlix. 25), *i.e.* punished it "in measure" (בְּסַאסְּאָה = סְאָה בִּסְאָה), and only in measure (cf.

"peace, peace," xxvi. 3), not in unmeasured wrath, but in a manner conditioned by the terms of the covenant (cf. בְּמִשְׁפָּט, Jer. x. 24; לַמִּשְׁפָּט) xxx. 11, xlvi. 28). Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel read בְּסַאסְאָהּ (from a form סַאסֵא, allied to שַׁעְשַׁע and also סַאסֵא, "when thou didst disturb it," or, "didst drive it away"); but the traditional text does not point to any various reading showing ה with *mappiq* (הּ); and the early translations (except the LXX., which has *μαχόμενος*) and expositors all regard the word as a reduplication of סְאָה, which, as the third part of an ephah, here indicates a pretty large measure. The clause הָגָה בְּרוּחוֹ is possibly to be regarded as an elliptical relative clause, in which case also the transition into the third person is best explained ("thou who sifted," etc.); but perhaps הֹגֶה has been intended. הָגָה here (as in Prov. xxiv. 4 f.; see our remarks on that passage) means to separate, remove (*e.g.* the dross from silver, i. 25). Jehovah sifted Israel (cf. the figure of the threshing-floor in xxi. 10) when, appointing the captivity for the nation, He blew upon it as violently as if the east wind were raging (see our commentary on Job xxvii. 21).

But He merely sifted, He did not destroy; He was angry, but not without love; He punished, but this in order that He might pardon again. Ver. 9: "*Therefore, in this way will the iniquity of Jacob be atoned for; and this is all the fruit of the removal of his sin: when he makes all altar-stones like lime-stones that have been broken to pieces, images of Astarte and sun-pillars do not rise up again.*" With the word "therefore," a conclusion is drawn from the previous expression "in measure:" God punishes Israel moderately; His punishment is a remedial measure, hence it gives way as soon as its end is attained, and it will be removed even now if Israel completely renounces sin, and, especially, the sin of all sins—idolatry. בְּזֹאת ("thus," or "in this way") points to the following בְּשׂוּמוֹ ("when he makes"),—by this, namely, the destruction of the altars and the images of Ishtar (Ashēra), and of the sun-god (see the remarks on xvii. 8). By Israel's putting away the fundamental cause of all evil, namely, idolatry (which still continued to flourish among the exiles, Ezek. xi. 18, etc.), the guilt for which it has now to suffer will be covered, *i.e.* will be esteemed by God as no longer existent (see the remarks on

xxii. 14).[1] The intermediate clause (cf. xxvi. 11*b*) declares that this which follows will be the very fruit, sought by Jehovah, of the removal of Israel's sin, which He designed to accomplish through chastisement.

The prophet says this, speaking out from the midst of the state of punishment; and he can thus now further prove, by the punishment which has followed the sin, that the punishment will cease with the sin. Vers. 10, 11: "*For the fenced city is solitary, a dwelling given up and forsaken like the wilderness; there calves feed, and there they lie down and devour its branches. When its twigs become dry, they are broken off; women come, make fires of them, for it is not an intelligent nation; therefore its Creator pities it not, and its Former shows it no favour.*" These chapters (xxiv.–xxvii.) everywhere present such a mixture of light and darkness that it is a question whether by עִיר בְּצוּרָה is meant the capital of the world-empire or the capital of the people of God; our opinion is that only Jerusalem can be meant, inasmuch as Israel certainly is the people with no discernment (i. 3), the nation of which Jehovah is called the Creator and Former (xxii. 11). The standpoint of the prophet is therefore on the other side of the destruction of Jerûsalem, in the midst of the exile. In spite of this, everything has an Isaian ring; cf. generally xxxii. 13 f., v. 17, and in particular xvi. 2, 9, xi. 7, etc. The suffix in the expression "its branches" refers to the city, whose ruins were overgrown with bushes. Synonymous with סְעִפִּים, "branches" (always with *Dagesh*, to distinguish it from סְעִיפִים, "clefts," ii. 21), is קָצִיר, a "cutting," or sprig that can easily be cut off; this word has been erroneously rendered "harvest" in the Vulgate, as well as by Symmachus and Saadias. The form תִּשָּׁבַרְנָה is not a singular (as in xxviii. 3), but a plural (Ges. § 47, note 3), referring to the separate twigs of which קָצִיר the brushwood (*i.e.* dried branches) consists; reference is made to this, in a neuter sense, by אוֹתָהּ; "women light it" (הֵאִיר, as in Mal. i. 10), *i.e.* make with it a flame giving light (אוֹר), and warm-

[1] The condition presupposes the prevalence of idolatry at the time among the people; hence Smend, who brings down the date of chaps. 24–27 to the fourth century B.C., understands advance of the Jews towards the heathen worship around them.

ing fire (אוּר, xliv. 16). So waste will Jerusalem lie that in places where men once swarmed, a calf will comfortably be eating off the green foliage of the bushes growing between the ruins; and where hostile armies had been forced to withdraw without having accomplished their object, women come and take away, undisturbed, as much wood as they require.

But when Israel repents, the grace of God will change everything. Vers. 12, 13: "*And it will come to pass on that day, a beating will Jehovah make from the swelling of the Euphrates to the brook of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one to another, ye sons of Israel. And it will come to pass on that day, there shall be a blowing with a great trumpet, and those who are lost in the land of Assyria come, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and cast themselves down before Jehovah, in the holy mountain in Jerusalem.*" All those expositions of ver. 12 which understand it as referring, like ver. 13, to the return of the exiles, I regard as false. The Euphrates and the brook of Egypt (*i.e.* the *Wady el-'Arish*) are, of course, the promised boundaries of the land of Israel on the north-east and south-west (Gen. xv. 18; 1 Kings viii. 65); and it is not stated that Jehovah will beat on the outside of these boundaries, but within them. Hence Gesenius seems to be pretty correct when he says that "the kingdom will be re-peopled to the fullest extent that had been promised, and that, too, as rapidly and as numerously as if human beings were dropping like olives from the trees." The term חָבַט is certainly applied in Deut. xxiv. 20 to the beating of olives; but this figure does not suit the present passage, for olives, before they can be beaten down from the trees, must already be in existence, whereas the land of Israel is to be regarded as desolate. What we expect is that Jehovah (as promised in xxvi. 19, 21) will make the dead to live within the whole wide extent of the promised land. חָבַט (cf. خبط, to beat something off, *e.g.* to beat a tree in order to shake off leaves or fruit) is the word usually employed to indicate the beating out of those husked fruits which are too tender and valuable to be threshed; these are carefully beaten with a stick, as mentioned in xxviii. 27, for they would be destroyed by violent process of threshing. The large and extensive field

of the dead, stretching from the Euphrates to the Rhinokoloura, is compared to a threshing-floor covered with such fine and tender fruit. There lie true Israelites and apostate Israelites mingled together; but Jehovah will separate the one company from the other. He will set a beating in operation that the true members of the Church may appear, separated from the false, as the grains are separated from the husks and the straw. "Thy dead ones shall live,"—to this the prophet here returns. And with this view accords the choice of the word שִׁבֹּלֶת, which combines in itself the meanings of "streaming" (Ps. lxix. 3, 16), and an "ear" of corn, שָׁבַל (to go, move on), being equally applicable to the waters which flow along and to the elongated head of the stalk of corn grown up (cf. also שֹׁבֶל in xlvii. 2). In this passage the word, admitting of two meanings, presents a beautiful dilogy (cf. a similar case in xix. 18 and Hab. ii. 7). From the "ear" of the Euphrates to the Peninsula of Sinai, Jehovah will beat—a great heap of ears, the grains of which are to be gathered together into one לְאַחַד אֶחָד (a construct form, without the genitival relation, as is frequently the case with this numeral, *e.g.* in 2 Sam. xvii. 22), one, *i.e.* one to the other, hence not in a slump, wholesale, but with careful attention given to every individual (cf. אַחַת לְאַחַת, Eccles. vii. 27). To this risen Church there comes the still living scattered ones, gathered by divine signal (cf. xviii. 3, xi. 12). Assyria and Egypt are specifically named as lands in which the banished ones are found, but these countries represent all the lands of exile, as in xix. 23–25, cf. xi. 11. Both names are emblematical, and hence are not to be used as a proof that the prophecy lay within the horizon of Isaiah.

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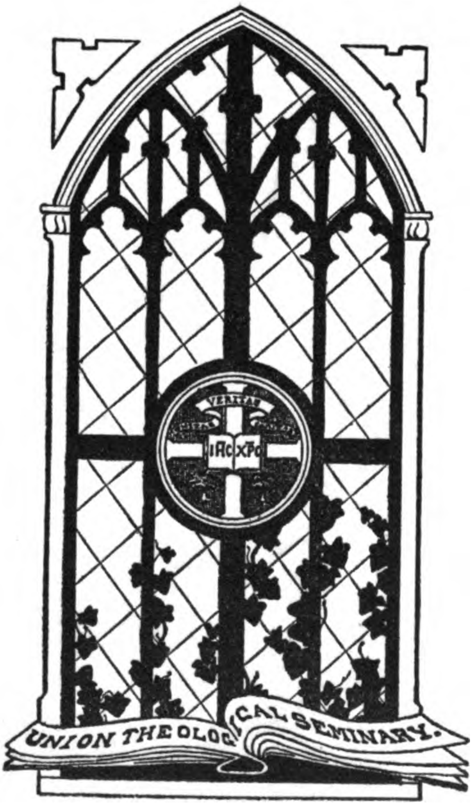
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one whole. Accordingly the beginning of the sections is not uniform, but the several independent discourses all begin with "Woe." The culmination of these prophecies of woe is chap. xxx. Up to this point the denunciation gathers in intensity, but in chaps. xxxi.–xxxii. it abates, and in chap. xxxiii. it has changed into its opposite. The prophet begins there also with "Woe," but against the spoiler. At the time when the extreme measures threatened in chaps. xxviii.–xxxii. are on the point of being carried out, they are averted; and Jerusalem, which is threatened with destruction, is wondrously saved.

The first Woe: Judgment on Samaria and Jerusalem, and Comfort for both, chap. xxviii.

Isaiah, like Micah, begins with threatening Samaria, ver. 1: "*Woe to the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim and to the fading flower of its sparkling ornament, which is on the head of the luxuriant valley of those slain with wine.*" Samaria is meant. It is called (1) the pride-crown of the drunkards of Ephraim, *i.e.* the crown of which the revelling, infatuated (xxix. 9, xix. 14) Ephraimites are proud; (2) the fading flower (cf. on the phrase, i. 30, xl. 7 f.) of the adorning of its splendour, *i.e.* the already fading flower, which is the adorning in which they glitter. This flower is on the head of the valley of fatnesses of those slain with wine (cf. xvi. 8), *i.e.* of the valley, boasting in fertility, of the Ephraimites, who are complete slaves of wine (Amos vi. 6, iv. 1). Samaria lay on a beautiful circular hill, which commanded the country about in a regal way (Amos iv. 1, vi. 1), and swelled up from a deep, broad basin of about two stadia in diameter, encircled by a garland of still higher mountains (Amos iii. 9). The situation was commanding, the hill cultivated up to the top in terraces, the neighbourhood splendid and fertile. The language is highly poetical and intentionally bombastic, heaping genitive on genitive (cf. x. 12, xxi. 17). The words are joined in pairs; שְׁמָנִים stands in a governing relation to what follows, although not written שְׁמֵנֵי; such breaks in the genitival order of words are found also in xxxii. 13, lxiii. 11; Deut. v. 8; Josh. iii. 11; Prov. xxi. 6; Ruth ii. 1; 1 Chron. ix. 13. The *sesquipedalia verba* are meant to give the

impression of exuberant worldly pleasure, against which the woe is uttered. נֹבֵל (included in the genitival phrase: flower of fading, *i.e.* belonging to the domain of the fading, cf. צִיצַת נֹבֵל, ver. 4, and xxii. 24, כְּלֵי הקטן) intimates by its intrusion into the picture of splendour that this splendour is destined, and is already beginning, to fade.

In vers. 2–4 the Woe is fully expanded: "*Behold, the Lord has a strong and mighty one, like a hailstorm, a poisonous tempest; like a storm of mighty, overflowing waters he casts down to the ground with almighty hand. With the feet the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim is trodden down. And the fading flower of its sparkling ornament, which is on the head of the luxuriant valley, fares as an early fig before harvest, which he that sees gazes at, and it is scarcely in his hand when he swallows it.*" Perhaps חָזָק וְאַמִּיץ is regarded as masculine, for the Assyrian is meant. The Lord has him in readiness as an instrument of punishment; but the work of punishment is still in reality the work of His own hand, which is called "hand" absolutely, because it is absolute in power,—the hand, so to speak, of all hands. This hand casts Samaria to the ground (cf. with the phrase xxv. 12, xxvi. 5), so that the proud crown is trampled underfoot; תֵּרָמַסְנָה instead of תֵּרָמֵס, remnant of a Heb. *fut. emphaticum*, as in Job xvii. 16, Judg. v. 26, Obad. 13, according to the present text also Ex. i. 10; on the other hand, תִּשָּׁבַרְנָה, xxvii. 10, may be regarded as plural; cf. Ges. § 47, Anm. 3. The noun שַׂעַר (with left שׂ), elsewhere in the sense of terror, means here, like סְעָרָה, terrible storm, with קֶטֶב one spreading pestilential miasma. Then it is quickly over with the brilliant flower already doomed to fade (צִיצַת נֹבֵל here for צִיץ נֹבֵל, 1*a*). The flower fares as a בִּכּוּרָה; or, since here, according to the Masora (differently in Hos. ix. 10), בִּכּוּרָהּ should be written, and this =כְּבִכּוּרָתָהּ (see respecting such syncopated forms on Ps. xxvii. 5): like an early fig of this valley (גַּיְא, fem. as in Zech. xiv. 4; cf. باكورة, early fruit of dates, etc., *DMZ.* xii. 63). The fig-harvest is about August. If, then, one sees a fig in June, his eye is attracted to it, and it scarcely touches his hand but he has swallowed it. Luxurious Samaria will vanish like such a dainty morsel. The fact that Shalmanassar and his successor Sargon only conquered Samaria

after the lapse of three years (2 Kings xviii. 10), does not detract from the truth of the prophecy. Enough that the greed of the conquerors is glutted, and the utter destruction of Samaria fulfilled.

Threat is now followed by promise. It is essentially the same in contents as iv. 2–6. In place of the false glory overthrown, the true divine glory enters, vers. 5, 6: "*On that day shall Jehovah of hosts be for a glorious crown and sparkling diadem to the remnant of his people, and for a spirit of justice to them that sit on the judgment-seat, and for heroic strength to them that drive back battle to the gate.*" By the remnant of His people (שְׁאָר with unchangeable *kametz*, as in xxi. 17) the prophet does not mean Judah in distinction from Ephraim that has perished, but the remaining portion of Ephraim and of the twelve tribes generally. The perishable, with which they made a show, having passed away, the eternal itself becomes the beauty and pride of this remnant. צְפִירָה (only again in Ezek. vii. 7) from צָפַר, صفر, to turn, to wind, agrees in sound, perhaps only by chance, with σπεῖρα and σφαῖρα. He, the Lord of the seven spirits (xi. 2), will be a spirit of justice and heroic strength to what survives. Unjust judgment and impotent surrender come to an end. The judges are called they that sit עַל־הַמִּשְׁפָּט, in the sense of עַל־כִּסֵּא הַמִּשְׁפָּט, Ps. ix. 5, cxxii. 5; the warriors are called they that drive back battle שַׁעְרָה, *i.e.* the battle waged at the gate at home (xxii. 7), or the battle up to the gate of the foe, 2 Sam. xi. 23, ἕως τῆς πύλης; 1 Macc. v. 22. Micah v. 4 f. corresponds to the promise in this last sense. The *athnach* in ver. 6 ought to stand at המשׁפט (Wickes, *Hebrew Prose Accents*, p. 74); 6*b* is completed from 6*a*: ולגבורה = ולרוח גבורה and משׁיבי = למשׁיבי (Ewald, § 351*a*).

With "and these also" the prophet, beginning the second half of the discourse, passes from Ephraim to Judah, vers. 7, 8: "*And these also reel with wine, and stagger with strong drink; priest and prophet reel with strong drink, they are swallowed up with wine: they stagger with strong drink, reel in vision, totter in pronouncing judgment. For all tables are full of filthy vomit, so that there is no place left.*" The Judaeans are no less slaves to wine than the Ephraimites, especially the nobles of Judah. They are drunk even in

prophetic vision (הָרֹאֶה, properly that which sees, then seeing =רְאִי, like בָּתָה in v. 6, *abscindens*=*abscissum*, and in ver. 15 *infra*, חָזוּת=חֹזֶה) and in judicial decision (פְּלִילִיָּה, properly the judicially decisive; cf. xvi. 3, פְּלִילָה, decision). Micah iii. 1 ff. (cf. ii. 11) lashes prophets and judges as drunken sots in like terms. We should note the triple repetition of *shāgû—tāghû, shāgû—tāghû, shāgû—pāḳû*, in imitation of the reeling and stumbling of topers; פָּקוּ follows the tone-place of the two verbs ל״ה; elsewhere also the form קָמוּ has the tone on the ultimate, and not only with *vav consec.* vii. 19, xix. 1, but also without this, *e.g.* Nah. iii. 18; the pushing forward of the tone here is not so abnormal as its drawing back in תֵּתְעוּ, xvi. 8 (also for the sake of the rhyme). Judges are not expressly mentioned along with priests, because the courts of justice, especially the highest one in Jerusalem, were chiefly officered by priests; cf. the formula הכהנים והשפטים, Deut. xix. 17, xvii. 8. The preterites imply that drunkenness has become a habit with the holders of these offices. בְּ indicates the instrumental cause (" through," as in Prov. xx. 1; 2 Sam. xiii. 28; Esth. i. 10), and מִן the occasion or ground: swallowing wine, they are swallowed. In ver. 8 we hear them vomit. Modern High German has the same combination of ק and צ in the verb *kotzen*=to vomit. Every table is full of carousing, so that no place is left (cf. v. 8); everything swims with vomit. The prophet faithfully copies nature.

He catches up their practice in a mirror, and holds this mirror up before them—adults as they are, with their thick speech, vers. 9, 10: " *Whom then would he teach knowledge? And to whom make the preaching intelligible? To those weaned from the milk? To those removed from the breast? For command on command, command on command, rule on rule, rule on rule, a little here, a little there!*" They scoff at the prophet, that intolerable moralist. They are full-grown and free; he need not teach them knowledge (דֵּעָה, as in xi. 9) and explain his preaching to them; they know of old what he is driving at. Are they mere weaned babes, who need to be tutored? גָּמַל, to make ready, with the accus. of the suckling, means: to make it ready=to disaccustom, here with מֵחָלָב, *ablactare*. עַתִּיק (used of the mother's breast), removed, loosed (cf. عتيق, *manumissus*), as of time: advanced *aetate provectus*. On the consturct

forms, cf. ix. 2, v. 11, xxx. 18. They put these questions, because the prophet's preaching contains nothing but endless, petty annoyances. The brief words (צַו as in Hos. v. 11, order = command, like the Swedish and Danish *bud*) along with the diminutive זְעֵיר (= Arabic *suġayyir*, petty, from *ṣagîr*, small), are intended to ridicule the petty, provoking character of the prophet's incessant directions (לְ as in יֹסִף לְ, xxvi. 15), as the philosophers call Paul a σπερμολόγος, gatherer of grains, *i.e.* dealer in trifles (Acts xvii. 18); and in the repetition of the brief words we hear the thick babbling tones of the drunken mockers.[1]

The prophet now takes the "for" out of their mouth, and continues it in his own way. It is quite fitting that their wickedness should reveal itself in such a form; it will find a corresponding punishment, vers. 11–13: "*Yea, by stammerers in speech and by a strange tongue he will speak to this people; he that said to them: 'There is rest, grant rest to the weary, and there is refreshing.' But they would not hear. So then the word of Jehovah shall be to them command upon command, command upon command, rule upon rule, rule upon rule, a little here, a little there; that they may walk and stumble backwards, and break to pieces, and be snared and taken.*" Jehovah will speak to the mocking nation of stammering tongue just the same sort of language, speaking with them by a stammering nation, *i.e.* a nation of barbarous speech (see xxxiii. 19, cf. Deut. xxviii. 49). The stammerer is called *barbarous*, allied to *balbus;* strange, unintelligible speech was the same as stammering and babbling (cf. رطن, to speak a strange speech, with רָטַן, زَلَجَ, to mutter, growl). The Assyrian Semitic sounded to the Israelites like the Old German or Lower Saxon to us, and, moreover, was studded with non-Semitic elements. This nation will actually interpret Jehovah's will to the scorners of the prophet in its own dialect. אֲשֶׁר joins on as relative pronoun to the subject of the preceding threat, or it even confirms the threat: seeing that, as in Judg. ix. 17, Jer. xvi. 13, xlviii. 8; Ps. cxliv. 12. After the grievous

[1] Out of קו לקו (LXX. ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι) the Gnostics made an aeon Καυλακαύας (see Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, 1880, p. 141 f.), as the Midrash made an angel of rain out of אף ברי, Job xxxvii. 11.

experiences of previous judgments (i. 5 ff.), Jehovah directed them to the true way to peace and refreshment (Jer. vi. 16), and exhorted them to grant rest to the nation which had suffered so much by the calamities of war under Ahaz, 2 Chron. xxviii., and not by revolt against Assyria to hurry it into a new war, nor by buying the help of Egypt to add a fresh burden to the tribute to Assyria. But they would not hear (אָבוּא with א *otiosum*, as in הָֽלְכוּא, Josh. x. 24, cf. Ps. cxxxix. 21); their policy is not one of being still, of confidence and waiting. Thus the word of Jehovah, which they regarded as an endless series of petty rules, becomes to them an endless series of painful sufferings. To such free-thinkers and free-livers it proves a stone on which they are broken to pieces, a net in which they are snared, a trap in which they are caught (cf. viii. 14 f.).

The prophet now directly opposes the aristocratic party, who had forced their policy on King Hezekiah—the great ones of Jerusalem, vers. 14–17: "*Therefore hear the word of Jehovah, ye scornful lords, rulers of this people that is in Jerusalem. For ye say: 'We have concluded a covenant with death, and we have made an agreement with Hades. The waving scourge when it passes along shall do us no harm; for we have made lies our covering, and in deceit we have hidden ourselves.' Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Behold, I am he that founded in Zion a stone, a stone of approving, a precious corner-stone of solid foundation*[1] *— he that believes flees not away. And I make justice the rule and righteousness the plummet, and hail sweeps away the covering of lies, and the hiding-place is washed away by waters.*" With "therefore" the announcing of punishment again pauses; in ver. 16 this "therefore" is resumed, another statement of the sin intervening before the punishment is proclaimed. Their sin is לָצוֹן; and this free-thinking scorn is based on proud self-confidence which has no fear of death, having reliance on Egypt as a secret reserve. What the prophet makes them say here is the substance of their thinking and speaking as known to the Heart-searcher. Jerusalem, the city of Jehovah, and such princes proudly ignoring Jehovah, and renouncing Him as worthless—what a contradiction! חֹזֶה and חָזוּת mean

[1] [*Wohlgegründete Gründung*, well-founded founding.]

here agreement (Luther, *understanding*), either as deciding, *i.e.* decision or settlement (from חָזָה, to split, divide), or as finding out, *beneplacitum*, like Arabic *ray*, or as record, *i.e.* means of finding out, like Talmudic חָזִית, sign of recognition; רְאָיָה, proof, and *documentum* from *docere.*[1] In שׁוֹט שׁוֹטֵף (*Chethîb* שַׁיִט) the comparison of Assyria to a flood of waters (ver. 2, viii. 7) and to a scourge, is blended, all the more aptly since a brandished whip really moves in wave-like lines (cf. שֹׁטֵף, Jer. viii. 6, used of the galloping of a war-horse). The *Chethîb* עָבַר, ver. 15 (for which *Kerî* has יַעֲבֹר, after ver. 19): if it shall have broken in (*si invaserit*), is in point of syntax as admissible as the imperfect. "Lies" and "deceit" are the Egyptian alliance, which they are courting, described in its ethical character, cf. 2 Kings xvii. 4 (where perhaps after LXX. שקר should be read instead of קשׁר). In their moral condemnation of the breach of oath by a vassal, Isaiah, Jeremiah (who has on this account to bear the reproach of being an enemy to his country), and Ezekiel (xvii. 15 ff.) are at one. The "therefore," ver. 16, which is resumed, is followed, as in vii. 14, by promise instead of menace; but promise only for believers, as the final sentence says: he that believes flees not away, *i.e.* shall hold his ground. As there, when Ahaz refused to ask a sign, the prophet announces to him a sign of Jehovah's own choice, so here Jehovah opposes to the false grounds of confidence held by the magnates the foundation laid by Himself in Zion, which gives invincible security to believers, and, as we may add in accordance with Luke xx. 17 f. (cf. ii. 34), shatters unbelievers. This stone is called אֶבֶן בֹּחַן, a stone of testing, *i.e.* for the purpose of approving, or the opposite (בָּחַן, cf. صاحن, originally by rubbing as on a touchstone, to put to the test). Then follow other epithets in a clause beginning anew with פִּנַּת =אֶבֶן פִּנַּת (cf. Ps. cxviii. 22): *angulus h. e. lapis angularis pretiositatis fundationis fundatae.* It is a corner-stone precious in itself (cf. with יִקְרַת, 1 Kings v. 31, in accordance with which אֶבֶן יִקְרַת is in subordinate instead of co-ordinate construction = אֶבֶן יְקָרָה), and affording the firmest foundation,

[1] In 2 Kings xvii. 13 also, *Kerî* is חֹזֶה, abstract (in the sense of seeing); but the original text probably ran ביד כל נביא וכל חוזה.

the most unassailable security, to everything built upon it (מוּסָד substantive after the form מוּסָר and the intensifying adjective מוּסָּד, *part. Hoph.*, after the form of the contracted verbs פ״י). This stone is not Zion itself (Hitzig, Knobel, Reuss), for it is laid in Zion: ב after יסד is designation of site. Nor yet Jehovah (Cheyne), who is figuratively called אבן, viii. 14, for it is He who lays the stone; and therefore perhaps the Davidic monarchy, but this not as an institution in itself, but with reference to the promise of its eternal existence, and so conceived as bound up with the promised holder of this monarchy, whom the prophet foretold in chaps. vii., ix., and xi. as the true refuge and deliverer in the coming tribulations. The citations in Rom. ix. 33, 1 Pet. ii. 6 f., rest on this interpretation, which is also maintained by the Targum and Rashi. The preterite יִסַּד, joined with הִנְנִי (construction as in xxix. 14, xxxviii. 5; Obad. 2; Ezek. xxv. 7; cf. on xxii. 16, above), denotes what is decreed by Jehovah, and therefore as good as accomplished. What is realized historically has an eternal, ideal pre-existence belonging to an inner history, xxii. 11, xxv. 1, xxvii. 26. In the promised One the Davidic monarchy has the security of imperishableness. Whoever believes in the promised One (הֶאֱמִין, to show reliance, firmness, confidence) shall not take flight, need not flee (יָחִישׁ, *imperf. Hiph.* of חוּשׁ, حاس, *imperf. u*, from which *e.g. aḥwas*, swift runner, or even after Ps. lxxi. 12, *Kal* of a חישׁ *mediae J*). LXX. has for this לא יבושׁ, which Briggs prefers; but לא יחישׁ, or even לא ימישׁ (Cheyne), is better suited to the stone as a firm ground and holding-place. It is one of the three O. T. sayings about faith, each of which is thrice referred to in the New Testament;[1] vii. 9 is a fourth, which, however, is not cited. Jehovah will deal with unbelievers according to His retributive justice. Justice and righteousness He makes a rule and plummet; קַו, in allusion to ver. 10 f., but with a different application. The action of Jehovah is viewed as a building, which He builds in exact height and breadth, and which He will build for scorners on no other plan than that of strict retribution. His retributive

[1] Gen. xv. 6 twice in Paul and once in James, Isa. xxviii. 16 twice in Paul and once in Peter, Hab. ii. 4 twice in Paul and once in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

justice comes like a hailstorm and a flood (cf. ver. 2, x. 22). The hail beats down the lying covering of the nobles of Jerusalem, and carries it away (יָעָה, Arabic وعى, *colligere, comprehendere*, in a spiritual as well as material sense, from which יָע, shovel, and وِعَاء=إِنَاء, vessel), the flood buries their covert in the waters and carries it away (accent סֵתֶר, *tiphcha ;* מַיִם, *merka*).

And the scourge which Jehovah brandishes will not be content with a single blow, but will rain blows, vers. 18–20: "*And your covenant with death is blotted out, and your contract with Hades shall not stand ; the waving scourge, when it passes by—you shall become to it a thing trampled on. As often as it passes, it takes you away, for it passes every morning, by day and by night ; and it is utter terror to apprehend such preaching. For the bed is too short to stretch oneself, and the covering too narrow when one folds himself in it.*" The predicate precedes בְּרִית in the proximate masculine form, although the latter is feminine, Gesenius, § 145*a*. The בְּרִית is viewed as a record; for כֻּפַּר, for which it is unnecessary to read תֻּפַר, *irritum fiet* (Hupf. *et al.*), signifies here *obliterari* (like the *Kal*, Gen. vi. 14, *oblinere*, and Prov. xxx. 20, Targ. and Syr. *abstergere*, in Talmud frequently to wipe off = קִנֵּחַ, and to wipe off or away = מָחַק, all which meanings, along with the sense *negare*, to deny, go back to the root meaning *tegere, obducere*, which is seen in the Arabic verbs كفر, خفر, غفر): the covenant will be blotted out, as one blots out a wrong word by covering it with ink and making it illegible. They think they have fortified themselves against death and Hades, but Jehovah will give these powers unlimited authority over them. When the waving scourge comes, they will become a מִרְמָס to it, *i.e.* succumb to it, and their carcases shall be like refuse of the street, x. 6, v. 5 ; וִהְיִיתֶם has the *merka* with penult., the tone receding just as in Ex. xix. 5 ; Deut. xix. 19 ; Jer. xi. 4, etc. And the strokes of this scourge go on unceasingly, every stroke carrying them away, *i.e.* many of them ; מִדֵּי (from דַּי, *constr.* דֵּי, sufficiency, abundance), with following infin.: *quotiescunque irruet ;* לָקַח, *auferre*, as in Jer. xv. 15, and in the phrase לָקַח נֶפֶשׁ. This stroke of

the whip without end—what a painful lesson Jehovah reads them! This is the thought expressed in the final words. For the meaning of these words cannot be: even (רַק, as in Ps. xxxii. 6) the news of such a fate is terror (Grotius, *et al.*), or: utter terror is the news (Gussetius, *et al.*); for שֹׁמֵעַ שְׁמוּעָה (cf. xxiii. 5) would have been sufficient for this, instead of הָבִין שְׁמוּעָה. Without doubt the statement refers to the question of the revellers in scorn of the prophet, ver. 9: to whom will he make the preaching intelligible, *i.e.* to whom does he wish to preach God's word in an intelligible manner (as if they did not otherwise possess בִּינָה), שְׁמוּעָה, ἀκοή, as in liii. 1. As already in ver. 11 it is said that Jehovah will speak against them—the drunken stammerers—by a stammering nation, so here the scourging without end is the tidings, שְׁמוּעָה, which Jehovah gives them. If this is correct, the meaning is not: utter terror is to make the preaching intelligible to them, *i.e.* is the way in which they are now made to understand the prophetic revelation (Schlottmann), which yields essentially the same thought as that which Jerome gives (but as if תָּבִין were said): *tantummodo sola vexatio intellectum dabit auditui*, after which Luther: *only trouble teaches to attend to the word.* If שְׁמוּעָה is the practical chastening teaching, which is given them, it may still be asked, whether הבין has simply a transitive or causative sense, whether the sense is: pure shuddering or terror (זְוָעָה transposes זַעֲוָה, used of inward tremor and outward agitation) is it to understand (to take into the understanding) such tidings, or: pure terror is it to make such preaching intelligible—having regard to ver. 9, we prefer the latter. The terrible character of the lesson is graphically set forth in a probably proverbial figure, ver. 20. The bed, which they enter, is like a bed too short for one to stretch himself upon it (מִן as in 2 Kings vi. 1), or like a cloth which is too narrow, too short for the size of the one who covers himself with it; or perhaps better in temporal sense (cf. xviii. 4): when one covers himself with it (לְהִתְכַּנֵּס with ֵ, which remains unchanged in the infin. and part. in pause; cf. Deut. xxii. 3; Ps. lx. 6). So will they fare with the Egyptian alliance, in which they hoped to find rest and safety. They will be forced to acknowledge its insufficiency. They have made a bed, procured a coverlet;

but how they have mistaken the size, how sadly and ridiculously they have miscalculated!

They will fare like the Philistines when David turned their army into water at Baal Perazim, 2 Sam. v. 20 (1 Chron. xiv. 11), and when another time he chased it before him from Gibeon to Gezer, 1 Chron. xiv. 13 ff., ver. 21: "*For Jehovah will arise as at Mount Perazim, and ascend as in the valley at Gibeon, to work his work—surprising is his work—and to perform his task—strange is his task.*" There is good reason why the victory of Israel over the Philistines should serve as a comparison. The nobles of Judah faring no better at the hand of Assyria than the Philistines did twice at the hand of David, this is the strange, extraordinary thing which Jehovah begins to carry out. The people of the house of David fare as their enemies did once.

Still the possibility of repentance is left open, and at least a mitigation of the threat is within reach, ver. 22: "*And now practise not mockery, that your bonds be not made fast; for I have heard from the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, a sentence of destruction and an irrevocable one upon the whole earth.*" It is assumed that they are already in bonds, *i.e.* in the bonds of Assyria (Nah. i. 13). From these bonds they wish to free themselves by breach of faith and by the help of Egypt without Jehovah, and scoff at the warning prophet. Let them at least cease to mock, lest they fall out of the bondage in which they are now into a still more stringent one. חָזַק has here its radical meaning of tight stretching; the imperfect form יֶחֶזְקוּ (with *seghôl*), like יֶחְשְׁכוּ, Job iii. 9; יֶחֶרְדוּ, Ezek. xxvi. 18. Let them not make the judgment heavier than it will otherwise be, for its coming is inevitable. It may be mitigated to them, and by thorough repentance they might even escape it; but that it will come, and that upon the whole earth, Jehovah of hosts has revealed to the prophet. This is the שְׁמוּעָה which he heard from Jehovah, and which he makes them hear and understand, but which had hitherto been scorned by the self-complacent mockers.

The prophet's address is here apparently finished. But the fringe of promise, coinciding with vers. 5, 6, is still wanting to the second half. The prophet has not merely to alarm the mockers, in order if possible to snatch some of

them by fear from the fire, Jude ver. 23, he has also to comfort believers, who are devoted followers of him and God's word (viii. 16). This he does here in fine, skilful style. He has often already, especially in chap. xxvi., struck the note of the *mashal;* but here the comfort is clothed in a long parabolic discourse, which vividly illustrates God's educating providential wisdom from the operations of husbandry.

The prophet, like a teacher of wisdom, begins by asking the attention of his hearers, ver. 23: "*Give ear to me, and hear my voice; attend, and hear my discourse!*" Attention is the more needful, as the prophet leaves to his hearers the interpreting and applying of the parable.

Manifold is the work of the husbandman in ploughing, sowing, and planting his ground, vers. 24–26, "*Is the plougher wont to be always ploughing in order to sow? always furrowing and harrowing his land? Is it not so: when he has levelled its surface, he scatters fennel-flower, and strews cummin, and puts wheat in rows, and barley in the appointed patch, and spelt on its border? And he has instructed him in the right course —his God teaches it him.*" The ploughing (חָרַשׁ), which opens the soil (פִּתַּח), *i.e.* cuts it into furrows, and the harrowing (שִׂדֵּד with *sin*), which breaks the clods, is for the purpose of sowing (זָרַע), and therefore only until the ground is ready for receiving the seed, not without end. When the seed-furrows are made in the levelled soil (שִׁוָּה) the sowing and planting begin; and the latter also is done in various ways, according to the sort of grain. קֶצַח is the fennel (*nigella sativa*), belonging to the ranunculaceae, Arabic قزح (name of a plant sown still, and of the black seed); כַּמֹּן, cummin, *cuminum cyminum,* with larger aromatic seeds, Arabic *kammûn*, neither of them our usual carraway (*carum carvi*), which Nägelsbach understands by כמן. The wheat he puts in rows (שׂוֹרָה, Jerome, *ad ordinem*, equivalent to the Mishnic שׁוּרָה, Arabic سُورَة), *i.e.* he does not scatter it broadcast like the two sorts of fennel. נִסְמָן, also like שׂוֹרָה, is *acc. loci;* the verb סָמַן, curiously as it rhymes with *σημαίνειν* and *σεμειοῦν* (סִימָן),[1] is Old Semitic,

[1] The Syriac has both the directly borrowed *simîon* and the assimilated *simân* (among others in the sense of milestone, *DMZ.* xxxv. 499), therefore to be pointed סִימָן, not סָמָן with Baer.

and, indeed, a secondary formation from כום (שׂוּם), سوّم, *ponere*, *e.g. sawwama elfarasa*, he has marked the horse with a sign, so that סמן means *notam imponere.* The barley is sown in a patch specially set apart for it, and marked with a sign, and on its border כֻּסֶּמֶת (in Aramaic כּוּנָת), *i.e.* spelt, Greek ζέα, ζειά (*Odyss.* iv. 604, named between wheat and barley as here),[1] so that the latter forms a rim to the barley-patch.[2] It is a divine instinct by which the husbandman acts so, for the God who, as Creator, founded agriculture also gave man understanding for the work. Such is the meaning of וְיִסְּרוֹ לַמִּשְׁפָּט; and (as is evident from all this) He (his God, the subject mentioned in the second clause) has directed him (Prov. xxxi. 1) in the right course; so already Kimchi, Aben Ezra, whereas other expositors take the ל as in Jer. xxx. 11 as that of the rule: in accordance with right, which would be less suitable here, as training, not chastening, is in question.

The work of the husbandman is just as manifold also in the treatment of the gathered grain, vers. 27–29: "*For fennel is not threshed with the sledge, and the cart-wheel is not rolled over cummin; but fennel is beaten out with a stick, and cummin with a staff. Is bread-corn crushed to bits? Nay, not for ever does he thresh it and drive his cart-wheel and his horses over it; he crushes it not to bits. This also proceeds from Jehovah of hosts; he gives wondrous insight, lofty understanding.*" "For" proves the husbandman's divine instruction by what he does further. He does not use the threshing machine חָרוּץ (synon. מוֹרַג, Arabic *nauref, nôreg*), or the threshing-cart עֲגָלָה, with the two sorts of fennel,[3] as he would thus utterly destroy the

[1] Wellhausen, *Gesch.* i. 409 (1878), rejects שורה and נסמן from ver. 25, and construes נבלתו as second accus. to וְשָׂם. Like him, Cheyne also thinks שורה and נסמן a copyist's error for שערה and כסמת, and to have remained by mistake after they were corrected.

[2] Otherwise Wetzstein on *Isaiah*, pp. 705–707, who identifies כסמת with كِرْسِنَّة, black vetch (*vicia*); but Imm. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzen-namen*, No. 72, has proved that כסמת (Aram. כּוּנָת) appears everywhere as a sort of grain, not pulse, and that كرسنّة is allied to Aram. כרשנה (כרשינה); cf. Fleischer in Levy's *NH WB.* p. 450 f.

[3] See the description by Wetzstein in the *Transactions* of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Primitive History, 1873, p. 8 f.

tender pulse, but he beats it out with a staff, *baculo excutit* (see on xxvii. 12). The sentence לֶחֶם יוּדָק is interrogative, for neither as to meaning nor syntax can it be understood otherwise, Is bread-corn crushed? The following כִּי acquires an adversative sense, more frequently expressed by כִּי אִם when confirming a suppressed negative sentence (Ewald, § 330*b*, cf. 354*a*): Nay, he crushes it not, but (on the contrary), he would crush it if he drove the wheel, *i.e.* the wheels (גִּלְגַּל, *constr.* to גַּלְגַּל) of the threshing-cart along with the horses yoked in front violently over it (הָמַם, to set in hasty, rattling motion). לֶחֶם, like ὁ σῖτος, is bread-yielding grain, xxx. 23; Ps. civ. 14. אָדוֹשׁ, borrowed (as from אָדַשׁ), for דּוֹשׁ, like אָסֹף along with אָסֵף, Zeph. i. 2. Instead of וּפָרָשָׁיו we might expect וּפְרָשָׁיו (from פָּרָשׁ with foretone-*kametz* = Arabic فَرَس, in distinction from פָּרָשׁ with unchangeable *kametz* = *farrās*, ἱππεύς = فارس, ἱππεύων); but elsewhere also the riding-horse is called פָּרָשׁ, pl. פָּרָשִׁים (1 Kings v. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 14), in distinction from סוּס, the draught-horse, as in Latin *eques* may be used both of the horse and the rider (see Gellius, xviii. 5), from פרשׁ, for which the Assyrian *parâšu* has the meaning to fly, to hasten (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 95); for the rest, horses were ridden in threshing (in which they were preferred to asses and oxen). In such treatment also of the gathered fruit is seen the wondrous insight (הִפְלִא, as written הִפְלָא), lofty understanding (תּוּשִׁיָּה from וָשָׁה, *subsistere:* subsistence, permanence, full, permanent reality, or from the *Hiphil* הוֹשָׁה = واسى, to enable, further: furtherance, and concretely what furthers and benefits, in particular, true wisdom and success, see on Prov. ii. 7) imparted by God. Tillage depends on divine instruction and impulse (Eccles. vii. 15). The prophet put this in such noble language that we say at once, he has God's wisdom in a higher sphere in mind. The prudent, God-taught proceeding of the husbandman in managing his ground and fruit is an image of the proceeding of the divine teacher Himself in the treatment of His people. Israel is Jehovah's field. Jehovah's punishments and chastisements are ploughshares and harrows, with which He violently tears, breaks up, and furrows the field. But this does not last for

ever. When the field is thus loosened, levelled, and again made quite ready, the painful ploughing is followed by a blessed sowing and planting under the wise guidance of love in manifold degrees. Further, Israel is Jehovah's child of the threshing-floor (see xxi. 10). He threshes it, but He does not merely thresh it, He also beats it; and when He threshes, He does not thresh perpetually, *i.e.* as Caspari explains, He does not punish all among the people with equal severity, and even those He punishes severely He does not punish without end; but when He has reached His purpose of separating the husk of sin from those He punishes, the punishment ceases; and only the worst among the people, who are nothing but husk, and the husk of the people, are carried away by punishment (cf. i. 25, xxix. 20 f.). This is the solemn teaching and gracious comfort behind the veil of the parable. Jehovah punishes that He may be able to bless; He punishes, but He does not destroy; He does not thresh His own, He beats them; and even if He threshes them—they may comfort themselves with this in face of the coming time of judgment—they are not crushed to pieces.

The second Woe: Deliverance from the lowest depth,
chap. xxix.

Here first the prophecy of the overthrow of Samaria, the crown of flowers, xxviii. 1–4, attains its formal parallel. By the side of Samaria, the flower-crown, appears Jerusalem under the emblem of a hearth of God, and thus in distinction from xxviii. 1–22 the promise in a measure finds expression. אֲרִיאֵל certainly might also signify God's lion. In this sense it is a name of Moabite heroes, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20 (1 Chron. xi. 22), and Isaiah himself uses אֶרְאֵל, the shorter form, of the heroes of Judah, xxxiii. 7. But since, in Ezek. xliii. 15, 16, הָאֲרִיאֵל (God's hearth) is the name of the upper surface of the altar of burnt-offering in the new temple, just as הַהַרְאֵל (God's height) seems to be the name of the whole upper level of the place of sacrifice (unless with Cornill it is to be changed into האריאל), and since Isaiah can say nothing more characteristic of Jerusalem than that Jehovah has a fire and furnace there, xxxi. 9, to which must be added, that

Jerusalem, the city and civic community, would rather have to be compared to a lioness than a lion, we take אֲרִיאֵל in the sense *ara Dei* (from אָרָה, to burn, Arabic إِرَةٌ, hearth).[1]

The prophet begins in his own style with a grand comprehensive introit, which traverses with giant strides the road between menace and promise, vers. 1, 2: "*Woe to Ariel, Ariel, fortress where David pitched his camp! Add year to year, let the feasts go round—then I afflict Ariel, and there is moaning and groaning; and so it proves Ariel to me.*" By David's pitching his camp and then bringing the sacred ark there, Jerusalem became God's hearth. חָנָה דָוִד is a virtual genitive to קִרְיַת, which is only possible in Arabic in substantives of time (not place). When the new year is added to the current one, after the circle (יִנְקֹפוּ without assimilation instead of יִקְּפוּ) of the feasts (probably uttered before the Passover, the feast opening the ecclesiastical year) is completed, Jehovah will bring affliction on Jerusalem (*Hiphil* as intensive transitive, as in xxxvi. 14, Amos viii. 9, and frequently), making it a city of mourning. The superlative coupling תַּאֲנִיָּה וַאֲנִיָּה is like נְהִי נִהְיָה, Micah ii. 4; cf. הֶגֶה וָהִי, Ezek. ii. 10; אָנָה, to mourn, is connected with אָנַח, אָנַק, and אָנַן, Syr. ܐܢ, as a sound-painting word. But Jerusalem will not remain in so sad a plight: "It will be to me as an Ariel," *i.e.* through my help it will prove itself a hearth of God, consuming its enemies like a fiery furnace, or these enemies finding destruction in Jerusalem, like wood heaped on an altar and set ablaze.

Thus the prophecy in a few majestic words has measured the path which it now begins anew, first of all expanding the Woe, vers. 3, 4: "*And I encamp in a circle about thee, and girdle thee with guard-posts, and set up siege-works against thee. And being brought low thou shalt speak from the ground; and from the dust thy words shall sound dull; and thy voice, like a demon's, comes up from the ground, and from the dust thy words shall whisper.*" So low will Ariel fall,

[1] The word also occurs several times in the Mesha-inscription (Z. 12, 17 f.), in the sense of altar (Smend-Socin: altar-plateau); the combination with the Babylonian and Assyrian name of the mountain of the gods *Arâlu* (Alfr. Jeremias, p. 123), foists a strange element into the text.

that, invested by hostile forces, it will lie on the ground in extremest distress, and then, like a dying man, or a ghost without flesh and bone, mutter in spectral tones. כַּדּוּר means, as in xxii. 18 and in the Talmud, *sphaera*, *orbis*, from כָּתַר=כָּדַר, and is here used poetically for סָבִיב. Jerome: *quasi sphæram* (דּוּר=دَوْر, round, circular course), מֻצָּב (from יָצַב, נָצַב), might mean "firmly planted" (Luzzatto: *immobilimente;* cf. שִׁית, xxii. 7); but according to the parallelism it perhaps signifies this, and then what is planted: a military post (cf. מַצָּב, נְצִיב); צוּר is joined to accusative-object as in Cant. viii. 9: to drive one thing against another, to surround it therewith. מְצֻרֹת from מָצוֹר, Deut. xx. 20, are siege implements. Respecting אוֹב and צִפְצֵף, see on viii. 19.

So far the expansion of the Woe. Now follows the expansion of the concluding saying and promise of ver. 1: "and it proves to me an Ariel," vers. 5–8: "*And the multitude of thy enemies shall be as finely-powdered dust, and the multitude of tyrants as fleeing chaff; and it shall take place suddenly, most suddenly. It (Jerusalem) shall be visited from Jehovah of hosts with crash of thunder and earthquake and great roaring, hurricane and tempest and flame of devouring fire. And the multitude of all the nations that gather against Ariel, and all they who assail Ariel and her stronghold and afflict her, shall be like a dream-vision of the night. And it is as when a hungry man dreams, and, behold, he eats,—and he awakes, and his soul is empty; and as when a thirsty man dreams, and, behold, he drinks,—and he awakes,—and, behold, he is weary, and his soul is parched. So shall it be with the multitude of the nations who gather against Mount Zion.*" The hostile army, described four times over as הָמוֹן, a roaring multitude, is annihilated, the powers of nature being let loose and cooperating in the terrible work, xxx. 30, cf. xvii. 13. In translating 5*a*: "*the multitude that scatter thee,*" Luther vocalizes ingeniously מְזָרַיִךְ=זֹרַיִךְ. תִּפָּקֵד is to be referred to Jerusalem, but not as an address, which would require תִּפָּקְדִי, but as a statement: it shall be visited in grace (Jerome, *visitabitur*), Jehovah thundering down its foes. It is not so good to take it after LXX. (ἐπισκοπὴ ἔσται), as neuter, with Knobel, Bredenkamp: there is punishment inflicted; the neuter use

of the 3rd *fem.* with subject of outward matter (i. 6, vii. 7, xiv. 24) is different from such neuter use with subject of internal matter, of which only few examples are found (Ps. l. 3; Prov. xv. 6). The comparison to a dream-picture is applied in two ways: 1. Ver. 7: they shall dissolve into nothing, as if they had merely the unreal existence of a dream-picture; 2. Ver. 8: their plan against Jerusalem will end in shame and confusion, like the eating and drinking of a dreamer, which turns out a delusion when he wakes. As the prophet emphatically combines two substantives in ver. 2 and two adverbs of the same verbal root, so in ver. 7 he uses צָבָא and צָבָה side by side, the former with עַל of besieging in crowds army-wise, the latter with obj. suff. (cf. Ps. liii. 6), of attacking in crowds army-wise. Böttcher conjectures צִבְיָהּ, "(against) her splendour;" but צבי in xxiii. 9, xxviii. 1, 4, means the city as the glory of the land and nation, and not the adornment of the city itself. The מְצֹדָה (watch-tower, *specula*, from צוד, to spy) of Ariel is Mount Zion, mentioned in ver. 8. כַּאֲשֶׁר, "as when," cf. Zech. x. 6; Job x. 19. וְהִנֵּה אוֹכֵל without הוּא; the personal pronoun is not seldom omitted both in a participial main sentence as here (cf. xxvi. 3, xl. 19; Ps. xxii. 29; Job xxv. 2, and Köhler on Zech. ix. 12, and Mal. ii. 16), and in a participial dependent sentence as in Ps. vii. 10, lv. 20; Hab. ii. 10. The hungering and longing of the man awake is applied to the soul (cf. xxxii. 6, v. 14; Prov. vi. 30), because the soul is the cause of physical life, and all sensuous movements and acts apart from it would yield no sensation and experience. The hungry stomach is merely that which is felt, and all sensitiveness in the bodily organism is merely the means of sensation, that which feels is the soul. Passing from the dream-state into the waking state, the soul finds its desires as unsatisfied as before. The hostile army is like such a dream-picture (Ps. lxxiii. 20); the victory of which it was already sure before the conflict will dissolve into nothing.

This riddle of the future the prophet holds up before his contemporaries' eyes. He has learnt it by revelation, and without divine illumination it cannot be understood. The deep humiliation of Ariel, the wondrous deliverance, the sudden leap from the lowest depth to the greatest height—all

this is matter of faith. But this very faith is wanting to the people, and therefore also the understanding dependent on it. The message is there, but the understanding is wanting; and all understanding of the message is wrecked on the stupidness of the mass. Therefore the prophet, who has the unhappy task of hardening his people, is forced to cry out, 9*a*: "*Start and stare, blind yourselves and grow blind!*" הִתְמַהְמְהוּ, to appear hesitating (from מָהַהּ or מַהּ, like הִתְלַהְלֵהַּ, Prov. xxvi. 18, from לָהַהּ), joined to the similar תָּמַהּ, to be stiff with astonishment; and to שָׁעַע: covered over: to be incapable of sight (cf. vi. 10), is joined the *Hithpalpel* derived from it: to put oneself in such a state, *se oblinere* (differently Ps. cxix. 16, 47; cf. above, xi. 8: *se permulcere*). הִשְׁתַּעְשְׁעוּ, which is to be assumed, like the plur. of the imperf. Ps. xciv. 19, has passed into הִשְׁתַּעַשְׁעוּ instead of הִשְׁתַּעְשְׁעוּ. They can make nothing of God's word, are stupefied, their eyes are swollen up; and this self-induced condition becomes the punishment inflicted on them by God. The imperatives are utterances of judicial power.

This growth of self-hardening into a doom of hardening is announced by the prophet more at length, vers. 9*b*–12: "*They are drunken, and not with wine; reel, and not with strong drink. For Jehovah has poured out upon you a spirit of deep slumber, and firmly closed your eyes, the prophets, and has veiled your heads, the seers. And the revelation of all this is to you like words of a sealed writing, which one gives to him who understands letters, saying: Pray, read this; but he says: I cannot, it is sealed. And one gives the writing to him who understands not letters, saying: Pray, read this; but he says: I understand not letters.*" They are drunken and dull, not merely because they are given up to sensuous drunkenness (יַיִן, dependent on שִׁכְּרוּ: *ebrii vino*), but because God has surrendered them to error and dissoluteness,—He who, although He wills not evil, yet makes the evil which the creature calls into existence the means of punishing evil. תַּרְדֵּמָה is here the impotence of utter spiritual stupidity. This doom has fallen on the nation in all its members; even the nation's eyes and heads, the prophets, even those who should look out for the good of the nation and guide it, are blind,—blind leaders whose eyes are fast closed (עִצֵּם, intensive of *Kal*, xxxiii. 15, Aramaic עַצֵּם, Talmud also עַמֵּץ, to close, press the eyes to, Arabic غمض), and over

their heads a covering is drawn, as over sleepers at night. Since the days of Koppe and Eichhorn אֶת־הַנְּבִיאִים and הַחֹזִים have generally been taken as a gloss, and a wrong one (cf. ix. 13 f.); indeed, they are suspicious. Only one does not see why an annotator should not rather have explained רָאשֵׁיכֶם by הַשָּׂרִים or הַכֹּהֲנִים (cf. Job ix. 24); also, a polemic of Isaiah against false prophets is not surprising (cf. xxviii. 7, and the polemic of the contemporary Micah, *e.g.* iii. 5–8). But it is strange that the reference to the prophets is pursued no farther, for vers. 11, 12 refer to the educated and uneducated among the people in general. The dulness of the former is compared to those who understand written letters; the dulness of the others to those who cannot even read. To both all is sealed by divine judgment (cf. with the phrase Ps. cxix. 128), *i.e.* all and everything which God shows His true prophets is closed. The one class may have outward understanding, but the inner knowledge of revelation is sealed up to them; the others have not even so much, but stare at the prophet's message, as one who cannot read stares at writing (*Chethîb* הַסֵּפֶר with generic article).

This stupidness is the natural punishment of the dead works with which the nation plays the hypocrite to God and deceives itself, vers. 13, 14: "*The Lord has spoken: Because this people draws nigh with its mouth and honours me with its lips, and keeps its heart far from me, and the worship which they give me is a commandment learnt from men: therefore, behold, I will further deal wondrously with this people, wondrously and very strangely, and the wisdom of its wise ones perishes, and the understanding of its understanding ones is invisible.*" Since Asaph's days (Ps. l., cf. lxxviii. 36 ff.) the complaint respecting hypocritical worship without a life of faith and striving after holiness has been the main theme of prophecy. Already in Isaiah's introductory discourse, chap. i., we hear this complaint. In Hezekiah's days (as later in Josiah's, as the Book of Jeremiah shows) the nation was forced to accept the abolition of public idol-worship, but its worship of Jehovah was in part conscious hypocrisy from fear of man and for human praise, in part unconscious, comforting itself with and glorying in outward observance of the law in a self-righteous spirit without inward conversion, Micah vi. 6–8, iii. 11. Instead of ותהי, LXX. read (cf. Matt. xv. 8) תהו

(μάτην), and instead of נִגַּשׁ (LXX., Jerome, Syriac, Matt. xv. 8, Mark vii. 6, Kimchi) is found also the reading נִגַּשׂ (Targum, Aben Ezra), which must be rendered "because it torments itself as in forced service;" the antithesis of רִחַק favours נִגַּשׁ,[1] *accedit*, with which בְּפִיו is to be joined, in opposition to the accents. This materializing and blinding of themselves Jehovah will punish with a quite unique (פֶּלֶא פְּלָא, نل, properly to select, sever), paradoxical doom, the doom of utterly empty, bewildered callousness, so that even the appearance of wisdom and prudence, which Israel's leaders still have, vanishes. יוֹסִיף (as in xxxviii. 5) is not *partic. Kal* = יֹסֵף, for no lengthening of the radical form *kåtīl* into *kåtîl* is in evidence, since even Eccles. i. 18 and Ps. xvi. 5 do not require this participial form; it is 3rd *imperf. Hiph.*, after the construction certified by xxviii. 16: *en me* (*qui*) *pergit*. In הַפְלֵא וָפֶלֶא, פֶּלֶא changes (cf. Jas. i. 9) with the gerundive (see on xxii. 17), after vers. 2, 5, 7, 9, the fifth example of emphatic juxtaposition of words similar in sound and of like origin.

Their hypocrisy, which is punished so wondrously according to the general law, Ps. xviii. 25 f., shows itself in their self-willed, underhand dealing, which asks not after Jehovah, and refuses the chastening of His word, vers. 15, 16: "*Woe to them that hide plans deep from Jehovah, and their doing takes place in a dark place, and they say: Who sees us, and who knows about us? O your perversity! Is the potter to be regarded as clay, that a thing made should say of its maker: he made me not; and a thing formed say of him that formed it: he understands not?*" As Ahaz carefully kept his appeal for Assyria's help from the prophet's knowledge, so now they try to hide the project of an alliance with Egypt as far as possible from the prophet. מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם is an actual plural. לַסְתִּיר is syncopated *Hiph.* for לְהַסְתִּיר, as in i. 12, iii. 8, xxiii. 11; הֶעֱמִיק gives the adverbial idea to this, cf. Joel ii. 20 and the reverse order of ideas, Joel ii. 26; Ges. § 142. 2. To hide from Jehovah = to hide from Jehovah's prophet, in order to avoid the rebuke of Jehovah's word. But Jehovah sees into their secret,

[1] The Masora says that נִגַּשׂ occurs four times, וְנִגַּשׂ four times, and נִגַּשׁ four times. On our נִגַּשׁ they remark לית בספרא, *i.e.* it is the only נגשׁ with *shin* occurring in Isaiah.

and the prophet sees through everything in the light of Jehovah. הֲפְכְּכֶם, or rather הַפְּכְּכֶם (as also the Babyl. codex reads, from הֵפֶךְ, not הֹפֶךְ, see Baer on the passage), is an exclamation like תִּפְלַצְתְּךָ, Jer. xlix. 16. They are perverse, or (אִם) is it not so? They think to be able to dispense with Jehovah, and yet are His creatures; they ascribe cleverness to themselves, and actually renounce Jehovah, as if the clay should say to the potter who turned it: he understands not.

But the prophet's God, whose omniscience, creative glory, and infinite wisdom they so shamefully mistake and ignore, will shortly transform the present shape of the world, and create a community for Himself from the poor and needy, whilst He annihilates this proud, God-estranged nation, vers. 17–21: "*Is it not a very little while, and Lebanon is turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is accounted a forest? And in that day the deaf hear words of Scripture, and out of gloom and darkness the eyes of the blind see. And the joy of the humble in Jehovah increases, and the poor among men shall exult in the Holy One of Israel. For tyrants are gone; and it is all over with scoffers; and all who study mischief are rooted out, who condemn men for a word, and lay snares for him that speaks freely in the gate, and cast down the just by shameful lies.*" Both outward conditions and public opinion undergo a change in contrast with the present. This is what is stated in ver. 17, probably a proverb put into writing. What is now forest is raised into garden-land, and what is garden-land becomes in common opinion forest (לַכרמל, לַיער, although we should expect לְ, pointed just as in xxxii. 15). These figures are explained in ver. 18 ff. The nation, at present blind and deaf to Jehovah's word, is transformed into one with open ears and seeing eyes. Scripture words, such as the prophet now brings before the people in vain, are heard by those who were deaf. Free glances of those who were blind penetrate through the darkness. The heirs of the new, transformed future are the עֲנָוִים, *πραεῖς*, and the אֶבְיוֹנִים, *πτωχοί*. The general אָדָם (antithesis of אֲנָשִׁים, *e.g.* ver. 13) enhances the idea of lowliness, and this genitival connection gives a superlative sense like צעירי הצאן, Jer. xlix. 20; עניי הצאן, Zech. xi. 7, cf. פריץ חיות, xxxv. 9: the needy, who differ from the crowd and stand out from it. Such shall obtain ever-increasing joy in Jehovah (יָסַף as in

xxxvii. 21). Such a people of God will take the place of the oppressors who are then swept away (cf. xxviii. 12), and scoffers (cf. xxviii. 14, 22), and those who study mischief (שָׁקַד, *invigilare, sedulo agere*), *i.e.* the malignant plotters, who make every one who does not enter into their plots a חֹטֵא, even for a word (בְּדָבָר, without article, like λόγῳ, Matt. viii. 8, not בַּדָּבָר, as Bredenkamp unwittingly points), *i.e.* declare him one (cf. Deut. xxiv. 4; Eccles. v. 5), and who bring to trial him who openly opposes them in the gate, and calls evil by its right name (Amos v. 10; cf. Prov. xxiv. 25 and Hagg. ii. 14, LXX.), as a traitor (יְקֹשׁוּן, not *Kal perf.*, which must have run יָקֹשׁוּן, like יָדְעוּן, Deut. viii. 3, 16, and also does not suit in point of syntax, but a form like יְבֹאוּן, Ps. xcv. 11, from יָקֹשׁ=קוֹשׁ, Jer. l. 24), and cast out the just, *i.e.* drive him from his good right (x. 2), by תֹהוּ, utterly futile charges and pretexts. Thus the meaning is not (as Targ.): into wilderness and waste (Knobel, Luzzatto); for תֹהוּ in Isaiah is a synonym of all the words signifying emptiness, baselessness, and deceit. All these seducers and persecutors Jehovah clears away.

Everything incapable of amendment falls a prey to destruction; therefore the people of God, emerging from the judgment, need expect nothing of the kind again, vers. 22–24: "*Therefore thus says Jehovah respecting the house of Jacob, he who delivered Abraham: henceforth Jacob shall not be ashamed, and his countenance shall not henceforth grow pale. For when he, when his children see, the work of my hands in his midst, they shall hallow my name, and hallow the Holy One of Jacob, and tremble before the God of Israel. And they who were of erring spirit shall know understanding, and murmurers accept instruction.*" אֶל (for which Luzzatto, after Lowth, has אֵל, "the God of the house of Jacob") introduces the subject, to which the following oracle refers (see on Ps. ii. 7). The end of Israel will correspond to the holy root of its origin. As Abraham was separated from mankind when sunk in heathenism to become the progenitor of a people of Jehovah, so a remnant will be separated from the mass of Israel sunk in apostasy from Jehovah, to become the basis of a holy community acceptable to God. This shall never again be confounded and ashamed (חָוַר, like Aram. חֲוַר אַפּוֹי, to go pale with shame; cf. הַלְבֵּן, to put to shame; and see on it *Mezia*

58*b*);[1] for the sinners and sins that provoked God's humiliating judgments are blotted out (cf. Zeph. iii. 11). In presence of the decisive work of punishment (מַעֲשֶׂה as in xxviii. 21, x. 12, v. 12, 19), which Jehovah executes within Israel, the latter will undergo a complete transformation. יְלָדָיו indicates more precisely the subject anticipated in בִּרְאֹתוֹ (cf. 1 Sam. xx. 29; Ex. ii. 6; Ps. lxxxiii. 12): "when he, namely his children" (cf. Job xxix. 3), and indeed יְלָדָיו is not unintentionally chosen instead of בָּנָיו; it is a new generation, which, in view of God's judicial revelations of Himself, becomes a holy community reverencing Him, the Holy One of Israel; יַקְדִּישׁוּ is continued in וְהִקְדִּישׁוּ: the prophet designedly repeats this all-significant word: הַעֲרִיץ as the parallel word thereto, as in viii. 12 f. The new community will not indeed be sinless and absolutely perfect, but, according to ver. 24, the previous hardening of themselves in error gives way to willing, living acceptance of right knowledge, and the previous murmuring and resistance to Jehovah's admonitions to an open, joyous desire to learn. The interchange of יַעֲקֹב and יִשְׂרָאֵל is found here as frequently in chap. xl. ff.; here, in an incontestably genuine prophecy of Isaiah, we hear already approximately the Deutero-Isaianic language of chaps. xl.–lxvi.

The third Woe: The peril of the Egyptian Alliance,
chap. xxx.

The plan drawn up and prepared according to xxix. 15 in deepest secrecy is now carried much further. Negotiation by ambassadors has already begun; but the prophet condemns what he can no longer prevent, vers. 1–5: "*Woe to the stubborn children, says Jehovah, in carrying out plans, and not at my prompting, and in weaving alliance, and not after my Spirit—in order to heap sin on sin; who set forth to travel down to Egypt, without having asked at my mouth, in order to flee to Pharaoh's protection, and to hide themselves under the shadow of Egypt. And Pharaoh's stronghold shall be a shame to you, and hiding under the shadow of Egypt a confusion. For Judah's princes have appeared in Zoan, and his ambassadors reach Hanes. All shall be ashamed on account of a nation*

[1] On designations of colour relating to shame, see my *Iris*, pp. 87–89.

useless to them, that brings no help and no profit, but shame and also reproach. On סוֹרְרִים follow infinitives with ל in the sense of Latin ablatives of the gerund, as in v. 22; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; Prov. viii. 34. According to Cappellus *et al.*, מַסֵּכָה means an alliance made with libation (*σπονδή* from *σπένδεσθαι*); a more certain meaning is plaiting, weaving (מַסֶּכֶת); since מַסֵּכָה (from נָסַךְ, *fundere*) means a metal-casting, molten image, it is better to take נָסַךְ as = סָכַךְ, *plectere* (Jerome: *ordiremini telam*). The added qualifications, וְלֹא מִנִּי and וְלֹא רוּחִי, mean, without proceeding from me, without its being my Spirit, *i.e.* my Spirit's work. They heap sin on sin, following up the idea that is sinful in itself step by step until it is completely realized. The prophet also on his part follows the magnates of Judah, already on their way down to the Nile valley; he sees them arrive in Zoan, and thence reach Hanes; he foresees and foretells what shameful disillusion will be the reward of this untheocratic enterprise. In לָעוֹז בְּ *'ôz* is infin. of עוז (x. 31); מָעוֹז also here is perhaps not to be derived from עָזַז in the sense of stronghold, *praesidium*,[1] but = مَعاذ, place of refuge, although the pointing does not distinguish the inflected forms of these two substantives; see on xxvii. 5; Ps. xxxi. 3. The suffixes of שָׂרָיו and מַלְאָכָיו apply to the princes and messengers, not of Pharaoh, but of Judah. The view of the prophet overleaps the present stage of alliance-seeking, sees members of the aristocracy of the nation as ambassadors with a grand retinue courting Egypt's favour in Zoan and then in Hanes, and at once foretells a disgraceful end to this abasement of the people of Jehovah. The LXX. has *μάτην κοπιάσουσιν* for חִנָּם יִגָּעוּ, *i.e.* חִנָּם יִיגָעוּ; but were חנם original, it would hardly occur to any one to write חנס (חָנֵס) for it. This is the name of a city on a Nile island of middle Egypt, the later Herakleopolis, in Aegyptian *Hnēs* (*Ehnēs*), *"Αννσις* in Herod. ii. 137, now أَهناس. Respecting Zoan, see on xix. 11. The twenty-fifth dynasty was then ruling; its rulers were Shabak (*Σαβάκων*), Shabatok (*Σεβιχώς*), and Taharka (*Τεαρκώ* of Strabo). It was the first of the three of whom king Hoshea of Israel sought help, and

[1] The verb عاذ is related to عاد as *recourir à quelqu'un* to *recourir.*

the third of whom Hezekiah sought help. Taharḳa was then (in the first years after Sennacherib's accession) not yet king of all Egypt, but only of Ethiopia.[1] The application for Egyptian help extended, as it seems, both to the north and south, seeking to gain the rulers in Memphis and Napata. הֹבְאִישׁ (cf. Ezra iv. 12, בְּאוּשְׁתָּא) = הֹבִישׁ is incorrectly pointed (borrowed *Hiph.* from בּוֹשׁ=יָבַשׁ, different from יָבֵשׁ), instead of הִבְאִישׁ, like רִאשֹׁנָה (*Keri*) for רְאִשֹׁנָה in Josh. xxi. 10; הִבְאִישׁ signifies elsewhere = to make to stink (to slander), Prov. xiii. 5; or, to get into ill-odour, 1 Sam. xxvii. 12; a בָּאַשׁ identical with בּוֹשׁ the pointing does not acknowledge; see on Prov. xiii. 5. כֹּל applies to the whole of Judah.

There follows now, after the prophet's address has scarcely begun, a heading such as we have read several examples of in the cycle of prophecies against the heathen nations. Gesenius, Hitzig, Umbreit, Knobel get rid of it by explaining it as a gloss resting on a misunderstanding. But this מַשָּׂא בַּהֲמוֹת נֶגֶב is as emblematic as the four titles in chaps. xxi., xxii., and the oracle embraces vers. 6 and 7. Then follows the command to write it on a special tablet. The heading is an integral part of the smaller whole. Isaiah interrupts his address to communicate an oracle relating to the Egyptian alliance, which Jehovah expressly commands him to transmit to posterity. This interruption would take place if the heading were erased; for vers. 6, 7 is not an address to the people, but a prefixed text, whose application is determined afterwards; the prophet communicates in the form of a citation what he has seen, and then tells what God commanded him to do with it.

On this account we enclose vers. 6, 7 in marks of quotation, and translate the little piece, which is quite in the style of chap. xxi., as follows: "*Oracle respecting the beast of the south. Through a land of distress and constraint, whence (come) lioness and lion, viper and dragon, they carry their wealth on the shoulders of asses' foals, and their treasures on the humps of camels to a nation that profits nothing. And Egypt—vain and empty is their help; therefore I call this Egypt: Great mouth that sits still.*" The beast of the south is the Nile-horse; and this is the emblem of Egypt, the south-land (on the other hand, in Daniel and Zechariah, Babylon as

[1] See Stade, *De Isaiae vaticiniis aethiop.* p. 50.

north-land). בַּהֲמוֹת is *constr.* of בְּהֵמוֹת (Job xl.), which (in superlative relation to בְּהֵמָה, like חָכְמוֹת to חָכְמָה, probably: beast, as von Orelli translates) is Hebraized from Egyptian *p-ehe-mau* (which must be assumed), *i.e.* ox of the water, perhaps *p-ehe-mau-t* (afterwards with fem. art.): the hippopotamus, which is also called *ǵamûs el-baḥr* (sea-buffalo) in Arabic, Italian *bomarino*. The emblem of Egypt elsewhere in the Old Testament is the water-serpent, תַּנִּין, or לִוְיָתָן, the crocodile, "the beast of the reed," Ps. lxviii. 31, here the Nile-horse, that fat, hog-like flesh-colossus, whose belly all but sweeps the ground—an image of Egypt with its boastful, self-glorifying airs, and yet so sluggish and unwilling to stir from the spot in another's interest. The name רַהַב הֵם שָׁבֶת says the same.[1] Elsewhere also Rahab is a name of Egypt, li. 9; Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10, and that in the meaning κῆτος, sea-monster, *monstrum marinum*, confirmed by LXX. in Job xxvi. 12 and ix. 13. But here the name means violence, arrogance, boastfulness. הֵם is an identifying term, as in Gen. xiv. 2, 3, etc.; the plural refers to the nation called Rahab. Thus: the swaggering nation, these are sitting still, or: braggart, these are stay-at-homes. To this treacherous land the ambassadors of Judah are going with rich treasures (חֲיָלִים, *opes*) on the shoulders of asses' colts (see on עַיִר, Köhler on Zech. ix. 9) and on the humps (דַּבֶּשֶׁת, from דִּבֵּשׁ, √ דב, *appactum, compactum esse*) of camels, without shrinking from the fatigues and dangers of the road through the desert, whence lions and serpents spring forth now and again (מֵהֶם, neuter, as in Zeph. ii. 7, cf. on xxxviii. 16); see Deut. viii. 15; Num. xxi. 6. אֶפְעֶה here and in lix. 5, as Job xx. 16 shows, signifies the viper, not like أُفْعًى, the hyena (Fleischer in Levy's *NH WB.* i. 281*b*). Through the same desert, through which God led their fathers when He delivered them from the bondage of Egypt, they now journey to purchase Egypt's friendship, but in reality, despite all the expense they are at, to betray themselves, for the vainglorious land will not keep its promises to them.

So runs the divine oracle, to which the following divine

[1] According to Makrîzi the Himzarites called a king, who undertook no wars, مُوثَبَان, sitter-still, from وَثَب = יָשַׁב.

command refers, ver. 8: "*Go now, write it on a tablet with them, and inscribe it in a book, and let it remain to after days, for ever, perpetually.*" The suffixes of כָּתְבָהּ and חֻקָּהּ refer in the neuter sense to vers. 6, 7, and בּוֹא (cf. xxii. 15) is a general summons to proceed to the matter. סֵפֶר may interchange with לוּחַ, because even a single leaf with its contents complete is called book in Ex. xvii. 14; Neh. vii. 5. On a tablet, a special leaf of durable material, Isaiah is to write the oracle, and "with them," so that his countrymen may have it before their eyes (cf. viii. 1; Hab. ii. 2). It is to be a memorial to the after-world. The reading לְעֵד (LXX. Targ. Syr. Jerome) for לָעַד is appropriate and probable, according to Deut. xxxi. 21, 26. In the present form of the text the three definitions of time form a climax: for the future, for the farthest future, for the unending future.

Thus it is necessary to bring the worthlessness of the Egyptian help under the eyes of the nation, vers. 9–11: "*For it is an obstinate nation, lying children, children who will not hear the instruction of Jehovah, who say to the seers: 'See not!' and to the prophets: 'Prophesy not to us right things! Speak to us flatteries! Prophesy illusions! Depart out of the way, turn from the path, remove from our sight the Holy One of Israel!'*" With עַם מְרִי, a people of obstinacy, cf. iii. 8. כֶּחָשִׁים (=כַּחְשִׁים by the same law of sound as הֶחָכָם) is ἁπ. γεγρ. As in xxviii. 15, the prophet reduces their language to an unvarnished utterance of their real thoughts. They forbid the prophet of Jehovah to prophesy, especially נְכֹחוֹת, straight, true things (what does not square with their wishes), and would rather hear חֲלָקוֹת, *i.e.* smooth, flattering things, even מַהֲתַלּוֹת (from התל, √ תל, Talm. טל, *ludere*[1]), illusions, for they wish to be petted and coaxed, not repulsed and tutored. The prophets are to take another way (מִנֵּי, only twice here instead of the elsewhere more common מִנִּי, *constr. st.* of מֵן, "share," after the form עֲלֵי אֱלֵי), and to annoy them no more with the Holy One of Israel.

So at variance are they with Jehovah and the bearers of His word, vers. 12–14: "*Therefore thus saith the Holy One*

[1] *E.g. Kethuboth* 61*b*: דמיטללא בנורייתא קטנייתא ונרדשיר, one who plays with lapdogs and chess; *Succa* 53*a*: מטלל (מטייל) בתמני סכיני, he played with eight knife-blades.

of Israel: Because ye dislike this word, and put your confidence in violent means and crafty ways, and stay yourselves thereon: therefore this guilt becomes to you like a falling breach, leaning forward on a towering wall, which suddenly, very suddenly, falls in ruin. And he smites it to pieces, as a potter's jug falls to pieces when one shatters it without sparing, and from which, when it lies shattered, one finds not a sherd to fetch fire from the hearth and to draw water out of a cistern." The word to which they feel מָאֹס (read *mâos-chem*, as in Deut. xx. 2, *keķârob-chem*) is the message of Jehovah by His prophet in opposition to their untheocratic policy that leaned on Egypt. נָלוֹז (from לוז, allied to לוּץ, *obliquare*, see on Prov. ii. 15), bent aside, crooked, means a policy which moves in artful by-ways, as well as עֹשֶׁק, the extortion of the sums of money necessary for the war of liberation and the winning of Egypt's help (cf. 2 Kings xv. 20). Judah's guilt is compared to the cracked, overhanging part of a steep wall (נִבְעֶה, *tumefactus*, and so *protuberans*, leaning forward; cf. בַּעְבֻּעַ, بغى, of a diseased swelling). As this part carries the whole ruinous wall with it, so the guilty ways of Judah will ruin beyond remedy its whole present existence. Israel, which, when there was yet time, refused to acknowledge itself Jehovah's workmanship (xxix. 16), is shattered like a vessel into minute fragments. It is the exile which the prophet threatens in the figure; for the ruin affects Israel as a State. The subject in וּשְׁבָרָהּ, ver. 14, is Jehovah, who will use human, hostile power to lay the wall in ruins, to scatter the kingdom of Judah in such a sherd-like diaspora. It is not said וְשִׁבְּרָהּ (LXX. Targ.), but וּשְׁבָרָהּ, *et franget eam.* כָּתוֹת is infinitive description of the manner; Baer has כָּתוּת, after Masoretic form, which is confirmed by Babyl. codex: like a potter's jar shattered without sparing. לַחְשֹׂף (as in Hag. ii. 16, with *dagesh* to distinguish it from לַחְשׂוֹף) exchanges the primary meaning *nudare* for that of drawing out, just as עֵרָה does for that of pouring out.

To such small sherds, to such a scattered heap of rubbish, the kingdom of Judah is brought in consequence of its godless lust for self-liberation, vers. 15–17: "*For thus saith the Lord, Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel: By returning and rest ye should be saved, in quiet and in confidence should your strength be shown—but ye refused. And ye said: 'Nay, but on horses*

will we fly,' therefore shall ye flee; and: 'on swift ones will we ride,' therefore shall your pursuers be swift. A thousand ye shall flee before the threat of one, before the threat of five, until ye be reduced to a remnant like a pine on the top of a mountain, and like a banner on a hill." The conditions on which their safety depended, and accepting which they would obtain safety, are שׁוּבָה, turning round (halting) in their self-chosen way, and נַחַת, rest from self-confident effort (from נוּחַ, like רַחַת from רוּחַ, and שַׁחַת from שׁוּחַ); their strength (*i.e.* what would render them superior to the world-power) would be shown (הָיָה, arise, be manifested, as in xxix. 2) in הַשְׁקֵט, giving up their engrossing anxiety, bustling activity, and in בִּטְחָה, confidence, which cleaves to Jehovah, and renouncing self-help, leaves everything to Him. So under Ahaz (vii. 4) ran the fundamental principle of the prophet's policy. But from the first they would not accept it, nor yet now when the alliance with Egypt has become an inevitable fact. To fly on horses, to ride on swift ones (קַל, rhyming with κέλης, *celer*), was and is their fleshly boast, to which Jehovah's reply will be that the curse of the Torah (Lev. xxvi. 8, 36; Deut. xxviii. 25, xxxii. 30) will be fulfilled in them: One, or, at most, five of the foe will be sufficient by a puff to put to flight a whole thousand of those of Judah. The verb נוּס, ver. 16, is first used, rhyming with סוּס, in its primary sense: to fly (akin to נוּץ, cf. Ex. xiv. 27), then in its usual meaning: to flee. יִקַּלּוּ, *imperf. Niph.*, to be light = swift (properly, to be made swift, winged, as it were); יֵקַל, on the other hand, *imperf. Kal*, is commonly used in the sense of being light = lightly esteemed. The horses and chariots are those of Judah, ii. 7, Micah v. 9, but perhaps with side-allusion to the famous Egyptian cavalry brought to their help. The parallelism of 17*a* is a progressive one; the subject of the first clause is also that of the second, on which account וּמִפְּנֵי is not used (cf. the asyndeta, xvii. 6); the insertion of רְבָבָה after חמישׁה (Lowth, Ges., Böttcher *et al.*) is unnecessary. The plays on words symbolize the divine retribution (*talio*), according to which they will be dealt with. The nation, previously like a dense forest, will be like a tall, gaunt pine (תֹּרֶן, after Talm. תּוֹרְנִיתָא, *pinus pinea* [1]) rising alone

[1] That the pine, and especially the pine-nuts, are so called, is shown in *Aboda zara* 14*a*, where איצטרובלין, στρόβιλοι, is explained by this name;

on a mountain-peak, and like a signal-mast erected on a hill —a tiny remnant in a wide land devastated by war. On עַד אִם with preterite following=*fut. exact.*, cf. vi. 11; Gen. xxiv. 19.

The prophet now continues with "and therefore." Elsewhere "therefore" deduces the punishment from the sin, but it also (in a way characteristic of prophecy) deduces triumphant love from the exhaustion of wrath. Such now seems to me to be the meaning (with Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 60), ver. 18: "*And therefore will Jehovah wait to be gracious to you, and therefore will he arise to have mercy upon you; for Jehovah is a God of judgment: happy they who wait for him!*" The infinitive clauses with ל are definitions of purpose, not time. As Jehovah's חַכּוֹת and רוּם have for their end and aim the reception back to favour of the sufficiently punished nation, the former signifies a waiting, which would fain substitute salvation for punishment as soon as possible, and we need not now take it in the sense of removing, withdrawing from the history of Israel (Hos. v. 6); it denotes, as in xxxiii. 10, a rising up, putting oneself in readiness, and that for the purpose of again showing mercy. And now the change of ירום into ידום (יִדּוֹם), "he will await quietly," is needless; ירום rather means His wish and will to show Himself merciful. It is implied that the punishment is working inward repentance. For Jehovah is a God of judgment (Mal. ii. 17): He punishes in order to amend, and desires the amendment.

He awaits the time when He can again show favour; and happy they who, by their own waiting, meet His. These are the Church of the future, melted out of the mass in the time of judgment by the fire of judgment,—a nation newly forgiven on its cry for help, led in the right way by faithful teachers, renouncing idolatry with horror, vers. 19–22: "*For a people abides in Zion, in Jerusalem; thou shalt weep no more; he will show himself pitiful to thee at the call of thy cry for help; as soon as he hears he answers thee. And the Lord gives you bread in scarcity, and water in affliction; and thy teachers shall no more conceal themselves, and thine*

also *Gittin* 57*a* and *Rosh-hashana* 23*a* (where תורניתא is the gloss of שִׁטָּה, Isa. xli. 19). Rashi explains it פינ"יא, *i.e.* pine.

eyes shall get to see thy teachers. And thine ears shall hear words behind thee, saying: 'There is the way, walk ye in it!' whether ye turn aside to the right or the left. And ye defile the coating of thy graven images of silver, and the covering of thy molten images of gold, thou shalt scatter them as filthiness; 'Out,' thou sayest to it."

We do not render 19*a:* for O people that dwellest in Zion, in Jerusalem. For although the personal pronoun may be absent after ו in an apostrophizing connection (Prov. viii. 5; Joel ii. 23), still we should expect אַתָּה here. The accentuation rightly takes these words as an independent sentence: Zion-Jerusalem does not fare like the heathen city (xiii. 20, xxv. 2); it is the city of Jehovah, and in virtue of His promise cannot become an uninhabited ruin for ever. After this encouraging statement the prophet turns to address the nation of the future in that of the present; בָּכוֹ strengthens the verbal idea by the mark of duration, חָנוֹן by that of certainty and abundance. The preposition כְּ here expresses what is simultaneous and almost coincident, as in xviii. 4, xxiii. 5: hearing and answer all but coincide; שָׁמְעָה, *nomen actionis,* as in xlvii. 9, lv. 2; עָנָךְ (here pausal form), as in Jer. xxiii. 37. From the answer to a penitent cry for help as the basis of all effects of a new forgiveness (Zech. xi. 6), the promise rises higher and higher. The next thing is that God, when Jerusalem suffers, as the prophet threatens in xxix. 3 f., the extremes of a siege, will not let the besieged die of hunger, but will give them needful support. The same phraseology, but somewhat different: to give to eat, לֶחֶם לַחַץ וּמַיִם לַחַץ, signifies in 1 Kings xxii. 27, 2 Chron. xviii. 26, to put on siege or prison rations; here it is in an encouraging sense, menace retiring into the background. צַר and לַחַץ are co-ordinate, not subordinate, to לֶחֶם and מַיִם (like יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה, Ps. lx. 5; wine is reeling, Ezek. xlvii. 4; water is the knees, *i.e.* is their measure; cf. Cant. viii. 2; Jer. xxvi. 15; Prov. xxii. 21; Zech. i. 13, and above on iii. 24, xxii. 17): properly bread which is scarcity, and water which is affliction, therefore absolutely necessary support, the opposite of bread and water in abundance (Gesen. § 116, Anm.; Friedr. Philippi, *Status Constructus,* p. 86 ff.). The promise ascends from below upwards. It is an advance that the right-minded,

faithful teachers (מוֹרִים) no longer keep themselves concealed, as they have done since Ahaz's days, on account of the hardness and opposition of the people (נִכְנַף, denom.: to withdraw to the כָּנָף, πτέρυξ, the extreme end, the most secret corner, although כָּנַף in itself also signifies to cover, conceal); penitent Israel will be able again to feast on the sight of those it longs for. מוֹרֶיךָ, according to the context, is plur., with preceding sing. of the predicate, Gesen. § 147. As the shepherd follows his flock, they will follow the people with words of friendly admonition, and the people will have open ears for their leaders. תַּאֲמִינוּ here is = תֵּימִינוּ, תְּיַמִּינוּ. For idolatry (which spread like an incurable cancer, despite Hezekiah's, and later, Josiah's reforms, xxxi. 7; Micah i. 5, v. 11–13, vi. 16) is now regarded as an abomination, and is abolished. They will defile (2 Kings xxiii. 8 ff.) even the gold and silver, which cover the carved images or the molten images of less costly metal (צִפָּה, √ צף: to flatten, open wide, and so cover over, *e.g.* glaze, Prov. xxvi. 23), and therefore renounce all use of them. The meaning of אֲפֻדַּת, after Ex. xxviii. 8, and the very numerous passages in which (בד) אפוד is the proper priestly garment, cannot be doubtful. דָּוָה, sickliness = flux of blood, briefly for כְּלִי דָוָה, the cloth of a woman in her monthly sickness. With זָרָה, to scatter, cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 6. With זְהָבְךָ, the plural of direct address passes into the individualizing singular; לוֹ goes back in the neuter sense to the idol-trash.

After the description of this act of penitence, the promise rises higher and higher; there shall be more than bare bread, vers. 23–25: "*And he gives rain for thy seed, with which thou sowest the ground, and bread of the produce of the ground, and it is juicy and fat; your flocks shall feed in roomy pastures. And the oxen and the young asses, which till the ground, shall eat mixed fodder with salt, which is winnowed with fan and fork. And on every high mountain and every towering hill are springs, brooks in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall.*" "In the day" fixes the evening of the day of judgment, which is followed by the blessed morning described. First the mass of the Jewish nation is slaughtered in battle; first the towers must fall, *i.e.* (without figure, however, merely by way of example) all the bulwarks of self-confidence, self-help, and pride (ii. 15;

Micah v. 9 f.). The self-incurred troubles of war are then replaced by God-given, joyfully-welcomed peace, and the proud towers by fertile, well-watered hills; the ground, again cultivated, bears luxurious, nourishing grain; all labour of man and even of beasts finds rich recompense. מְטַר זַרְעֲךָ means the sowing or early rain (מוֹרֶה), beginning about the middle of October; אֲשֶׁר is accus., זָרַע being construed with double accus., as in Deut. xxii. 9. As to form, מִקְנֶיךָ might be sing. (see i. 30, v. 12, xxii. 11), but has, like מוֹרֶיךָ, after Ex. xvii. 3, to serve as plural. הָאֲלָפִים are the oxen used in ploughing and threshing; הָעֲיָרִים, the asses used in carrying manure, earth, seed; בְּלִיל חָמִיץ is mixed fodder spiced with sour, salt vegetables (حموض, *ḥumûḍ*),[1] thus *farrago* (from בָּלַל, to mix); Wetzstein differently: בְּלִיל, ripe barley, according to بلّ, iv., "to have ripe fruit" (*bulal*), in *Kal:* to be dried, dry (akin to בָּלָה, נָבֵל, ذبل),[2] and so: ripe barley (unthreshed or threshed out) mixed with salt and salt things. In any case בליל is applied to the grain, for this is proved by the addition: אֲשֶׁר־זֹרֶה וגו׳, which is winnowed (*part. Pu.* = מְזֹרֶה, Gesen. § 52, Anm. 6), or perhaps more correctly: which he (one) winnows (*part. Kal*), the participle, like אוֹכֵל, שֹׁתֶה, xxix. 8, as a third tense-form, so to speak, with its subject in itself (Ewald, § 200)—not barley or the like mixed with chaff (*tibn*), as is usually done from scarcity, but pure grain (*ḥabb maḥd*, as is said to-day). רַחַת is the fan (winnowing shovel) by means of which the corn is thrown against the wind, so that the grain falls to the ground and the chaff is carried away, from רוח, راح, ii. 4, to winnow (after which Maimonides explains: رخت الأراحة, instrument for winnowing);[3] on the other hand, מִזְרֶה = *midrâ*, مذراة, winnowing fork

[1] To this belong *Salsola kali*, *S. tragus*, *S. soda*, and other plants in the family of the Chenopodiaceae.

[2] He explains תְּבַלֻּל, Lev. xxi. 10, from the same primary meaning: "Hardening of the outer skin of the eye; a figure taken from the hardening and whitening of the husk (*kišr*) of the ripe grain."

[3] That رخت, tool, has nothing to do with רחת, *ventilabrum* (Arab. مرواح), see Fleischer in Levy's *NH WB.* iv. p. 487.

with six prongs. Dainty fodder, such as is now given but seldom to cattle as specially strengthening, will then be their ordinary, carefully-prepared food. *Quis non videt*, exclaims Vitringa, *πνευματικῶς intelligenda esse!* He appeals to Paul's saying (1 Cor. ix. 9), that God does not care about oxen. But Paul's teaching is not that of Aristotle, who excludes *minima* from the divine providence; but he means that what Scripture says of cattle it says for the sake of men, not of cattle. Hamann remarks on the passage: "Thus the happiness of the beasts depends on our virtues and vices. The latter extort groans from the creature, the former show it kindness." The prophet is to be understood, according to Rom. viii. 19 ff., that God does care for the groaning of an ox or ass laden with heavy toil, and so in peril of life.

The promise now rises higher and higher, and ascends from earth to heaven, ver. 26: "*And the light of the moon becomes as the light of the sun; and the light of the sun shall be multiplied sevenfold, like the light of seven days—in the day when Jehovah binds up the hurt of his people and heals the smart of its stroke.*" Since Lowth's days the words כְּאוֹר שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים have been regarded as a gloss; LXX. (but not Targ. Syr. Jerome) omits them. Luther also (although referring to them elsewhere) only translates: "*the sunshine shall be seven times brighter than now.*" But even granting that the words are a gloss, they rest on a right understanding of שִׁבְעָתַיִם, as Drechsler explains: "The brilliance, which according to the present arrangement for producing the daylight suffices for the whole week, is then concentrated in one day." Perhaps one may say, without straying from the meaning of the prophet or his annotator: the light of the seven days of the world's week will then be concentrated in the seventh. The beginning of the creation is light, and its end is light. The darkness has only come in between to be overcome. At last comes a morning, after which it is no more said, "There was evening and there was morning."

The glory of the last days stands to the prophet's eye immediately after the fall of Assyria, vers. 27, 28: "*Behold, the name of Jehovah comes from afar, burning in his wrath and a dense mass of smoke, his lips are full of foaming wrath, and his tongue like devouring fire. And his breath is like an over-*

flowing stream, which divides up to the neck—to swing nations in the fan of nothingness; and a misleading bridle is on the cheeks of the peoples." The name of Jehovah is Himself as made known in revelation (xxvi. 8); from this application (see also Lev. xxiv. 11; cf. ver. 16; Deut. xxviii. 58; 1 Chron. xiii. 6; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 2) arose in later usage הַשֵּׁם simply as a designation of God. The combination בֹּעֵר אַפּוֹ is either genitival, like נֹבֶלֶת עָלֶהָ, i. 30, or אַפּוֹ is specifying accus. as in חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו. מַשָּׂאָה is the same in meaning with the *undageshed* מַשְׂאֵת, Judg. xx. 40, cf. ver. 38. The juxtaposition: burning . . . and a dense mass . . . is as in xiii. 9. Two images are blended together, that of a tempest coming up from the farthest horizon, turning the heavens into a fiery ocean, and kindling everything it touches, so as to raise כֹּבֶד מַשָּׂאָה, a heavy burden, a dense mass of smoke,—and that of a man burning with rage, with foaming lips and tongue waving from side to side like a flame, and breath a deadly roar which, proceeding from Jehovah, swells into a stream which divides the man, so that the neck is the only part left in sight. This image we had already in viii. 8, where Assyria, coming against Judah, was compared to a stream almost enough to drown. Here it is used in reference to Judah, which is almost, but not entirely destroyed. For the final purpose of the approaching name of Jehovah is to sift nations, etc. לַהֲנָפָה instead of לְהָנִיף is in order to be like the noun נָפָה in sound; הֲנָפָה is a *nomen actionis* of the *Hiphil*, such as are more common in later forms of the language, Esth. ii. 18, iv. 14; in Chaldee the usual infinitive form (*e.g.* הֲזָדָה, Dan. v. 20) is used, and here also in Isaiah with verbal governing power. Fan of nothingness is one in which everything not remaining in it as good corn is committed to the wind (xxix. 5); שָׁוְא is defect of being, *i.e.* of life from God, and the doom corresponding to such worthlessness. To וְרֶסֶן וגו׳ either לָשׂוּם (שָׂם) is to be added in thought, or better, it is a substantive clause: a misleading bridle (or even, with Böttcher, of misleading, מַתְעָה after the form מַרְבֶּה, "multiplying") is put on the cheeks of the nations. These are viewed as wild horses which cannot be tamed, which God's wrath alone restrains by violent means, and so rules that the abyss is their certain fate.

This is the issue of the judgment which begins at the house

of God, and then, turning against the instruments of punishment, the heathen, becomes to Israel, which survives, an antitype of the Egyptian deliverance, ver. 29: "*Your song shall ring forth as in the night when the feast is consecrated, and you shall have joy of heart, like those who go with music of flutes to journey to the mount of Jehovah, the Rock of Israel.*" The word חַג, usual elsewhere by preference of the Feast of Tabernacles, acquires here through לֵיל an undoubted reference to the Passover, near which (see ver. 1) the prophet delivered this discourse (cf. also the allusion, xxxi. 5), and indeed to לֵיל שִׁמֻּרִים, Ex. xii. 42, the night of the Paschal Feast, which is a night of feast-consecration, inasmuch as it precedes and opens the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The prophet borrows his figure from the first Passover-night in Egypt, when Israel was rejoicing in its deliverance in full course of accomplishment, whilst the destroyer raged without. Just as then will be the song which they will be able to sing when Jehovah holds judgment on His foes without. The Church is then hidden in its chamber, xxvi. 20, and its joy is like the heartfelt joy of those who journey on one of the great feasts, or in the procession bringing the first-fruits to Jerusalem (*Bikkurim* iii. 3) with flute-strains to the mountain of Jehovah to appear before Him, the Rock of Israel.

Israel is on its way in this joyous spirit to the sacred, glorious mountain, whilst Jehovah without, apart from any co-operation of Israel, removes the world-power out of the way, vers. 30–33: "*And Jehovah makes his majestic voice to be heard, and makes the lighting down of his arm to be seen amid breathings of wrath and glare of devouring fire, cloud-burst, and rain-pour, and hailstones. For at the voice of Jehovah Assur will shrink when he smites with the staff. And it shall come to pass: every stroke of the rod of destiny, which Jehovah makes to descend on Assur, shall be with sound of drum and music of guitar; and with battles of a swinging arm he fights against it. For a horrible sacrificing-place has long been made ready, it also is prepared for Moloch; deep and broad he has made it; its funeral pile has fire and wood in abundance; the breath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone, sets it aflame.*" The imposing crash (הוֹד as in Job xxxix. 20) of the call, which Jehovah makes to be heard, is the thunder (see Ps. xxix.), for the

catastrophe is accompanied by the letting loose of all the forces of a tempest (see xxix. 6); נֶפֶץ is cloud-burst, properly crashing, bursting asunder, namely of a cloud. By such wrath-proclaiming phenomena Jehovah makes visible the descent (נַחַת here perhaps not from נוּחַ, sweeping down, but from נָחַת, Ps. xxxviii. 3, down-coming, like שֶׁבֶת, 2 Sam. xxiii. 7, from שָׁבַת), in itself invisible, of His arm to smite. Beginning with "for," ver. 31 explains the terribleness of the events by the object aimed at: shrinking at the voice of Jehovah, Assyria inwardly collapses, *i.e.* Assyria's king, in whom the nation's character and glory culminates.[1] We do not now translate like Targ.: who smites with the rod, *i.e.* behaves so arrogantly and tyrannically (after x. 24). The smiter here is Jehovah (LXX., Jerome, Luther), and בַּשֵּׁבֶט יַכֶּה, circumstantial phrase of more precise definition: *eo virgâ percutiente.* According to the accents וְהָיָה, ver. 32, is introductory: and it shall come to pass, every movement of the rod is (supply יִהְיֶה) with accompaniment of drum and guitar" (ב of instrumental accompaniment, as in ver. 29, xxiv. 9; Ps. xlix. 5, etc.), namely, on the part of the people of Jerusalem, which has only to look on and rejoice in the coming deliverance. כֹּל (not כָּל־) governs the three following genitives.[2] Since מַטֵּה is pointed as construct form, מוּסָדָה is not adj. of מטה used as fem. (as in Micah xi. 9), but substantive: of the rod of determined destiny, properly: of what is determined by decree, יָסַד, as in Hab. i. 12, and יָעַד, Micah vi. 9. Otherwise Bredenkamp after Klostermann: "every passing under the rod of destiny;" but this must have been expressed by מַעֲבַר תַּחַת, after Lev. xxvii. 32; Ezek. xx. 37. Drums and guitars sounding at every blow is explained by 32*b:* Jehovah fights against Assyria with battles of swinging, *i.e.* not with darts or other weapons, but incessantly swinging His arm to smite Assyria without the latter being able to defend itself. Here also Bredenkamp differs: with battles of waving, which devotes the

[1] In Shakespeare also names of countries are masculine when the king of the country is meant, *e.g.* "Winter Scene," i. 1. 23: "Sicilia cannot show himself overkind to Bohemia."

[2] כֹּל has the distinctive *Yethîb* before *Pashta*, which, according to the Masora, occurs eleven times; cf. אֵת תּוֹרַת, chap. v. 24.

conquered to sacrifice (slaughter),[1] but תנופה alongside מלחמות has the presumption of being right, as in xix. 16, cf. xi. 15. Instead of the בָּהּ going back to אשור, not מטה, the *Kerî* has בָּם, which is the less harsh, seeing that עָלָיו went before; Babyl. cod. has בָּם in the text. "For," ver. 33, explains the cutting down of the Assyrian by the statement that he was destined long before to be burnt as a corpse. אֶתְמוֹל is the past in opposition to מָחָר: not to-day merely, but yesterday, *i.e.* since God's predetermination is referred to, long ago. תָּפְתֶּה is secondary form of תֹּפֶת, as אִשֶּׁה of אֵשׁ. This תֹּפֶת has no connection with the Aramaic and Arabic name of the support of the cooking vessel, and so of the cooking place תְּפַרְיָא, ܛܦܝܐ, اثفية, *utfiya, atfîya, tifâya*, since תְּפָה, ثفا, in sound resembles the Hebrew שְׁפָה (אַשְׁפָּה) שָׁפַת, and is unrelated to the modern Persian *tâften*, Zend. *tap*, to shine, to burn; from the Sem. תוף, تفل, to vomit, abhor (see Job xvii. 6), it denotes the abominable place, especially the place of Moloch-sacrifice in the vale of Benê-Hinnom. And the תָּפְתֶּה, derived from this תֹּפֶת, denotes a Tophet-like place, and is here treated now as masc., now as fem., perhaps because the abominable sacrificing-place is represented as בָּמָה, Jer. vii. 31.[2] גם־הִיא in clause גַּם־הוּא לַמֶּלֶךְ הוּכָן, after the preceding תפתה, seems intended to compare the burning-place, where Assyria is burnt, to the sacrificing-places in the vale of Benê-Hinnom. But then לַמֶּלֶךְ stands in the way; we should need to read לַמֹּלֶךְ (as in Lev. xviii. 21), or לְמֹלֶךְ (as in 1 Kings xi. 7); or even (which however, the present pointing scarcely intends) "to the king" = to Moloch. Bredenkamp takes the words as a question: Is it also (this horrible place) erected for Moloch? to which the answer is, "Jehovah offers the Assyrian world-power to the ἄναξ πυρός, the fire-king, as a colossal sacrifice." But the assumption of such questions without an interrogative word must be reserved as an expedient for passages not otherwise intelligible. We therefore, with Cheyne, take the

[1] Wave-offering, Lev. viii. 27, etc.

[2] It is one of the three non-Pentateuchal passages in which הוא is *Chethîb*, הִיא *Kerî*. Babyl. cod. remarks on the passage הִיא קרי. The two other passages are 1 Kings xvii. 15 and Job xxxi. 11.

sentence as a declaration: it also is prepared for Moloch. Cheyne has rightly given up the view of לַמֶּלֶךְ having a double sense. The king of Assyria is he who is sacrificed, and Moloch he to whom he is sacrificed. Because Assyria, with its army-power, is to be burnt, Jehovah has prepared this Tophet-like place of sufficient depth, so that it has a far-stretching background, and of sufficient breadth, so that in this direction also there is room for many sacrifices. And its מְדוּרָה, *i.e.* its wood-pile (as in Ezek. xxiv. 9, cf. ver. 5, from דּוּר, Talm. דַּיֵּר, to lay round; on the other hand, עָרַךְ, cf. عرك, so to pile one on another that one piece rubs another), consists of fire and wood (an hendiadys like "cloud and smoke," iv. 5) in plenty. "Of fire in plenty," for the breath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone issuing from the funeral-pile, sets it aflame. בָּעַר בְּ here, not: to burn up, but to kindle. בָּהּ goes back, like the suffix of מְדֻרָתָהּ, to תָּפְתֶּה.

The fourth Woe: The wrong and right Help,
chaps. xxxi.–xxxii. 8.

The prophet's frequent recurrence to the Egyptian alliance need cause no surprise. Although his warning is unable to prevent it, he still depicts again and again the evil fruit it will bear, unwraps and unfolds the comfort for believers hidden in the curse, and pauses not until the evil fruit, realized in history, is swallowed up in the realizing of the promise.

The situation is the same as in the foregoing; the alliance with Egypt is in full course, vers. 1–3: "*Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help, and who rely on horses, and put their trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are a mighty multitude, and look not to the Holy One of Israel; and they inquire not for Jehovah. And yet he too is wise; so he brings evil to pass and sets not aside his words, and rises up against the house of reprobates and against the help of evil-doers. And Egypt is man, and not God; and its horses flesh, and not spirit; and when Jehovah stretches out his hand, the helper stumbles, and he that is helped falls, and they all perish together.*" The part. הַיֹּרְדִים does not imply that the going down is taking place just now; it is the part.

indicating quality, as when God is called הַבֹּרֵא. לְעֶזְרָה has the ל of purpose, as in xx. 6. Horses, chariots, and horsemen are here (differently in xxx. 16) those of Egypt; Diodorus calls Egypt ἱππάσιμος, on account of its favourable surface for cavalry. The part. is continued in the finite verb; instead of וְעַל־סוּסִים the better attested reading עַל without ו is also found, as in v. 11, cf. ver. 23. The perfects לֹא שָׁעוּ and לֹא דָרָשׁוּ are used timelessly of what is always and in every shape lacking in them. The clause: "he, too, is wise," is not so much a touching μείωσις as a bitter sarcasm: if they have wisdom of their own, He also has wisdom of His own; it will be manifest when everything turns out as He foretells. He punishes evil by evil, and does not leave His threatenings unexecuted. The house of reprobates is Judah (i. 4), and the help (abstract for concrete, as Jehovah is called עֶזְרָתִי in the Psalms) of evil-doers is Egypt, whose help is sought by Judah. Egypt is man, and its horses flesh; Jehovah, on the other hand, is God and Spirit; see *Bibl. Psychology,* p. 96. Hofmann rightly: "Since spirit is living in itself, it is opposed to flesh, which only lives through spirit; and so God is opposed to man, who is corporeal, and so needs spirit in order even to live." They have thus preferred the aid of the impotent and dependent to that of the Almighty and All-ruling. Jehovah, who is God and Spirit, needs only to stretch out His hand (an anthropomorphism standing beside the rule which explains it), and helpers and (in promise, not actually) helped, and so the power helping and the object helped (עָזֻר), collapse.

This will also take place, ver. 4: "*For Jehovah has thus spoken to me: As the lion growls and the young lion over his prey, against whom a whole crowd of shepherds is assembled—he does not cower at their cry, and does not give up at their tumult—so will Jehovah of hosts descend to war against Mount Zion and against its height.*" There is no passage in Isaiah which is so Homeric in ring as this; cf. *Iliad*, xviii. 161 f., xii. 299 ff. Knobel, Umbreit, Drechsler, Cheyne, Bredenkamp *et al.*, understand לִצְבֹּא עַל of Jehovah's fighting for Jerusalem; He will as little allow His city to be wrested from Him as the lion the stolen lamb. But how can Jerusalem be compared to a lamb, which the lion has in his

claws as prey, chap. v. 29? It is also evident from xxix. 7 how צָבָא עַל is to be understood here. These sinners and their defenders will first perish, for like a fierce, invincible lion will Jehovah enter the lists against Jerusalem and take it as His prey, without letting Himself be thwarted by the Judaeans and Egyptians, who are arrayed against His army (the Assyrians), Hitzig, Henderwerk, v. Orelli, Driver. Mount Zion is the fort and temple, the hill of Zion the city of Jerusalem, x. 32. Both have fallen under Jehovah's judgment, without being able to escape it. Expositors have been led astray by the fact that an auspicious parable follows. This abrupt *μετάβασις* is meant to surprise, and is the true reflection of what is foretold in the event; for at the moment of greatest need, when it is a question of being or not being for Jerusalem (cf. x. 33 f.), Ariel witnesses a sudden and miraculous change (xxix. 2).

In this sense the terrible picture is confronted by a lovely one (cf. Micah v. 6 f.). Jehovah suddenly breaks off the work of punishment (x. 12), and the love, which wrath held in its bosom, bursts forth, ver. 5: "*Like fluttering birds, so will Jehovah of hosts shield Jerusalem, shielding and delivering, sparing and setting free.*" Designedly the prophet says in the plural: like fluttering birds, because he would not so much set forth Jehovah, as His tenderly careful, and indeed motherly love (on which account he adds the fem. עָפוֹת to צִפֳּרִים of both genders), into which his lion-like fury is turned. פָּסֹחַ, like xxx. 29, in keeping with the date of these discourses (see xxix. 1), significantly suggests the fact commemorated by the Passover, which, according to the Jehovistic narrative, has its name from the destroyer's passing by[1] the doors of Israel, Ex. xii. 13, 23, 27. We see from this that in and with Assyria, Jehovah Himself, whose instrument Assyria is, takes the field against Jerusalem (xxix. 2 f.); but His conduct towards Jerusalem suddenly changes, and becomes like that of birds hovering round and above their menaced nest. Respecting the *infin. abs. Kal* גָּנוֹן, after *Hiph.*, see Ewald 312*b*; respecting the continuation of the *infin. abs.* in finite verbs, § 350*a*. It is usually done by the imperf., here by

[1] Cf. תִּפְסַח, ford, derived therefrom (Heb. מַעְבָּרָה), from which come the city-names Θάψος and Θάψακος.

the preterite, as in Jer. xxiii. 14 and Gen. xxvi. 13, 1 Sam. ii. 26 (if וְגָדֵל there is 3rd pret.).

On the ground of the half-terrible, half-comforting picture of the future, a call to repent goes forth to the people of the present, ver. 6: "*Turn back, then, to him from whom they have so deeply fallen, ye sons of Israel!*" Properly: to Him in respect of whom (אֲשֶׁר) they have deeply fallen away (הֶעְמִיק, as in Hos. v. 2, ix. 9; and סָרָה, that which turns away, turning away, as in i. 5); the change to the 3rd pers. is the converse of i. 29. This call to repentance the prophet strengthens by two powerful motives drawn from the future.

The first is that one day the abominableness of idolatry will be seen and shunned, ver. 7: "*For in that day they will every one abhor their idols of silver and idols of gold, which your hands have made for a sin.*" That is, to commit sin and to suffer, Hos. viii. 11, cf. 1 Kings xiii. 34: חֵטְא, second accus. to עָשׂוּ; differently Deut. ix. 21, cf. Hos. x. 10, Amos viii. 14, where the idol itself, as *corpus delicti*, is called "sin." The outlook is the same as in xxx. 22, xxvii. 9, xvii. 8, ii. 20.

Second motive: Israel will not be saved by men, but by Jehovah alone, so that He, from whom they have now so deeply fallen, shows Himself to be the only true ground of confidence, vers. 8, 9: "*And Assur falls by the sword, not of a man, and the sword not of a man shall devour him; and he flees before a sword, and his young men are enslaved. And his rock—it shall retreat in terror; and his princes flee in fear from the banners. An oracle of Jehovah, who has his fire in Zion and his furnace in Jerusalem.*" Of purpose it is said "before a sword" without article, to inspire the notion of the unlimited, boundless, terrible, cf. xxviii. 2, בְּיָד, and on Ps. ii. 12. Without human intervention a sword is drawn, to which Assyria, as many of them as do not save themselves by flight, succumbs without resistance. The power of Assyria is broken for ever; even its young men are forthwith subjected to tribute or slavery. Instead of ונס לו the Easterns had ונס לא in the text (he flees not before the sword, which is to be understood after xxxvii. 36), and לו (ונס) as *Keri*. LXX. Jerome translate the *Chethîb*: φεύξεται οὐκ ἀπὸ προσώπου μαχαίρας. But after 8*a* a third לא would be tautological. The parallel שריו requires the personal sense for סַלְעוֹ; and so

the king of Assyria is no doubt meant (Nägelsbach, Bredenkamp, Cheyne *et al.*); see also xxxii. 2. Luther also: "*And their rock will withdraw for fear.*" Sennacherib is so called as guardian of the empire of Assyria, as in the prism-inscription he ascribes his dominion to the god of Assyria, the "great mountain" (*šadû rabû*), *i.e.* powerful defender. מִנֵּס are the standards of Assyria, from which the commanders flee away in terror without attempting to gather the scattered together again. So speaks and determines Jehovah, who has His fire and furnace in Jerusalem. The words do not mean the fire and hearth of sacrifice; for תַּנּוּר is not hearth, but furnace (Assyr. *tinûru*), of uncertain derivation. It is the light of the divine presence dwelling in the temple on Zion that is meant, which, to the outside, is a consuming fire, an unapproachable glowing furnace to Jerusalem's foes, *ignis et caminus qui devorat peccatores et ligna, foenum stipulamque consumit* (Jerome).

For Judah—sifted, rescued, cleansed—a new era then opens. Just government in blessing to the people is the first good fruit, vers. 1, 2: "*Behold, the king shall reign in righteousness, and the rulers—they shall command in justice. And every one shall be like a hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the tempest, like water-brooks in drought, like the shadow of a gigantic rock in a parched land.*" The kingdom of Assyria is shattered for ever, while the kingdom of Judah rises up from the disorder into which it had fallen through a godless policy and neglect of justice. Kings and princes now rule by God-fixed, revealed laws; the ל in וּלְשָׂרִים is probably to be erased (Cheyne, Bredenkamp), in the present text it is that of reference (*quod attinet ad*, as in Eccles. ix. 4, perhaps also 2 Chron. vii. 21, unless it is distributive there: *quicunque praeterit*), exponent of the *casus abs.* usual elsewhere, and the two other *lameds* = *κατά*, *secundum* (as in Jer. xxx. 11). Nägelsbach thinks that the prophet intentionally heaped up the ל sound in ver. 1. The figures in ver. 2 are the same as in xxv. 4. The rock of Assyria, *i.e.* Sennacherib, has vanished, and the princes of Assyria have forsaken their standards in order to secure themselves merely; the king and princes of Judah are now the guard and blessing of their nation, exhausted and humbled by the calamities of war; they make

it flourish like water-brooks (cf. with Ps. i. 3; Prov. xxi. 1), they shade and shield it like giant cliffs. Since כָּבֵד may mean to be heavy = massive, it is not necessary, with Wetzstein, to understand a mass split off from a mountain, although סֶלַע certainly may unite the meanings split and something split off (from which שֶׁקֶל=סֶלַע in Aramaic). Nägelsbach compares σκιὴ πετραίη in Hesiod, *'Εργ.* ver. 589, and *saxea umbra*, Virg. *Georg.* iii. 145. This is the first good fruit.

The second is an open understanding after the curse of hardness, vers. 3, 4: "*And the eyes of them that see are no more closed, and the ears of them that hear attend. And the heart of the rash understands knowledge, and the tongue of stammerers speaks clearly and readily.*" No physical miracles are here foretold, but a spiritual transformation. Ver. 3 says, the present doom of hardness will be abolished; the spiritual defects, from which many now suffer who are not among the worst, will be healed, says ver. 4. The form תִּשְׁעֶינָה is here not imperf. of שָׁעָה, to behold, xxxi. 1, xxii. 4, xvii. 7 f. (perhaps: they shall no longer stare about unsteadily and aimlessly), but of שָׁעַע=שָׁעָה, a borrowed imperf.: to be overspread, shut up, xxix. 9, vi. 10; cf. טַח, xliv. 18. Respecting קָשַׁב (*Kal* here only), see on xxi. 7. The national community will then be set free from the doom of not seeing with seeing eyes and not hearing with hearing ears. It will also be delivered from faults of weakness. נִמְהָרִים are the precipitate, hasty, inconsiderate, and עִלְּגִים, stammerers, are not scoffers, xxviii. 7 ff., xxix. 20 (Knobel, Drechsler), but those who cannot think and speak precisely and surely, especially about higher, divine things. The former will have the gift of discrimination (יָבִין), to discern things in their true nature and to know the really useful in all circumstances (לָדַעַת with ל of purpose, not object: to discern knowledge); the latter will be able to express themselves with skill—elegantly, clearly, and nobly. צחות (ancient MSS., also Babyl. צָחוֹת) means what is bright, transparent, not merely plain, but fine, elegant: acceptable speech, seasoned with salt, Col. iv. 6. תְּמַהֵר gives the adverbial idea of לְדַבֵּר.

A third good fruit is calling and treating every one according to his true character, vers. 5–8: "*The fool shall no more be called noble, and the knave shall no more be called*

eminent. For a fool utters folly, and his heart perpetrates vileness in practising guile and uttering error against Jehovah, in making empty the soul of the hungry and keeping back the drink of the thirsty. And a knave's tricks are evil; he devises plots to destroy the afflicted by lying words, even when the needy establishes his right. But a noble man devises noble things, and by noble things he abides." Nobility of birth and riches will give place to nobility of disposition, so that the former will not be found, nor find recognition without the latter. נָדִיב is properly the noble in disposition, then the ethical sense falling out: the noble in standing (as conversely, *generous*); שׁוֹעַ, one eminent through wealth, the respectable, as again in Job xxxiv. 19. The ideas נָבָל and כִּילַי, the prophet himself explains. Jerome rightly translates כִּילַי, *fraudulentus*, and Rashi and Kimchi take it correctly as abbreviated from נְכִילַי; it is an adjective formation from נְכִיל=כִּיל, like נְשִׂיא=שִׂיא, Job xx. 6. The form כֵּלַי, ver. 7, interchanges therewith merely to rhyme with כֵּלָיו (*machinatoris machinae pravae*). "For" in ver. 6 shows that the נָבָל and the כִּילַי will lose those titles, on the ground that such men are utterly unworthy of them. נבל is one who thinks foolishly and acts vilely, the common man in opposition to the noble (Prov. xvii. 7). Infinitives with לְ say in what the immorality consists with which his heart is engaged. Respecting חֹנֶף, resoluteness in evil, see on ix. 16. In ver. 7, תּוֹעָה means aberration, from טָעָה=תָּעָה, cf. Arab. طغا طغى, *excedere,* from which the meaning *to go astray* seems to proceed. In ver. 7, וּבְדַבֵּר, "and when he speaks" = even in case the needy speaks what is right and well-grounded; וְ = καί, *et*, in the sense of *etiam*, as in 2 Sam. i. 23; Hos. viii. 6; Eccles. v. 6; according to Knobel = *et quidem*, as in Eccles. viii. 2; Amos iii. 11, iv. 10; on the other hand, Ewald, § 283*d*, takes it as ו *copul.:* and going to law with the needy, which, according to 2 Kings xxv. 6, would require אֶת־אֶבְיוֹן. The noble man, according to ver. 8, not only resolves on noble things, as such (הוּא) he also continues therein: קוּם על, like Arab. قام على شى, *persistere.*

Against the Women of Jerusalem, chap. xxxii. 9–20.

APPENDIX TO THE FOURTH WOE.

This short discourse, although well rounded off, like the short parabolical piece with a similar beginning, xxviii. 23–29, is merely a secondary whole, and is the last part of the fourth woe, as the former is the last part of the first. It is the counterpart of the prophetic rebuke belonging to Uzziah's and Jotham's days, iii. 16 ff., and scourges the thoughtless security of the women of Jerusalem, as the former does their love of finery. The prophet has now uttered many woes over Jerusalem, which is bringing itself to the brink of destruction; but, despite the naturally soft, easily-touched and terrified female temperament, without influence on the women of Jerusalem, to whom he now makes known the fearful ending of their carnal rest.

The first part of the address makes known the destruction of their false rest, vers. 9–14: "*Ye ease-loving women, arise, hear my voice; ye confident daughters, hearken to my speech! Days to the year—then you shall tremble, ye confident ones! For it is all over with vintage, fruit-harvest comes not. Quake, ye lovers of ease! Tremble, ye confident ones! Strip ye, and make you bare, and gird your loins with sackcloth! They beat the breasts because of the pleasant fields, because of the fruitful vine. On the field of my people weeds and thorns spring up, yea, on all the pleasure-houses of the jubilant city. For palace is deserted, hum of city desolate, ofel and watch-tower serve instead of caves for ever, for a joy of wild asses, for a pasture of flocks.*" The apostrophe is as in Gen. iv. 23, Jer. ix. 19, cf. xxviii. 23 above; the attributes as in Amos vi. 1 (cf. iv. 1, where he apostrophizes the women of Samaria): שַׁאֲנָן, merry, sprightly; and בֹּטַח, trusting, namely in futile things. They are to rise up (קֹמְנָה), for God's word must be heard standing, Judg. iii. 20; Nägelsbach translates: Up! hear my voice! and compares Num. xxiii. 18; in any case קמנה points to a rising up in outward as well as inward reverence and attention. The definition of time, יָמִים עַל־שָׁנָה, since תִּרְגַּזְנָה is without ו *apod.* (cf. lxv. 24; Job i. 16–18), seems to describe the duration of the devastation (Vitringa); but xxix. 1 teaches us differently; the ו is wanting, as, *e.g.*, in Dan. iv. 28. "The year" is the current year. An indefinite

number of days, at most a year (which "days" sometimes signifies, *e.g.* Judg. xvii. 10) from now—and the trembling will begin, there will be neither wine nor fruit more to gather; the spring-reaping of the corn is thus represented as past at the beginning of the devastation. יָמִים is *accus. temporis,* used here (as *e.g.* in xxvii. 6; cf. Ewald, § 293. 1) of the initial point, not of the length of duration. As to חִרְדוּ=חֲרֵדְנָה, cf. Amos iv. 1 along with Judg. iv. 20; Micah i. 13, and Cant. ii. 7. The milel-forms פְּשֹׁטָה, עֹרָה, חֲגוֹרָה are explained by Ewald, Drechsler, Luzzatto as *plur. fem. imper.*, the נ of the ending נָה being rejected—an unheard-of elision. Others regard it as *infin.* with ה *fem.* (Credner, *Joel,* p. 141); but קְטֹלָה for infinitive קָטְלָה is without example, and just as unexampled is the infin. with ה of summoning: To quaking! To unrobing! (Böttcher). They are *sing. masc. imper.*, as perhaps שְׁאָלָה, vii. 11, and such as occur also out of pause, *e.g.* מְלוֹכָה (for which *Keri* מָלְכָה), Judg. ix. 8, cf. with Ps. xli. 4 and Volck on Deut. xxxiii. 23, and the sing. instead of plur. is the harshest form of command. The masc. instead of fem. (cf. הַךְ for הַכִּי, Zech. xiii. 7) appears already in חִרְדוּ instead of חֲרֵדְנָה; the prophet then proceeds in the singular, comprehending the female population in mass in the most condensed form of expression; the ה of summoning already required of itself the giving up of the feminine forms רְגָזִי, etc. עֹרָה, imper. of עָרַר, to be bare, to strip oneself. חֲגֹרָה, absolutely, as in Joel i. 13, cf. iii. 24, above as to girding round the שַׂק. The same strange *enall. generis* meets us again in ver. 12; men have not שָׁדַיִם, and yet סֹפְדִים is said, the prophet contemplating the whole nation, within which such a *plangere ubera* (*pectora*) takes place for the destruction of so promising a harvest of grain and wine. שָׁדַיִם and שְׁדֵי (construct to שָׂדוֹת) rhyme together like *ubera* and *ubertas frugum.* In ver. 13 תַּעֲלֶה refers to קוֹץ שָׁמִיר, which is combined into one neuter notion. כִּי, 13*b*, has the force of a confirmatory "yea." The combination, with force of genitive, of קִרְיָה עַלִּיזָה with בָּתֵּי מָשׂוֹשׂ (pleasure-houses of the jubilant city), is as in xxviii. 1; Ps. lxviii. 21; 1 Chron. ix. 13. Such a genitival combination of phrases being possible, it is needless, with Nägelsbach, to place קריה עליזה under the regimen of עַל, whose force is supposed to continue. Everything here is grammatically

strange, as in the Psalms the language grows more involved, unconnected, and difficult the greater the gloom and indignation of the poet. Hence the brief, piercing sentences in ver. 14: palace (cf. xiii. 22) given up, city-tumult (*i.e.* the otherwise tumultuous city, xxii. 2) forsaken. The use of בְּעַד in the sense of ὑπέρ, *pro* (not quite coincident with ב *pretii*), is as in Prov. vi. 26; Job ii. 4; *'Ofel, i.e.* the south-east declivity of the temple-mount fortified by Jotham, 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 (in Josephus 'Οφλᾶς in meaning = swelling, rising ground), and the *bachan, i.e.* watch-tower (perhaps the "tower of the flock" mentioned by Micah iv. 8 along with 'Ofel, scarcely the "great tower," Neh. iii. 27[1]), will be *pro speluncis, i.e.* pass and serve as such. And where the women of Jerusalem led their merry life, wild asses (פְּרָאִים), which love treeless steppes, will now enjoy themselves, and flocks will have their pasture. Thus Jerusalem will fall into ruin, with its strongest, proudest places, and that in a year or less.

And this continues long, very long; until at last the destruction of false rest is followed by the realization of the true, vers. 15–18: "*Until the Spirit is poured out upon us from on high, and the wilderness becomes garden-land, and garden-land is counted as a forest. And justice makes its abode in the wilderness, and righteousness settles in the garden-land. And the effect of righteousness shall be peace, and the fruit of righteousness rest and security for ever. And my people dwells in a peaceful home, and in pleasant, secure resting-places. And it hails when the forest falls down, and the city shall sink in abasement.*" The עַד־עוֹלָם, ver. 14, thus has a limit (עַד): the duration of the lying desolate, immeasureable to human eyes, has an end for God, who at last transforms this comfortless state. The state of suffering will continue until the Spirit, whom Israel has now dwelling in its midst (see Hagg. ii. 5), is poured out from heaven upon Israel (cf. *Piel* עֵרָה, Gen. xxiv. 20), *i.e.* shall be poured out in His entire fulness. When this begins, a great transformation takes place, whose spiritual nature is here symbolized in the same proverbial way as in xxix. 17. The meaning, however, of the second half here receives another turn; the meaning is

[1] Respecting עפל and this מגדל גדול, see Bertheau-Ryssel on Neh. iii., p. 218 f.

not, that what one now praises as a garden will then, brought down from its false greatness, be counted a mere forest; but everything will be so glorious, that what one now praises as garden will be put in the shade by higher glory, so that it has only the look of a wild forest. The whole land, the untilled pastures as well as the cultivated corn and fruit land, will then be a dwelling-place of justice and righteousness. Justice and righteousness in Isaiah are the sign of the period of perfection. In constant course of realization these shall have peace for their fruit; מַעֲשֶׂה (cf. with Eccles. ii. 2) and עֲבֹדָה, used of the fruit or natural reward of labour and painstaking (cf. פְּעֻלָּה). But before this quiet, blissful peace, of which the present carnal security is a mere caricature, is realized, two things must take place. 1. It must hail, while at the same time the forest falls to the ground, smitten down by the hail (רֶדֶת, as in Zech. xi. 2). From x. 34 we know the forest to be an emblem of Assyria, and the hail from xxx. 30 f. to be one of the nature-powers destroying Assyria. 2. The city (הָעִיר, word-play, and counterpart to הַיַּעַר) must first sink in abasement, *i.e.* be deeply humbled. Rosenmüller, Drechsler, Nägelsbach *et al.*, understand the world-city according to parallels from chaps. xxiv.–xxvii.; but in this prophetic cycle "the city" can only be Jerusalem, xxix. 2–4, xxx. 19 ff., xxxi. 4 ff.

In presence of that twofold judgment, the prophet declares those happy who see the time after the judgment, ver. 20: "*Happy they who sow by all waters, who let the foot of oxen and asses wander freely.*" They who see this time are masters, far and wide, of a quiet, fertile land, a land free from foes and all disturbers of the peace. They sow wherever they will, by all the waters fertilizing the soil, and so on most fruitful land requiring little or no labour of cultivation; and because everything is in rich abundance, they can let oxen and asses roam at large, without carefully fencing them off from the fields. That this is the explanation, cannot be doubtful after xxx. 23–25; cf. also vii. 21 ff.

Here the four woes are concluded. The prophet began (xxviii. 1–4) with the destruction of Samaria, then threatening Judah and Jerusalem also; but to combine the several features of the menace into a single harmonious picture is impracticable. Sifting until a small remnant is left is a main

thought running through the menace. Also that Assyria will find its own destruction in Jerusalem, for which it designs destruction, we read everywhere. But again the prophet foretells, on one hand, that Jerusalem will be besieged by the Assyrians, and will only be rescued when the beleaguered city is in extremity (xxix. 1 ff., xxxi. 4 ff.); on the other hand, that the towers will fall, xxx. 25, the walls of the city be overthrown, xxx. 13 f., the land laid waste, and Jerusalem itself destroyed, xxxii. 12 ff.; and for both series of events he fixes the limit of a year, xxix. 1, xxxii. 10. The judgments which Israel has yet to undergo, and the time of glory beyond, lie before the prophet's spiritual eye like a long, profound diorama. In threatening the generation of the present, he pierces, now more, now less deeply, into these judgments lying in perspective before him. Now he merely threatens beleaguering to the utmost straits, now destruction; the world-power, which this twofold calamity brings upon Judah, is everywhere Assyria. But not only the worst evil: Jerusalem's destruction, but even the less evil: beleaguering to the utmost straits, was not carried out. Why not? According to Jer. xviii. 7–10, neither the prophet's threats of punishment nor promises of safety are so unconditional, that they are carried out at this or that time, on this or that generation, of absolute necessity. If the threatened ones repent, the threatened penalty may be abolished or mitigated, Jonah iii. 4; 1 Kings xxi. 29; 2 Kings xxii. 15–20; 2 Chron. xii. 5–8. The prophet's words do not on this account fall to the ground; if they work repentance, they attain their end; but if the sinful state returns, they resume their force. If the judgment is irrevocably decreed, it is merely delayed in order to discharge itself on the generation most ripe for it. Like Isaiah, his contemporary Micah also threatened that with the judgment on Samaria a like judgment would burst on Jerusalem: Zion would be ploughed into a field, Jerusalem laid in ruins, and the temple-mount changed into forest-heights, iii. 12. But in Jer. xxvi. 18 f. we read that Hezekiah, terrified by this prophecy, repented with the whole of Judah, and that Jehovah on this account recalled His threat. Thus in the first years of Hezekiah a turn for the better took place in Judah. This must also have led to the

withdrawal of the Isaianic threatenings, as these contributed to the repentance (see Caspari, *Micah*, p. 160 ff.). No one of the three threatenings: Isa. xxix. 1–4, xxxii. 9–14, Micah iii. 12, which form an ascending climax, was carried out. When the repentance was seen to be superficial, the former threats resumed their force, to the extent that the Assyrians marched through Judah devastating everything. But on account of Hezekiah's humbling himself and his faith, from that time the threat changes into promise. In contradiction to his former threat, Isaiah now promises that Jerusalem shall not be invested by the Assyrians (xxxvii. 33–35), but before actual investment takes place the army of Assyria will be destroyed.

The fifth Woe: Woe for Assyria and Salvation of Jerusalem, chap. xxxiii.

We find ourselves here in the midst of the troubles brought on *mât Ḥatti* (ארץ חִתִּים), and especially on Judah, by Sennacherib in his third campaign, which is related in the prism-inscription. Isaiah's earlier threatenings, which the repentance of the people reversed, are so far in force again, and so far carried out, that the Assyrians are already in Judah, have laid waste the land, and are threatening Jerusalem.

Then the element of promise gains the upper hand; the prophet takes his stand with the weapons of prophecy and prayer between Assyria and his people; and the woe turns from the latter to the former, ver. 1: "*Woe Spoiler, and thyself unspoiled, and thou practiser of guile that suffered no guile! When thou hast done with spoiling thou shalt be spoiled; when thou hast finished practising guile, thou shalt suffer guile.*" Beside שׁדד, open violence, stands בגד, *tecte, subdole agere*, with ב of the object. Assyria is still untouched by the misfortunes which it inflicts on other lands and peoples. But it will yet be recompensed like for like, so soon as (כְּ of simultaneousness, as *e.g.* xxx. 19, xviii. 5) it has reached the end predetermined by Jehovah for its wasting and plunder. Instead of בָּךְ is found here and there (*e.g.* in the two Petersburg codices) the reading בוֹ, which is equally admissible in point of style. כַּהֲתִימְךָ, or rather כהתמְּךָ (see Baer), is regular *Hiphil*

form, the reduplication before the suff. being dropped (cf. אֲמֻשְּׁךָ, Gen. xxvii. 21). לְשׁׁדֵד (לְשֹׁד) seemed more natural instead of שׁוֹדֵד; the participial construction is the same as in 1 Sam. iii. 2, and in the Mishnic התחילו כותלי הבית מרתיחין, the walls of the house began to glow (Levy under רתח). כַּנְּלֹתְךָ is *Hiphil*, syncopated from כְּהַנְלֹתְךָ (cf. the similar forms, iii. 8; Deut. i. 33, and often), moreover with *dagesh dirimens*, from the verb נָלָה, which is in a sense guarded by Job xv. 29, to which Ben-Koresh and Chayûğ give the same meaning as to نال, *imperf. i* and *u*, to attain, reach. Still the conjecture כְּכַלּוֹתְךָ is good (Cappellus, Lowth, Ewald, Cheyne; while Cappellus also preferred כְּנִלְאוֹתְךָ); whereas the supposition that כנלתך is in sound=כְּמַלֹּתְךָ (Böttcher), assumes a change of sound which is improbable in the initial sound. The form יוּשַּׁד (cf. Hos. x. 14) is *imperf. Hoph.* (according to Böttcher, § 906, p. 104, passive to the *imperf. Kal* יָשֹׁד or יָשׁוּד), with the same reduplication of the first radical letter as in יֻכַּת, xxiv. 12; יוּסַּב, xxviii. 27, and often. The play of sound (cf. xxi. 2, xxiv. 16) sets forth the punishment of the hitherto unpunished one as the inevitable echo of its sin.

In ver. 2 the prophetic word of power becomes a believing prayer: "*Jehovah, be gracious to us; be thou their arm every morning, yea, our salvation in time of need!*" Kimchi (*Michlol* 2*b*) compares with the change of person chap. i. 29 and כֻּלָּם often standing for כֻּלְּכֶם: their arm, *i.e.* power, shielding and defending them, thy people and mine. אַף adds force: Israel's arm every morning, for the danger is renewed daily; Israel's salvation, *i.e.* entire deliverance (xxv. 9), for the supreme moment of need is still in prospect.

While the prophet is thus praying, he already in spirit sees the answer, vers. 3, 4: "*At the sound of a crashing peoples disappear, before thy lifting up nations are scattered. And your booty is carried away as a locust-swarm carries away; as beetles run they run upon it.*" The הָמוֹן, which is indefinite, thus giving the impression of something mysterious and terrible, is at once explained: the crashing comes from Jehovah, who rises up judicially against Assyria, and judicially thunders. The hostile army then makes away (נָפְצוּ=נָפֹצוּ, from *Niphal* נָפֹץ, 1 Sam. xiii. 11, of נָפוֹץ=פָּצַץ from פוץ); and your booty (resum-

ing address to Assyria) is swept up, as locusts, when a swarm of them settles on a field, eat it clean. Cappellus, Drechsler *et al.*, explain, like Jerome, after LXX.: ὃν τρόπον ἐάν τις συναγάγῃ ἀκρίδας. The figure is not inapt, but the article הֶחָסִיל favours the other acceptation, and 4*b* puts it beyond doubt. שָׁקַק, whence the *part. Kal* שֹׁקֵק and the substantive מַשָּׁק, signifies here and Joel ii. 9, busy running to and fro, *discursitare*, akin to ساق, √ سق, to urge, especially to urge to run; שֹׁקֵק is the present with quite general subject, like קֹרֵא, xxi. 11; זֹרֶה, xxx. 24; סֹפְרִים, one strikes, xxxii. 12. The Jerusalemites swarm in the enemy's camp like beetles, they are all busy carrying off all they can.

The prophet sees this while he is praying, and now feasts on the issues of the wealth-yielding victory, vers. 5, 6: "*Exalted is Jehovah, for dwelling on high he has filled Zion with justice and righteousness. And there shall be security of thy times, riches of full salvation, of wisdom and knowledge; the fear of Jehovah is then Judah's treasure.*" Exalted, for while essentially the all-ruling One, He has now performed an act of justice and righteousness, the sight and memory of which fill Zion like a rich overflowing treasure with truth and praise. A new time has now opened for the people of Judah. The prophet is addressing this people, ver. 6; for there is no reason to regard the address as spoken to Hezekiah. After that great deed, אֱמוּנָה, *i.e.* stability (Ex. xvii. 12), will characterize the condition of the times (Ps. xxxi. 15), a continuously uniform and therefore trustworthy state (cf. שָׁלוֹם וֶאֱמֶת, xxxix. 8). In the second place, fulness of salvation, wisdom, and knowledge will be theirs. These three ideas are supported by חֹסֶן, which is from חָסַן = خزن (xxiii. 18), and signifies laying by their store or rich treasure. The prophet makes a beginning, so to speak, of unfolding the seven gifts (xi. 2) which are involved in יְשׁוּעֹת. Fear of Jehovah, the basis of all, will be the people's treasure. Isaiah is fond of the form חָכְמַת instead of חָכְמָה, even outside the genitival relation, for the purpose of stricter connection, as appears from xxxv. 2, xli. 21 (cf. פָּרַשׁ, Philippi, *Stat. Constr.* p. 59); here, moreover, it has the advantage of rhyming in the closing sound (cf. יְשָׁתוֹת, xxii. 13).

The prophet has now, in keeping with his already oft-repeated practice, traversed preliminarily the circle of thought, which he now begins again, lamenting, in psalm-like, elegiac tones, the present sad state of things, and weeps with his weeping people, vers. 7–9: "*Behold, their heroes weep without, the messengers of peace weep bitterly. Highroads are desolate, travellers vanished; he has broken covenant, insulted cities, despised men. The land mourns, languishes; Lebanon is ashamed, dried up; the pasture of Sharon is like a desert, and Bashan and Carmel shake their leaves.*" אֶרְאֶלָּם is chosen, perhaps not without reference to אֲרִיאֵל, the name of Jerusalem, chap. xxix., but has another meaning here. We have translated "heroes" (*Recken*), because אֶרְאֵל is here synonymous with אֲרִיאֵל in the Nibelung-like piece in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chron. xi. 22 (cf. the hero-name اسد الله, "lion of God," given by Mohammed to his uncle Hamza). This אֲרִיאֵל, here with the augmenting of the word abbreviated to אֶרְאֵל (cf. the proper name אַרְאֵלִי, Num. xxvi. 17, and the post-Biblical angel-name אֶרְאֶלִּים), is not formed from אָרָה, to be strong, for such a verb, assumed by Fürst for אֲרִי, is not in evidence, —but compounded from אֲרִי, lion, and אֵל, God, signifying therefore lion of God. Still אֵל only adds to the idea of lion-like courage the mark of something extraordinary, wonderful, and is content, as a compound word, with the collective singular, according to circumstances, without forming a plural. The pointing inflects the word after the precedent of כַּרְמֶל (כַּרְמִלּוֹ). That the pointing treats it as contracted from אֶרְאֶה לָהֶם, which is neither possible linguistically nor suited to the context, need not trouble us, although Targ., Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion translate so. The change אֶרְאֵלָם gives the plural, which, however, can be better dispensed with, according to 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, than the pronoun. "Their" (the Judaeans') "heroes," as the parallel clause shows, the messengers sent to Sennacherib, who were to treat with him for peace.[1] They brought him in his

[1] Tradition, which, however, is not here followed by the Targum, makes אראלים an angel-name (Jer.: *Hebraei significare angelos arbitrantur*); Bar-Kappara, in his flowery narrative of the death of the Rabbi so uses it, *Jer. Kilayim* ix. 3; *Bab. Kethuboth* 104*a*, etc. Cf. Cheyne in *Expositor*, 1888, p. 26: "Divine messengers from *Arâlu*, the seat of the Deity" (after Alf. Jeremias).

camp before Lachish the amount of silver and gold required in order to peace, 2 Kings xviii. 14–16. But he broke the covenant, demanding in addition the surrender of Jerusalem. When the warriors of Judah had to bring back this shameful, terrible news to the king and people, and had arrived before Jerusalem in the neighbourhood of the king's palace, they cried aloud (cf. xv. 4). The embassy, whose mission was itself a disgrace to Judah and to itself, returned, shedding bitter tears at such treachery and deceit and shame. Meantime Sennacherib, despite the agreement, continued his measures to force the fortified cities (cf. מָאַס עָרִים, 2 Kings xviii. 13). The land was more and more devastated, the fields trampled down, and the autumn look presented by Lebanon with its fading foliage, and Bashan and Carmel with their foliage already falling, seemed like shame and lamentation at the misfortune of the land. The time then of the prophet's mourning is autumn, with which the date indicated of his prophecy agrees, xxxii. 10. אָבַל אֻמְלְלָה (cf. xxiv. 4) are alliterative; the first verb is in the radical form, the second follows the gender of the following subject (cf. the reverse case, 1 Kings xix. 11). קָמַל is pausal form for קָמֵל, just as elsewhere also ē with the tone easily passes into á or ā in pause. כָּעֲרבה (without art.) is to be read instead of כָּעֲרָבה, as in Zech. xiv. 10. Mourning in psalm-like tones, Isaiah now also comforts himself with words of a psalm. Like David (Ps. xii. 5), he hears Jehovah speak.

The measure of Assyria's iniquity is full; the hour of Judah's deliverance has come; long enough has Jehovah sat still and looked on (xviii. 4), ver. 10: "*Now will I arise, saith Jehovah, now lift myself up, now exalt myself.*" The significant עַתָּה (now) in Isaiah, as in Micah and Hosea, occurring three times, fixes the turning-point between love and wrath, wrath and love. אֵרוֹמָם (in half pause instead of אֵרוֹמֵם) is contracted from אֶתְרוֹמָם, Gesen. § 54. 2*b*). Jehovah will rise up from His throne and reveal all His greatness to Israel's foes.

After the prophet has heard this from Jehovah, he knows also how it will go with them, ver. 11: "*Ye conceive hay, bring forth stubble! Your panting is the fire which shall devour you.*" Their plan to destroy Jerusalem comes to nought; their panting with rage (רוּחַ, as in xxv. 4) against Jerusalem is the fire which consumes them. The idea is more forcible

than the one given by the conjecture רוחי כמו (Lowth, Secker) cited by Cheyne. חֲשַׁשׁ is growth of grass (hay), and קַשׁ what remains of the corn stalks after mowing (see v. 24).

Both are easily consumed by the spreading flame, ver. 12: "*And peoples become lime-burnings, thorns cut off, which are kindled with fire.*" Echo of the figure of the funeral pyre, xxx. 33. 12*a* sets forth in symbol the completeness of their destruction. They are so completely consumed that only ashes remain like a lime heap in lime-burning; 12*b*, its suddenness: they vanish suddenly like brushwood, dead and therefore cut down, which crackles and burns quickly, v. 24, cf. ix. 17. כְּסַח is the Targum word for זָמַר, *amputare;* יִצַּתּוּ, *imperf. Niph.*, instead of יִצְּתוּ, perhaps to distinguish it from this form of the *imperf. Kal.*

But the prophet does not, because of Assyria, overlook the guilty sinners of his own nation. The judgment upon Assyria is a terrible lesson, not merely to the heathen, but also to Israel, vers. 13, 14: "*Hear, ye that are far, what I have performed; and know, ye that are near, my almighty power! The sinners in Zion are horror-struck, trembling seizes the hypocrites. 'Who among us can dwell with consuming fire, who among us dwell with eternal burnings?'*" Before the Almighty and Just One who has judged Assyria (in the view of the prophet, the act of judgment has just taken place) the sinners in Jerusalem also cannot stand; they must either repent, or they cannot remain near Him. Jehovah, as regards His wrath, is a consuming fire, Deut. iv. 24, ix. 3; and the fiery force of this wrath is everlasting burnings, inasmuch as it consists of flames never to be quenched (מוֹקֵד, here not the burning-place, but that which burns). And this God has His fire and furnace in Jerusalem, xxxi. 9, and has just shown what His fire can do when it breaks out. For this reason the sinners, confessing to themselves by "among us" (cf. Amos ix. 1) that none of them can endure it, ask in terror, "Who can dwell with consuming fire?" (גור with *accus. loci*, as in Ps. v. 5).

The prophet answers the questions for them, vers. 15, 16: "*He that walks in righteousness and speaks uprightness; he that despises gain of oppressions; whose hand keeps itself from touching bribes; he that stops his ear not to hear of bloodthirsty counsel, and closes his eyes not to regard evil—he shall dwell on*

high, fastnesses of rocks are his stronghold, his bread is abundant, his water inexhaustible." An Isaianic variation of Ps. xv., xxiv. 3–6 (as Jer. xvii. 5–8 is a variation by Jeremiah of Ps. i.). צְדָקוֹת, like מֵישָׁרִים, is accus. of object: he that walks in full measure of righteousness in all respects, *i.e.* lives and practises it (Ewald, § 282, 1), and whose words exactly harmonize with his inner disposition and with outward facts. The third quality is that he not merely does not seek, but abhors gain to the hurt of a neighbour; the fourth, that he diligently guards hands, ears, and eyes against all danger of moral pollution.[1] To the verb עָצַם (properly, to press to, press together), secondary form from עָצָה, Prov. xvi. 30, corresponds in Arabic to غمض (cf. רָמַז and רָחַם, כָּרַע, رکع). Bribes, which one encloses in the hand, he shakes off (cf. Neh. v. 13); to schemes of murder, revenge, hate, robbery, he closes his ear; to sinful sights he shuts his eyes, without so much as blinking. Such an one need not fear God's wrath. Living according to God's will, he lives in God's love; there he is enclosed as in the impregnable walls of a rocky fortress on inaccessible heights; he suffers neither hunger nor thirst, but his bread is furnished without fail (נִתָּן, *part.*), namely, by God's love; his waters are unfailing, for the living God makes them spring forth for him. Such is the picture of one who need not be alarmed by God's wrath and judgments against Assyria.

Before this picture the prophet forgets the sinners in Zion, greeting the future Church bearing such a character with words of promise, ver. 17: "*Thine eyes shall behold the king in his beauty, shall see a land of distances.*" The king of Judah, hitherto deeply abased by tyrannous oppression and unfortunate wars (Micah iv. 14), is then glorified by the victory of his God, and the nation, answering to the description of vers. 15, 16, shall behold him in his God-given beauty,[2] shall see a

[1] "Every one that sees a shameful sight," runs a saying of R. Joshua b. Levi (*Halachoth gedoloth*, sec. עריות, and often), "and hides his eyes from it, shall be deemed worthy to behold the face of the Shekinah." This is inferred from ver. 15 in connection with ver. 17.

[2] Stade, *Zeitschrift* (1884), p. 256 ff., thinks he can prove that not merely chap. xxxiii. (whose Isaianic origin was already doubted by Ewald), but chap. xxxii. also, "owes its origin to the imitative prophetic authorship of post-exilian days." "In ver. 17," he remarks, p. 263, "two

land of far-stretching extent (מֶרְחַקִּים=מֶרחקים, the *ĕ* of which is a lowered *ă*), now purged from foes, restored without curtailment to Israel, and happy in the enjoyment of peace under this king.

Suffering has passed away like a dream, vers. 18, 19: "*Thy heart bethinks itself of the terror: Where is he that valued? where he that weighed? where he that counted the towers? Thou seest the unmannerly people no more, the people of deep inaudible lip, of stammering, unintelligible tongue.*" The terrible past is so driven out of mind by the glorious present that one must reflect (הָגָה, *meditari*, as Jerome translates) in order to recall it. Vanished is the סֹפֵר (from סָפַר, to mark, draw, grave, count) who managed the collection of tribute, the שֹׁקֵל who tested the weight of gold and silver, the סֹפֵר אֶת־הַמִּגְדָּלִים who, after reconnoitring, drew up the plan of the city to be invested or stormed. Disappeared has the עַם נוֹעָז (*Niph.* to עָזַז from יָעַז), the people of insolent, shameless bearing, as well as insatiable in their demands (Targ., Symmachus, Jerome). This attribute is in keeping; and to explain נועז in the sense of לֹעֵז, Ps. cxiv. 1 (Rashi, Vitringa, Ewald), or so to read it (de Dieu, Cappellus, Bredenkamp), is without warrant. עִמְקֵי and נִלְעַג describe the obscure, barbarous sound of their speech; מִשְּׁמוֹעַ, the difficulty of understanding the utterance; אֵין בִּינָה, the unintelligibleness of what was meant. Although the Assyrians spoke Semitic, their language was so different in its words and word-forms that, *e.g.*, a request like *pitâ bâbkáma lurruba anâku* (Open thy door that I may enter) might be more easily misunderstood by the Israelite than understood.

How will Jerusalem look when Assyria is dashed to pieces on its fortress? The prophet here passes into the tone of Ps. xlviii. 13 f. Ps. xlvi. and xlviii. belong, perhaps, to the time of Jehoshaphat, but are equally suited to the deliverance of Jerusalem under Hezekiah, ver. 20: "*Behold Zion, the fortress*

isolated, only loosely connected traits are joined in one thought—the rule of the Messianic king and the wide extent of his kingdom; they are only held together by the thought that the Church in Messianic days enjoys the sight of both." I am unable to acquiesce in this view. Messianic king? If this = Messiah, I reply that the king of ver. 17 is as little the Messiah as the Messiah of Micah v. 2 is one person with the king smitten on the cheek, ver. 1. And do the king who is restored to honour and the land that is relieved of enemies really stand in only loose connection?

of our festal gathering! Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem, a cheerful place, a tent that removes not, whose pegs are never drawn out, and none of whose cords are ever broken." The seeing is here, as in Ps. lxiii. 3, that which proceeds from looking at. Jerusalem stands unconquered and uninjured, the fortress of the feast-keeping community of the whole land (מוֹעֵד like מִקְרָא, iv. 5, cf. xxx. 29), a place full of cheerfulness (xxxii. 18), in which everything is adapted for permanence. Escaped from its troubles, Jerusalem is stronger than ever, a tent no longer nomadic and wandering (צָעַן, a nomad-word = ظعن, to wander, pack up = טָעַן, Gen. xlv. 17), but intended for eternal duration.

It is also a great Lord who dwells therein, a faithful almighty protector, vers. 21, 22: "*No, a glorious one dwells there for us, Jehovah—a place of rivers, canals of wide extent, into which no oared fleet ventures, and which no majestic war-ship crosses. For Jehovah is our Judge, Jehovah is our Commander, Jehovah is our King, he will bring us salvation."* כִּי אִם, *imo*, follows up the negative clauses of 20*b* still farther. אַדִּיר is Jehovah who has overthrown Lebanon, *i.e.* Assyria, x. 34. He dwells in Jerusalem for His people's good—a place of rivers, *i.e.* in consequence of His dwelling therein it is like a place of rivers. That מְקוֹם is neither = *loco* (תַּחַת), which is possible, as is proved by 1 Kings xxi. 19 ("in place of"), if not by Hos. ii. 1 (cf. xxii. 38), nor yet = substitution, compensation, is shown by בּוֹ and יַעַבְרֶנּוּ, which refer to this מְקוֹם. Therefore: in virtue of Jehovah's indwelling, Jerusalem is a place (cf. the identifying instead of comparison, ver. 20) of broad rivers, such as guard cities surrounded by them elsewhere (*e.g.* Babylon, the "many-coiled serpent," xxvii. 1), and broad canals, which, like fortifications, keep off the enemy (like Nû-Amun in Egypt, which was girdled by waters, Nah. iii. 8). The adjective, by which יָדַיִם, as in xxii. 18 (on both sides), graphically emphasizes the idea of breadth, belongs to both nouns, which are placed side by side ἀσυνδέτως (because interchangeable). אֳנִי, ship, 21*b*, is originally of the same meaning as the Arabic اناء, vessel, receptacle, as *vaisseau* arose out of *vasculum*. שַׁיִט is formed from שׁוּט, which as a nautical word means to row. צִי (from צָוָה, to erect, put together)

is also a name of a ship, a great one; Aquila τριήρης, Jerome *trieris*, warship with three rows of rowing benches one above another.—Jehovah's presence is to Jerusalem what the broadest rivers and canals are to other cities; and into these rivers and canals, which Jerusalem has in Jehovah, no oared ship ventures (הָלַךְ בְּ, *ingredi*), no majestic warship can cross it: even such a colossus would founder in these dangerous, mighty waters. Similar is the figure in xxvi. 1. In the consciousness of this unapproachable and impregnable defence the people of Jerusalem boast in their God, who, as שֹׁפֵט, watches over Israel's right and honour, as מְחֹקֵק (synonymous with κοσμήτωρ in Homer) bears the staff of command in Israel, and as מֶלֶךְ is enthroned and rules in Israel's midst, so that in Him it is provided beforehand with sure help against every future danger.

Now it is apparently different. Not Assyria, but Jerusalem, is like a vessel near shipwreck; but when that which has just been predicted is fulfilled, Jerusalem, now so feeble and sinful, will be transformed, vers. 23, 24: "*Thy ropes hang slack, they hold not firm the support of their mast, they keep not the flag outspread—then booty of plundering is divided in abundance; even lame men share the booty. And no inhabitant shall say: I am weak, the people settled therein has its sins forgiven.*" Luzzatto, Reuss *et al.*, erroneously take ver. 23 as an address to Assyria, which—a proud warship—would cross the river-girdle encircling Jerusalem; but the address, with *áyich* (see on i. 26), applies to Jerusalem (Drechsler, Nägelsbach, Cheyne, v. Orelli, Bredenkamp, Driver). The city being first pictured as guarded by a mighty stream, and as a wreck on this stream, is just the contrast of now and then. Now Jerusalem is a hard-bestead ship, tossed by the storm, a sport of the waves. Its ropes hang slackly down (Jerome, *laxati sunt*). כֵּן is not adj.: straight, but subst., as the order of words indicates, the insertion of the Makkeph also proceeding from it: they hold not firm כֵּן־תָּרְנָם, the bed of their mast, *i.e.* the bed formed by the ἱστοπέδη, the hollow into which the mast is let down, and the μεσόδμη (=μεσοδόμη), the cross-beam in whose groove it rests. If the stay-ropes are not drawn tight, the mast, falling backwards aloft, may slip out of the μεσόδμη,

and in this way out of the ἱστοδόκη far below, and break down the latter. The term כֵּן is less suitable to the μεσόδμη with its groove (*i.e.* semicircular hollow), than to the ἱστοδόκη, which not merely serves the mast like the former as a support, but as a stand, keeping it firm and upright. Vitringa thus hits the mark: *Oportet accedere funes, qui thecam firment h. e. qui malum sustinentes thecae succurrant, qui quod theca sola per se praestare nequit absque funibus cum ea veluti succurrentes efficiant.* Further, the ropes of the ship Jerusalem keep not the נֵס outspread, *i.e.* the ἐπίσημον of the ship (flag, or even the sail with a device worked in). Such is Jerusalem now, but אָז then (*tum*) it will be different. Assyria founders, and Jerusalem is enriched, without use of weapons, with the wealth of the Assyrian camp. The prophet, ver. 1, began by announcing this spoiling of Assyria. The discourse therefore ends as it began. But the prophet's last word is this, that the people of Jerusalem is now strong in God, and נְשֻׂא עָוֹן (as in Ps. xxxii. 1) saved, delivered from its sin. A people humbled by affliction, penitent, and therefore forgiven, then inhabits Jerusalem. Israel's strength and all its salvation rest on forgiveness of sins.

PART VI.—THE FINALE OF JUDGMENT ON THE WHOLE WORLD, ESPECIALLY EDOM, AND OF THE DELIVERANCE OF JEHOVAH'S PEOPLE, CHAPS. XXXIV., XXXV.

Chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. stand in just the same relation to chaps. xxviii.–xxxiii. as chaps. xxiv.–xxvii. do to chaps. xiii.–xxiii. In both cases the specific prophecy for the times is followed by an all-comprehending finale of an apocalyptic character; the palpable forms of the historical present, surrounding us in chaps. xxviii.–xxxiii., have here vanished; we find ourselves without footing in the historical present. For the date of this finale, which transports us into the midst of the last things, the relation in which Jeremiah and Zephaniah stand to it, is of importance. On this subject Caspari's essay: *Jeremia ein Zeuge für die Echtheit von Jes.* c. xxxiv., *und*

mithin auch für die Echtheit von Jes. c. xl.–lxvi., c. xiii.–xiv. 23, and xxi. 1–10 (*Jeremiah a Witness to the Genuineness of Isa.* xxxiv., *and consequently also to the Genuineness of Isa.* xl.–lxvi., xiii.–xiv. 23, and xxi. 1–10) in the *Luther. Zeitschrift*, 1843, 2, should be read; and respecting the relation of Jer. l. f. especially to Isa. xxxiv. f. Nägelsbach, *Jeremia und Babylon*, pp. 107–113. We find in Jeremiah not a few passages (namely, xxv. 31, 33, 34, xlvi. 10, l. 27, 39, li. 40) which stand, not accidentally, in reciprocal relation to chap. xxxiv. Just as certainly Zeph. i. 7, 8, ii. 14 stand, not by accident, in reciprocal relation to Isa. xxxiv. 6, 11; in the same way Zeph. ii. 15 rhymes with Isa. xlvii. 8; Zeph. i. 7 *fin.*, iii. 11, with Isa. xiii. 3, and Zeph. ii. 14 looks like a blending together of the pictures of ruin in Isa. xxxiv. 13 ff. and xiii. 21 f. It is still to-day hard for me to deny priority to the Book of Isaiah in these passages, and to ascribe it to Jeremiah and Zephaniah despite the thoroughly imitative and, so to speak, anthological character of the two. But if Isaianic and Deutero-Isaianic passages are really mixed in the Book of Isaiah, then (I do not draw this inference without feeling the same scruples as v. Orelli and Bredenkamp) not only chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., but also chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. belong to those passages which we call Deutero-Isaianic, because they bear the Isaianic stamp in a secondary manner, and form a transition from the old Isaianic passages to the Book of Exiles, chaps. xl.–lxvi. Chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. are its prelude. Edom is here what Moab is, chaps. xxiv.–xxvii. By the side of Babylon the world-empire, whose policy of conquest led it to enslave Israel, Edom represents the world which is hostile to Israel as the people of Jehovah. For Edom is Israel's brother-nation, and hates Israel as the people of the election. In this its unbrotherly, hereditary hatred, it represents the enemies and persecutors of the Church of Jehovah as such in their entirety. The specific counterpart to chap. xxxiv. is lxiii. 1–6.

What the prophet foretells concerns all nations and all individuals among them in their relation to the Church of Jehovah. Hence he begins with the summons, vers. 1–3: "*Draw near, ye nations, to hear, and ye nations, attend; let the earth hear, and that which fills it, the world and all that*

springs from it! For Jehovah's indignation will go forth against all nations, and burning wrath against all their host; he has laid them under the ban, given them up to slaughter. And their slain are cast forth, and their carcases—their stench shall go up, and mountains melt with their blood." The summons does not invite them to witness the execution of the judgment, but to hear the prophecy of the coming judgment; and it goes forth withal to the whole of nature, because this will have to share in the judgment upon all nations (see on v. 25, xiii. 10). קֶצֶף לה' (cf. יוֹם לה', ver. 8, ii. 12) implies that Jehovah is ready to execute His wrath. צְבָאָם, differently in Gen. ii. 1, goes back to הַגּוֹיִם. The peoples hostile to Him are slain, their carcases lie unburied, and the streams of blood dissolve the firm masses of the mountains so that they melt. On the stench of corpses, cf. Ezek. xxxix. 11; even if חָסַם there does not mean "to stop the breath with the stench," still Ezek. xxxix. points back in many respects to Isa. xxxiv.

The judgment here foretold belongs to the last things, for it takes place with the contemporaneous destruction of the present heaven and earth, ver. 4: "*And all the host of heaven moulders away, and the heavens are rolled up like a book, and all their host withers as a leaf withers from the vine, and like fading leaves from the fig-tree.*" Whereas xiii. 10 does not yet go beyond Joel iii. 3 f., chaps. xxiv. 21, li. 6, lv. 17, lvi. 22 have no previous parallels. נָמַק, to dissolve in decay and dust (iii. 24, v. 24); נָגֹל (for נָגַל, like נָזֹל, lxiii. 19, lxiv. 2; נָרֹץ, Eccles. xii. 6, etc.) are rolled together, used of the cylinder-shaped book-roll (מְגִלָּה, like *volumen* from *volvere*). The heaven, therefore the present structure of the world, dissolves into atoms, and is shut up as a book when read; and the stars fall down, as a faded leaf falls from the vine when stirred by a gentle breeze, as that which fades, *i.e.* the faded leaf shaken off by the fig-tree. It is a vision of the last days, which is confirmed by the Lord, Matt. xxiv. 29. When one looks at the following "for," it certainly seems strange that the prophet should foretell the destruction of the heavens because Jehovah judges Edom; but Edom represents here all the powers hostile to the Church of God as such, and is thus an idea of

the profoundest and widest cosmical significance (cf. xxiv. 21). The Biblical doctrine is that when sin, which culminates in unbelief and persecution of the Church of believers, shall have reached its full measure, God will lay the present world in ruin.

In view of this consideration, we are not surprised when the prophet verifies the destruction of the present heavens as follows, vers. 5–7: "*For then my sword is drunken in heaven; behold, upon Edom it comes down, and on the people of my ban to judgment. The sword of Jehovah is filled with blood, is replenished with fat, with blood of lambs and he-goats, with kidney-fat of rams; for Jehovah has a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Edom. And wild oxen go down with them, and bullocks with bulls; and their land is drunken with blood, and their dust replenished with fat.*" As in chap. lxiii. Jehovah is represented as a wine-press treader, and the people as grapes, so here He is represented as a sacrificer, and the nations as sacrificial animals (זֶבַח, cf. Zeph. i. 7; Jer. xlvi. 10; Ezek. xxxix. 17 ff.—three dependent passages). But here Jehovah does not appear in person as Judge, but His sword; as in Gen. iii. 24, along with the cherub, the revolving sword is mentioned as an independent retributive power. The sword is His retributive power, which, after it has become drunk (רִוְּתָה, intens. of *Kal*, like פִּתַּח, xlviii. 8) with wrath in heaven, *i.e.* in the sphere of Deity, comes down as though in raging drunkenness upon Edom, the people of Jehovah's ban, *i.e.* the people excluded by Him from the sphere of earthly life (חֵרֶם = حرم, حرب, *excludere*), and devoted to destruction, and then as His instrument of punishment is filled with blood and replenished with fat. הֻדַּשְּׁנָה is *Hothpaal*=הִתְדַּשְּׁנָה, cf. הִזַּכּוּ, i. 16. אֶדַּמֶּה, xiv. 14, the penult. has the tone, the נָה being treated like the plur. of the imperf.; the dropping of the *dagesh* in the שׁ is connected with this. The writing of מֵחֵלֶב twice with six points, ver. 6 (in opposition to codices and old editions), is a traditional error; the O. T. language knows only the form חֵלֶב (radical from *chilb*). Lambs, he-goats, rams, are the Edomite nation compared to such small sacrificial animals. Edom and Bozrah stand together, as in lxiii. 1; the latter

was a chief city of the Edomites, Gen. xxxvi. 33; Amos i. 12; Jer. xlix. 13, 22; it lay on the Edomite hills (*'Gebâl*), on the site of the village Busaira (*i.e.* Little Bozrah), which is surrounded by its ruins. In distinction from the three names of small animals, ver. 6, the three names of horned cattle, ver. 7 (see respecting רְאֵם, Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 15 ff.), denote the Edomite nobles. These also descend with those to the slaughter-place, for so יָרְדוּ is to be understood, after Jer. l. 27, li. 40 (cf. Jer. xlviii. 15), not as in Hag. ii. 22, of throwing down. The feast of the sword is so abundant that even the earth and the dust of the Edomite land are soaked with blood and fat.

Thus Jehovah revenges His Church on Edom, vers. 8–10: "*For Jehovah has a day of vengeance, a year of retribution, to fight for Zion. And the brooks of Edom turn into pitch, and its dust into brimstone, and its land becomes burning pitch. Day and night it is not quenched; and Edom's smoke mounts up for ever, from generation to generation it lies waste, to ages of ages no one goes through it.*" The one phrase לְרִיב צִיּוֹן (not לָרִיב, therefore genitival connection) throws light on the prophecy both forwards and backwards. The day and night of the judgment on Edom (cf. lxi. 2, lxiii. 4) do justice to Zion against its accusers and persecutors (רִיב, *vindicatio*, cf. li. 22). זֶפֶת, √ זף, is pitch as liquid, and גָּפְרִית, mineral brimstone, so named from the similarity of its odour to the vegetable גֹּפֶר. The eternal punishment falling on the Edomites is depicted in figures and colours suggested by the nearness of Edom to the Dead Sea, and the volcanic character of this mountain-land; it suffers the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, Jer. xlix. 18. The inextinguishable fire (cf. lxvi. 24) and the eternally-ascending smoke (cf. Rev. xix. 3) prove that the final end is referred to. The prophet indeed means primarily that the land of Edom, included within definite geographical limits, is smitten with the doom described; but this doom represents that of all nations and individuals whose spirit and attitude are those of Edom towards the Church of Jehovah.

The land of Edom in this geographically definite sense, and also in the emblematic sense, will become a wilderness; the kingdom of Edom is destroyed for ever, vers. 11, 12:

"*And pelican and hedgehog take it in possession, and horned owl and raven dwell there, and he stretches over it the measuring line of Tohu, and the plummet of Bohu. Its nobles—there is no kingdom there which they might proclaim, and all its princes come to nought.*" The picture of ruin beginning, 11*a*, with the mention of animals which are fond of marshy, lonely spots, is like the one in xiii. 20–22, xiv. 23, cf. the dependent passage Zeph. ii. 14. קִפּוֹד, although in the company of birds, is the hedgehog (see xiv. 23); קָאָת (here as in Zeph. ii. 14, with double *kametz*, after codices and Kimchi, *WB*), Targ. קָת, otherwise קָק, Saadia and Abulwalid, قوق, *ḳûḳ* (see in Ps. cii. 7), according to continuous tradition, is the long-necked pelican living on fishes, from קוֹא, to vomit in imitation of the cry; the construct-form קְאַת gives up the ָ, which the derivation from קוֹא makes unchangeable, because it goes back by permutation to קוֹא=קָאָה.[1] And יַנְשׁוֹף (Assyrian *eššêpu*, a bird haunting ruins) is translated by Targ. קַפּוֹפִין (Syr. *ḳafûfâ*), *i.e.* horned owl, in Talmud often mentioned as an unlucky bird (Rashi on *Berachoth* 57*b*: *chouette*). אַבְנֵי stands here parallel with קַו, instead of מִשְׁקֶלֶת, xxviii. 17, plummet in the same sense: the weight of the plummet hanging by a line. This and the measuring-line are used elsewhere in building, but by Jehovah here in destroying (a prae-Isaianic figure Amos vii. 7–9; cf. 2 Kings xxi. 13; Lam. ii. 8), as He carries out this destruction with the same rigorous exactness with which a builder carries out his fore-designed plan, plunging Edom back into a state of barrenness and desolation resembling the first formless chaos; cf. Jer. iv. 23, where the *tohu* and *bohu* as here is a state to which the land is brought back by the power of fire (cf. Gen. i. 2–5). תֹהוּ has no *dagesh lene*—one of the three passages in which, after a weak final consonant, the dageshing of the initial aspirate of the next closely-connected word is omitted (also Ps. lxviii. 18; Ezek. xxiii. 42). Then this ancient kingdom with its prae-Israelitish royalty comes to an end (Gen. xxxvi. 31). חֹרֶיהָ comes first as a sort of apodosis; it is a substantive clause: the nobles (freemen) of the land of Edom are not there to proclaim the kingdom. חֹרֶיהָ from חָרַר, *candidum esse*, which divides into

[1] Cf. *Complutensische Varianten* (1878), p. 15.

the sense *ingenuum esse* and *liberum esse* (cf. حر, חֵרוּת חֹרִין).[1] Weir, followed by Cheyne, transposes thus: חרי המלוכה יקראו ואין שם, is said to mean: "They (the Edomites) call for the nobles of the kingdom, and they are not there," by which more is lost than gained in point of style. Edom was an elective kingdom. The hereditary nobility proclaimed the new king. This now takes place no more. The princes of Edom come to nothing. Of that which was the zenith of Edom's glory no trace is left.

The mention of the royalty and the high electorate of the land suggests to the prophet the palaces and castles of the land. Starting from these, he continues the picture of ruin, vers. 13–15: "*And Edom's palaces shoot up with thorn bushes, nettles and thistles in its castles; and it becomes a dwelling-place of wild dogs, a pasture for ostriches. And martens meet jackals; and one forest-demon stumbles on its fellow; yea, the lilith takes repose there, and finds rest for itself. There the arrow-snake makes its nest, and breeds and lays and broods in the shadow there, yea, vultures assemble one to another.*" The fem. suffixes here, as before, apply to Edom as בַּת־אֱדוֹם or אֶרֶץ אֱדוֹם. Respecting סִירִים, קִמּוֹשׂ (with *Sin*),[2] and חוֹחַ, cf. the first of the essays of Dietrich (1844), which discusses the Semitic names for reeds and grass and for thorns and thistles. Respecting תַּנִּים (Luther, dragon, *i.e.* תַּנִּינִים), צִיִּים, אִיִּים, see on xiii. 21 f. It is a question whether חָצִיר here means fence or court = חָצֵר (Gesen., Hitzig, Knobel, Drechsler, Luzzatto *et al.*) from חָצַר, حصر, cf. حظر, to enclose, surround; or, as elsewhere, from חָצַר, خضر, the word for dark-green, leek-green, and also for brilliant black (as, *e.g.*, of the beard compared to

[1] Perhaps applying originally to the clear complexion by which the nobles of the nation were distinguished from the people (cf. Lam. iv. 7); the white (البيض) with curled hair (جعد) are in Arabic the respectable; both serve as marks of noble descent. In Persian also سپيدى, white, is used like *candour* in a moral sense. From this חרר we must separate خار (خير), also Assyrian חיר, which means to see, find out, choose.

[2] Respecting קמוש, see *Complutensische Varianten*, p. 28 f., and Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 194.

the deep green of the myrtle): the green field and garden vegetable (cf. *πράσινος* as a name of colour, from *πράσον*),—we take it in the latter sense: a grassy place, such as ostriches, which live on plants and fruits, love. צִיִּים (desert animals) we have rendered "martens," the context requiring a definite species of animal, as the Targ. תַּמְּן is explained by Rashi on the passage, and by Kimchi on Jer. l. 39. אִיִּים, not "wild cats" (חַתּוּלִין), but "jackals," after the Arabic. קָרָא with עַל we take with Hitzig in the sense of קָרָה, after Ex. v. 3. לִילִית (Syr. and Zab. *Lelitho*), properly night-creature (Aethiop. *lêlît*, night), is a female demon (שֵׁדָה) of popular mythology, like the Indo-Canarese *nichâchari* (female night-wanderer); according to Jewish fable, a witch specially hostile to children, like the *Ἔμπουσα* of the Greeks, *Strix* and *Lamia* of the Romans, and to some extent the witches of our stories.[1] There is still life in Edom; but what a caricature of the life that was! Edom's princes proclaimed the new king, satyrs call one another to the dance (xiii. 21); and where kings and princes slept in their palaces and pleasure-houses, Lilith, whose delight is in all that is most dismal, after long search, has the most convenient and comfortable resting-place. Demons and serpents are not far apart; therefore in ver. 15 the prophet comes to the arrow or leaping serpent, Arabic *ḳiffâza*, or in better vocalization, *ḳaffâza* (from קָפַז, allied to קָפַץ, Cant. ii. 8: to leap, from gathering the limbs together in preparing to spring). Luther, in translating *hedgehog*, follows the ancient translators, none of whom here saw the distinction between קִפּוֹד, 11*a*, and קִפּוֹז; Bochart was the first to see in קפוז the *serpens jaculus*, which has been accepted ever since. The arrow-snake builds its nest in ruined sites, and breeds there (מִלֵּט, to let the foetus break through, euphonic change from פִּלֵּט, √ פל, *findere*), lays eggs (בָּקַע, to split, *i.e.* to bring forth by opening the organs of birth), and broods there in the shadow: דְּגַר is the Targum word in Job xxxix. 14 for חִמֵּם (*Ithpa.* for חֳמַרְמַר, Lam. i. 20), and is also used in the Rabbinical literature directly for *fovere* (like Jerome here); perhaps really: to keep the eggs together (Targ. Jer. xvii. 11, מְכַנֵּשׁ

[1] Respecting the Jewish Lilith-worship in Mesopotamia, see *DMZ.* ix. 461 ff. Lîl and Lilith are not Persian (*Kohut*), but as is now proved (Schrader in *Jenaer LZ.* 1874, p. 249), Babylo-Assyrian night-deities.

בֵּצִין, LXX. *συνήγαγεν*), for דָּגַר (synon. חָפַר) means *colligere*, on which account Rashi explains it in both places by *glousser*, to cluck, in reference to the calling together of the brood by making this sound. דַּיָּה is the vulture (Rashi on *Mezia* 24*b*: *vulture*); these loathsome, sociable birds of prey there congregate together.

And when fulfilment and prophecy shall one day be compared, they will be found to tally, vers. 16, 17: "*Search ye in the book of Jehovah, and read! Not one of the creatures is wanting, not one misses another; for my mouth—it has commanded, and its breath—it has brought them together. And he has cast the lot for them, and his hand has assigned it* [*this land*] *to them by measuring-line; they shall possess it for ever, and dwell therein from generation to generation.*" כָּתַב עַל is used of writing in a book, because what is written is laid on the leaf; and דָּרַשׁ מֵעַל is used of searching in a book, because in searching one lies over the book and takes the object of search from it. Still סֵפֶר is not equivalent to our "book," see on xxx. 8, xxix. 11 f., 18. The prophet calls the record of his writings the book or writing, the record of Jehovah. Whoever lives to see the time of the judgment on Edom, let him but cast an inquiring glance upon it, and, when he compares what lies before his eyes with what was foretold, he will see the most exact agreement; the creatures named, fond of marsh and desert and ruinous spots, will all find a home in what was once Edom, and none will miss another (פָּקַד, allied to פקח, properly to open the eyes in search of something, here in the sense *to miss*, belonging exclusively to the *Kal* in Arabic). But what of the satyrs and lilith, creatures of popular superstition altogether? These too are there, for to the prophet's view they are demons, whom he only names by popular names in order to give a ghostly impression. Edom will really be a gathering-place of the beasts named, and also of uncanny spirits like those mentioned. The prophet, or rather God, whose temporary organ he is, confirms this: "My mouth has commanded, and its (his mouth's) breath has brought them together (all these creatures)." It is unnecessary to read פִּיו (Olshausen on Job ix. 20) or פִּיהוּ (Nägelsbach), or even to take פִּי הוּא in opposition to the accents according to מִימֵי הִיא (=מִימֶיהָ), Nah. ii. 9 (cf. Ezek. xl. 16), as *stat. constr. pro*

conjuncto in the sense *τὸ στόμα μου* (Arnheim, § 205), in order to escape the harsh, but by no means unexampled, synallage: "My (Jehovah's) mouth, his (Jehovah's) breath," especially when the synallage vanishes even without correction by רוּחוֹ being referred to פִּי (cf. רוּחַ פִּיו, Ps. xxxiii. 6; Job xv. 30). As the creative word comes from Jehovah's mouth, so the prophetic word which resembles it also comes from His mouth; and the breath of Jehovah's mouth, *i.e.* His Spirit, is the power by which He, the Almighty One, carries out the second as the first creation. In the reference to the creatures named, לָהֶם interchanges with לָהֶן. The suff. of חִלְּקַתָּה (without *mappik*, as in 1 Sam. i. 6) applies to the land of Edom. As if by divine lot and with divine measuring-line, Edom is assigned to that horrible population of brutes and demons. A prelude of the fulfilment fell on the Edomite mountain-land after the overthrow of Jerusalem (see Köhler on Mal. i. 2-5) It has never since regained its former state of cultivation, and swarms with serpents; only wild crows and eagles and great crowds of flying-cats give life to the desolate heights and barren plains.

Edom falls, never to rise again. Its land is turned into a horrible desert; on the contrary, the desert through which redeemed Israel marches is turned into a flowery pasture, xxxv. 1, 2: "*Gladness fills wilderness and heath, and the desert exults and blossoms like the narcissus. It blossoms abundantly and exults, yea, is exulting and jubilant; the glory of Lebanon is given to it, the splendour of Carmel and Sharon. They shall see the glory of Jehovah, the splendour of our God.*" Respecting יְשֻׂשׂוּם מִדְבָּר, Aben-Ezra early held the correct view: the original ן, as elsewhere also before labials, was assimilated to the following ם, as פְּדוּיִן, Num. iii. 49, became פְּדוּיִם; in Arcadian, *τὸμ μέν, ἂμ μή* was written, and even an old Attic inscription writes *ευπολεμομμνημ(α)*. The explanation *laetabuntur his* (Rashi, Gesen. *et al.*) is certainly possible (cf. lxv. 18, viii. 6); but to what would this *ûm* of the object refer? To correct away the form (Olshausen) is all the worse, since the vulgar Arabic raises *û* of the *plur. imperf.*, even apart from euphonic connection, into *ûm*, e.g. *tadribum, jadribum.*[1]

[1] See Tantâwy, *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*, p. xi. On the *pl. perf.* in *ûm*, see Wetzstein's "Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen

According to Targ. Cant. ii. 1, Saad. Abulw. חֲבַצֶּלֶת is the narcissus (on the other hand, Targ. here indefinitely: *sicut lilia*): the name (a derived form of בצל) points to a bulbous plant; tradition and name favour the narcissus, which is called by the fellaheen *buṣail* (diminutive of בצל). In Assyrian lists of plants, Friedr. Delitzsch has found *ḫabaṣillatu* a sort of *ḳānū* reed (*Prolegomena*, pp. 81–84). But the kind denoted is probably something more specific than reed or flower-stem. The sandy desert becomes like a meadow covered with flowers of lovely, variegated hue. Respecting גִּילַת, see on xxxiii. 6 (cf. lxv. 18); the infin. noun takes the place of an infin. abs., as *e.g.* עֶרְיָה, Had. iii. 9, which also, although in more rigid form, expresses the abstract verbal idea; אַף heightens, like גַּם in Gen. xxxi. 15, xlvi. 4, the emphasizing sense already lying in the following gerunds. The barren wilderness, hitherto so dreary, is adorned so gloriously because of the great things lying before it. Lebanon, Carmel, and Sharon have, so to speak, shared their splendour with the wilderness, in order that they may all (הֵמָּה) appear in festal attire together, when the all-surpassing glory of Jehovah, which they are privileged to see and become the scene of, is manifested. הֵמָּה does not apply to the Judaeans (Bredenkamp), to whom the discourse only now comes.

It is time to summon the nation now in banishment to lift up its head, since its deliverance draws near, vers. 3, 4: "*Confirm ye the slack hands, and strengthen the tottering knees! Say to them of dismayed heart: Be firm, fear not! Behold, your God will come for vengeance, for divine retribution; he will come and bring you salvation.*" The weak in faith, those who have become hopeless and fearful, are to bestir themselves (borrowed in Heb. xii. 12); and the stronger are to tell the perplexed and anxious among their brethren to be comforted; for Jehovah comes נָקָם, as vengeance, and גְּמוּל אֱלֹהִים, as recompense, such as the high almighty Judge inflicts. Nägelsbach, in opposition to the accents: "Behold, your God! Vengeance comes, Recompense of God!" But the subject of יבוא is God Himself, as the resuming with הוא יבוא shows; the language is thus similar to xxx. 27, xiii. 9, cf. xl. 10, but bolder.

Wüste," in Bd. xxii. of the *DMZ.*, and on the 2 *plur. imperf.* in *ûm* (*e.g.* *ḫodum*, take), *Götting. Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 170.

The infliction of punishment is the immediate end of His appearing; but the ultimate one is the salvation of His people (וְיֹשַׁעֲכֶם, abbreviated imperf. form, usual elsewhere only with ו consecutive), vers. 5–7: "*Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap like the hart, and the tongue of the dumb raise a shout; for in the wilderness waters burst forth, and brooks in the desert. And the mirage becomes a pool, and parched ground gushing water-springs; in the place of jackals, where they lie, grass springs up with rush and reed.*" Bodily defects are not to be taken as a figure for spiritual; the healing of bodily defects, however, is only the outer side of what takes place on the appearance of Jehovah (cf. on the other side, xxxii. 3 f.). Even nature will participate in the glory streaming from the manifested God on the redeemed. שָׁרָב (Arabic *sarâb*) here and xlix. 10 is essentially the same as what is called in Western tongues *mirage, fata morgana* (Ital.=*fee morgana*). *Kimmung* (from *kimm*, sky-rim, horizon), here reflection of water, the semblance of a lake casting a glamour over the arid desert, properly glowing, blinding dryness, from שָׁרַב. Aramaic שְׁרַב, cf. צָרַב, to be heated, arid.[1] This becomes לַאֲגַם (not לְאֹגַם, see *Michlol* 163*a*), a pool (as in xli. 18, different from אָגָם, xix. 10). חָצִיר is here as little as in xxxiv. 13 =חָצֵר, court, hamlet, from حَصَرَ, to surround, but a name of grass, from خَضِرَ, to be brilliantly or luxuriantly green. In the arid desert in the place of jackals (xliii. 20), where the jackal has its lair and suckles its young (Lam. iv. 3), grass springs up beside reed and rush; or perhaps better: grass springs up into reed and rush, shooting up with special force to an extraordinary height. רִבְצָהּ makes sense only with difficulty; even the correction רִבְצָם gives little help; a verb to חָצִיר is necessary; perhaps with Knobel we should read יִצְמַח.

Amid such nature-transforming wonders Jehovah's people

[1] But the genius of the Arabic joins to the root word سرب the meaning to move hither and thither, as the combination يَسْرُبُ السَّرَابُ shows; see Lane.

are delivered and brought back to Zion, vers. 8–10: "*And a highroad rises there and a way, and it shall be called the Holy Way; no impure man shall go on it, but to them it belongs; he that walks on the way—even simple ones err not. No lion shall be there, and the very fierce beast shall not come near; it shall not be found there; and the redeemed walk there. And the freed ones of Jehovah shall return and come to Zion with shouting, and eternal joy on their head; they lay hold on joy and gladness, and mourning and sighing flee away.* The impure of the heathen, or even of Israel, shall not walk on that holy way, but (ו of opposition) only the Church purified by the sufferings of exile and every one in union with it; הוּא לָמוֹ for them (these) it is, set up for them specially and designed only for them. What follows was scarcely written as it stands by the prophet; by violence to syntax it may also be translated: none can miss the way, not even (ו *etiam*, cf. xxxii. 7, וּבְדַבֵּר) foolish ones, *i.e.* here those disabled by disease. Perhaps לְעַמּוֹ should be read with Bredenkamp after Klostermann: it is for his people, which walks on the way, (or since הֹלֵךְ, not הַהֹלֵךְ, is perhaps to be read according to מתהלך, Gen. iii. 8): when it enters on the way. Moreover, the road is so high that no wild beast, even the most violent (פְּרִיץ חַיּוֹת, superlative combination, see on xxix. 19, not merely partitive, with Bredenkamp: no ravenous beast of the savage species), can leap up; none meets those walking there. These are they whom Jehovah has delivered or set free from slavery and suffering. Eternal joy hovers above their head; they lay hold of joy and gladness (cf. with xiii. 8), so that it never slips from them; and mourning and sighing flee away (יַשִּׂיגוּ וְנָסוּ), for which li. 11 with more elegant syntax has יַשִּׂיגוּן נָסוּ; see Driver, *Tenses*, p. 25, 2nd ed. The whole of ver. 10 is like a mosaic from li. 11, lxi. 7, li. 3. And what is said of the holy way is said also of the holy city in lii. 1, cf. lxii. 12, lxiii. 4. Here all and everything is a prelude in thought and language to the Deutero-Isaianic Book of Consolation for the exiles.

PART VII.—FULFILMENTS OF PROPHECY, AND PROPHECIES BELONGING TO THE SECOND HALF OF HEZEKIAH'S REIGN, CHAPS. XXXVI.-XXXIX.

To the first six parts a seventh is now appended. The six parts form three syzygies. Now in chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix. a historical part follows, which, retiring from the ideal distances of chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. into the historical realities of chap. xxxiii., begins with the statement that "at the conduit of the upper pool in the road of the fuller's field," where Ahaz preferred the help of Assyria to that of Jehovah, vii. 3, stands an embassy of the king of Assyria with a section of his army, xxxvi. 2, demanding in abusive terms the surrender of Jerusalem. As everywhere in the collection well-considered sequence and interconnection are evident, so here also we see designed and emphatic reciprocal references. But if it is certain that the collection consists of Isaianic and Deutero-Isaianic parts, this element of design is due to the redactor, for whose work of revision the last years of the exile-period are the earliest *terminus a quo;* and from the suggestive position of the histories in chap. xxxvi., especially from the unchronological yet intentional prefixing of the histories in chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii. to chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., no proof can be drawn for the composing of this historical section by Isaiah.

A favourable judgment would result, although not for the composition of the whole section in its present form by Isaiah, yet for the prophet's material participation in this section, if it could be proved that the author of the Book of Kings had it already before him in the Book of Isaiah, and borrowed it therefrom. The four histories have a parallel text in 2 Kings xviii. 13–20, xix., where they are repeated with the exception of Hezekiah's psalm of thanksgiving. We shall find that the text in the Book of Kings is in many passages the better and more authentic; cf. especially 2 Kings xx. 1–11 and Isa. xxxviii. But we must not conclude from this alone that the section has its original place there, and was thence transferred into the Book of Isaiah. In the relation of Jer. lii. to 2 Kings xxiv. 18–xxv., we have a proof that the text of a document may have been preserved more faithfully in the secondary place than in the original. For

two things are equally certain, that this section respecting King Zedekiah and the Chaldaean catastrophe originates with the author of the Book of Kings, whose style is formed on Deuteronomy, and also that in the Book of Jeremiah it is an appendix borrowed by an unknown hand from the Book of Kings. But the author of the Book of Kings completed his work in the midst of the exile, when, with the elevation of Jehoiachin, a star of hope dawned for the house of David, and then the Book of Isaiah was not yet in existence in its present final revised form. The section will therefore here necessarily be secondary; and yet the 2 + 2 histories in the Book of Kings have just that unchronological inverted position, which can only be explained as the work of the redactor of the Book of Isaiah. This also is one of the riddles in which the distinction between an Assyrian and Babylonian Isaiah involves us.

It is inconceivable that the author of the Book of Kings wrote the section; for, on the one hand, it points by the literalness of the prophetic discourses given to a written source; and, on the other, it lacks the Deuteronomic stamp by which the independent composition of that author is discernible. The occurrence also in it of the akoluthic formulae בימים ההם and בעת ההיא, as well as of the phrase לבב שָׁלֵם, is scarcely of importance. A portion of the section, wanting in the Book of Isaiah, 2 Kings xviii. 14–16, may with Driver be regarded as drawn from the annals (דברי הימים) of Hezekiah; but for the rest the section is written in prophetic, not annalistic style. Whoever once recognises these two modes of historical writing, can never again confound them. And it is written in a style so peculiarly prophetic, that (like, *e.g.*, the grand Elijah-histories opening so abruptly with 1 Kings xvii. 1) it must have sprung from a special prophetic source, which has nothing to do with other prophetico-historical parts of the Book of Kings. And why should not Isaiah be the author? Certainly it cannot have been written by Isaiah himself just in its present form (see on xxxvii., xxxviii.); but whatever in it can be set apart as non-Isaianic may be enlargements or even abbreviations which it underwent. Isaiah is also otherwise known to us as a historian, namely, as author of a complete history of the reign of Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 22,

and the prophetico-historical style of chaps. xxvi.–xxxix., with its noble, graceful, picturesque prose, comparable to the most glorious in works of Hebrew history, is worthy of Isaiah. Add to this, that elsewhere Isaiah has worked historical accounts into his prophecy (chap. vii. f., chap. xx.), speaking therein of himself now in the first person (vi. 1, viii. 1–4), now in the third (vii. 3 ff., chap. xx.), as in chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix., and also that vii. 3 and xxxvi. 2 betray one and the same narrator. The unchronological arrangement also is in favour of Isaiah; for, although he is not the author of chaps. xl.–lxvi, he knew that a Babylonian exile awaited the kingdom of Judah after it had escaped the Assyrian one. The occurrences of chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii., later in time, come first, in order to form a bridge to the impending Babylonian period of judgment. The author of the Book of Kings has the four histories in the same inverted order as the Book of Isaiah, and even the statement of time resting on misunderstanding, xxxvi. 1; the original place, therefore, of the section is not the Book of Kings, as might be supposed, but the Book of Isaiah.

A.—*First Attempt of Assyria to compel the Surrender of Jerusalem*, chaps xxxvi.–xxxvii. 7.

Marcus von Niebuhr, in his *Gesch. Assurs u. Babels*, p. 164, says: "Why should not Hezekiah have revolted from Assyria directly he mounted the throne? He had a reason for doing so, which other kings had not; for one who held his kingdom as a fief from his God, obedience to a worldly king was sin." But this assumption, which underlies the tempting question about tribute-money put to Jesus, was not Isaiah's view, as is evident from chaps. xxviii.–xxxii., and the revolt of Hezekiah cannot have taken place in his sixth year. For Sargon, who succeeded Shalmanassar in the year 722 B.C., the year of Samaria's overthrow, undertook nothing against Judah; the one passage of the Nimrud-inscription, in which he calls himself *mušakniš Ya'ûdu*, rests, as we think with Hugo Winkler, on a confounding of Judah and Israel. Only when Sargon had been slain, and his son Sennacherib ascended the throne in the year 705, did the subject lands rise in revolt—first, Chaldea, where again a Marduk-abal-iddina appeared and

put himself at the head of the movement, then the nationalities in the east, and in the same way those in the west; Sidon and Ekron refused the tribute; the Ekronites, as the accounts of Sennacherib's wars found in two parallel texts relate, sent the King Padi, whom Sargon had set up to King Hezekiah, who did not put him to death indeed, but imprisoned him. The Western coalition against Assyria, in which Hezekiah seems to have taken a leading part, was strengthened by alliance with Egypt and Miluchi (Ethiopia); but Sennacherib beat the allies at Elteke (in the territory of Dan), subjugated Elteke and Timnath, chastised Ekron, brought back his dethroned vassal Padi from Jerusalem to Ekron, and now prepared thoroughly to punish Hezekiah, who had not submitted to his yoke (*ša lâ iknušu ana nîrija*). This third campaign of Sennacherib against Palestine (*mât Ḫatti*) fell in the year 701, the fifth of his reign, and so in no case in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. If the latter reigned twenty-nine years (2 Kings xviii. 2), what is related in chap. xxxix. (Hezekiah's sickness and the addition of fifteen years to his life) falls into the midst of his reign, and the same also of the Babylonian embassy ostensibly sent to congratulate him on his recovery, chap. xxxix.; and since the two pairs of histories, chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii. and chaps. xxxviii. and xxxix. form a *hysteron proteron*, it is more than probable that the statement of time, ויהי בארבע עשרה שנה למלך חזקיהו, belongs originally to the two latter histories, and has slipped from this its original place; the akoluthic formulae, בימים ההם and בעת ההיא, are first inserted after the statement of time in xxxvi. 1 has become the framework of all four histories. Accepting this view, we need not assume a copyist's error: 14 for 29 (Oppert, *Sargonides*, p. 10), or for 27 (G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, ii. 434), or even for 24 (Bredenkamp), but only a reviser's error occasioned by the turning round of the 2 + 2 histories. Even Aug. Köhler (*Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1814, pp. 95–98), Nägelsbach, v. Orelli, Strack (*Handbuch d. theol. Wiss.* i. p. 331 f.), are of opinion that what is related in chaps. xxxviii., xxxix. really falls into the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, but not what is related in chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii. Differently Wellhausen (*Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* xx. 630), Ed. Meyer (*Gesch.* i. 433), Kamphausen (*Chron.* p. 28), Guthe

(*Zukunftsbild*, p. 37), Stade (*Gesch.* i. 606 f.), who take Hezekiah's fourteenth year as the year of Sennacherib's campaign, and accordingly put the beginning of Hezekiah's reign in 715, so that the fall of Samaria belongs to the reign of Ahaz instead of the sixth year of Hezekiah. But that Samaria did not fall in the reign of Ahaz seems to us proved by Micah i. 1–7, Isa. xxviii. 1–4, to say nothing of other reasons against (see Strack, as above, p. 332).

The position which we see Sennacherib taking between Egypt, Philistia, and Jerusalem is characteristic of the occasion and aim of his campaign, xxxvi. 1 (=2 Kings xviii. 13–16):[1] "*And it came to pass in the* [K. *and in the*] *fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, went up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them.*" [K. adds: "*Then Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria, to Lachish, saying: I have sinned, withdraw from me again; what thou layest on me I will raise. And the king of Assyria laid on Hezekiah, the king of Judah, three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave up all the silver found in the house of Jehovah, and in the treasures of the king's house. At the same time Hezekiah mutilated the doors of the temple of Jehovah, and the pillars which Hezekiah, king of Judah, had overlaid with gold, and gave it to the king of Assyria.*"] This long addition, differentiated at once by the חזקיה appearing here instead of חזקיהו, although important for Isa. xxxiii. 7, is still probably merely an annalistic interpolation.

What follows in Isaiah does not rightly fit on to this addition, and therefore does not presuppose it, ver. 2=2 Kings xviii. 17: "*Then the king of Assyria sent* [K. *the Tartan and the Rab-saris*] *Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem to King Hezekiah with a great army; and he stood* [K. *to King Hez with a great army to Jerusalem, and they went up and came to Jerusalem, and they went up and came and stood*] *at the conduit of the upper pool, in the road of the fuller's field.*" Whilst the repeated "and they went up and came" in K. is a tautology, the names "the Tartan and the Rabsaris" seem to have fallen out of the Isaianic text, since in xxxvii. 6, 24 a

[1] We shall exhibit the variants of the text 2 Kings xviii. 13 ff. so far as possible in the translation: K. = Book of Kings.

plurality of messengers is assumed. The accenting in 2 Kings xviii. 17 by means of *Legarmeh* puts Tartan and Rabsaris apart, connecting only Rabshakeh more closely with מלכיש (see Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 133). The three names are official names: the Tartan, *i.e.* chief commander (see on xx. 1); the chief eunuch (see the picture in Rawlinson, ii. 118); and the prince, not: the chief butler, for רַבְשָׁקֵה (רַבְשָׁקֵה) refers to the Assyrian *rab-šakê* (the great man, *i.e.* the greatest of the officers), and is a military title.[1] The situation of Lachish is marked by the present ruin *Um Lakis*, south-west of *Bet-'Gibrîn* (Eleutheropolis) in the Shephelah.

The ambassadors with the *ultima ratio* of a strong military force (חֵיל כָּבֵד, a military force of the genus imposing = a numerous, cf. xxviii. 4, צִיצַת נֹבֵל, and ver. 9 below, פַּחַת אחד) come from the south-west, on which account they halt on the west side of Jerusalem (see on vii. 3, xxii. 8–11), whither now Hezekiah's trusty servants betake themselves, ver. 3: [K. "*And they called to the king*], *and there went out to him* [K. *to them*] *Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, the house-minister, and Joah, son of Asaph, the annalist.*" Respecting the office of major-domo, filled now by Eliakim instead of Shebna (שֶׁבְנָא, K. twice שֶׁבְנָה), see xxii. 15 ff.; respecting that of סֹפֵר and מַזְכִּיר, see vol. i. p. 7.

Rabshakeh's message, vers. 4–10: "*Then said Rabshakeh to them: Say ye, I pray, to Hezekiah: Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria: What sort of confidence is this which thou hast formed? I say:* [K. *thou sayest:*] *counsel and strength for war is empty talk; now then, in whom dost thou trust that thou rebellest against me?* [K. *now*] *behold, thou trustest* [K. לְּךָ] *in this cracked reed, in Egypt, on which one relies, and it goes into his hand and pierces it; so is Pharaoh to all who trust in him. And if thou sayest* [K. *ye say*] *to me: In Jehovah our God we trust, is it not he, whose high places and altars Hezekiah took away, and said to Judah and Jerusalem: Before this altar ye shall worship* [K. *in Jerusalem*]*? And now make a wager with my lord,* [K. *with*] *the king of Assyria. I will hand over to thee two thousand horses, if thou canst put for thyself horsemen thereon. And how couldst thou*

[1] On the MS. writing of this and other Assyrian names of dignitaries, see my work, *Complutensische Varianten zum A. T. Texte* (1878), p. 15 ff.

repulse the attack of a single satrap among the least of the servants of my lord? So thou hast put thy confidence in Egypt, as regards chariots and horsemen! And [K. omits] *now have I come up without Jehovah against this land to destroy it* [K. *this place, to destroy it*]? *Jehovah said to me: Go up to* [K. *against*] *this land and destroy it."* The Chronicler has a piece of this discourse of Rabshakeh, 2 Chron. xxxii. 10–12. As the prophetic discourses in the Book of Kings have a Deuteronomic sound, and those in the Chronicler a chronicle-like sound, so the discourse of Rabshakeh, along with what follows, sounds Isaianic. The "great king," Assyrian *šarru rabû*, is also the royal title, standing after the names of Sargon and Sennacherib on the monuments (cf. x. 8). Neither here nor afterwards is Hezekiah deemed worthy of the title of king. The reading אָמַרְתָּ, ver. 5, Wellhausen explains (Bleek, p. 257): Thinkest thou, mere lip-words are counsel and strength for war, *i.e.* words are enough to carry on war? But it is more natural to take דבר שפתים objectively as Rabshakeh's opinion, and to read אמרתי (cf. xxxviii. 11; Ps. xxxi. 15): he declares Hezeziah's resolution and strength (עֵצָה וּגְבוּרָה, joined together as in xi. 2) for war to be empty talk ("lip-words," as in Prov. xiv. 23). Or, let the case be otherwise. Now, then (עַתָּה), on what does he rely? On Egypt, which, so far from being able to help its ally, on the contrary injures him by leaving him in the lurch. The figure of a reed is borrowed by Ezekiel, xxix. 6 f.; it suits Egypt, which is rich in reeds and rushes (xix. 6), and is Isaianic in sound (cf. as to the expression, xlii. 3, and as to the matter, xxx. 5, etc.). רָצוּץ signifies not fragile (Luzzatto, *quella fragil canna*), but cracked, namely in consequence of the suzerainty of Ethiopia having been wrested from the native royal house (chap. xviii.), and the defeats suffered from Sargon (chap. xx.). The construction *cui quis innititur et intrat* is irregular for *cui si quis.* In ver. 7 the reading תֹאמְרוּן is commended by the fact that the sentence is not continued by הֵסִירֹתָ. The fact that Hezekiah, by removing the other places of worship, 2 Kings xviii. 4, has limited the worship of Jehovah to Jerusalem, is brought against him in thoroughly heathen and (considering the hankering after separate places of worship always existing among the people) crafty fashion. In ver. 8 f. he reminds

him, in terms of lofty scorn, of his impotence in face of Assyria, which was dreaded because of its numberless cavalry and war-chariots. The combination הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר is genitival, like הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל, Gen. xxxi. 13 (see on this Gesen. § 127. 4*a*). הִתְעָרֶב נָא refers, not to the following offer and response: enter into alliance (Luzzatto, *associati*), but is used like the Homeric *μιγῆναι*, yet not in the sense of making war, but a wager (synon. in the Talmud הִמְרָה, to wager, *e.g. Shabbath* 31*a*); bet and pledge (Heb. עֵרָבוֹן, cf. Latin *vadari*) are kindred notions. פֶּחָה (for פַּחָה) occurs also in Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23 as an Assyrian title, and is common in the Assyrian inscriptions;[1] פחת (Assyr. *paḫâtu, piḫâtu*) is an Assyrio-Semitic word, although its derivation is not yet certainly known. אַחַד (two constructs, *praefecti unitatis = unius*, like משפט אחד, אֲרוֹן אחד, Lev. xxiv. 22; 2 Kings xii. 10; 2 Chron. xxiv. 8) forms the logical *regens* of the following *servorum domini mei minimorum*, and הֵשִׁיב פְּנֵי means here to repel, not a petitioner, but an assailant (xxviii. 6). The *imperf. consec.* draws an inference: Hezekiah can effect nothing alone, so he trusts in Egypt to furnish him with chariots and horses. In ver. 10 the prophetic thought that Assyria is Jehovah's instrument (x. 5 and often) appears in the Assyrian's own mouth. This is conceivable, but the Isaianic colouring is undeniable.

The last words, in which the Assyrian boasts of having Jehovah on his side, touch Hezekiah's messenger most keenly, especially because of the people present, ver. 11: "*Then said Eliakim* [K. *son of Hilkiah*] *and Shebna and Joah to Rabshakeh: Speak now to thy servants in Aramaean, for we understand it, and speak not to* [K. *with*] *us in Jewish in the ears of the people that are on the wall.*" They spoke יְהוּדִית, *i.e.* the vernacular of the kingdom of Judah; the kingdom of Israel no longer existed, and the language of the entire Israelitish people might therefore now be called Judaean (Jewish), as in Neh. xiii. 24. The Aramaean אֲרָמִית, or, according to another reading, אֲרַמִּית, seems then, as later (Ezra iv. 7), to have been the language of

[1] The Turkish پاشا (Arabic باشا) has nothing at all to do with the word, although, passing from Turkish into Arabic, it forms the plur. *bâshavât*, agreeing with פַּחוֹת, פַּחֲוֹת (cf. *aghavât*, from Turkish *agha*), the Persian پادشاه, *pâdshâh* (*pâdishâh*).

communication in the east Asiatic empire with the peoples west of the Tigris. On this account educated Jews in the service of the State understood and could speak it; on the other hand, the Assyrian tongue was unintelligible to the Jews, xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19. The list of officers, found in Asurbanipal's library, distinguishes (2 R. xxxi. 64, 65*b*) two *a-ba* or writers (of the royal secretariat), an *a-ba Aššûr-a-a*, and an *a-ba Ar-ma-a-a*.

The harsh answer, ver. 12: "*Then said Rabshakeh* [K. *to them*]: *Has my lord sent me to* [K. הַעַל] *thy lord and to thee, and not rather to* [both texts עַל] *the men who are sitting on the wall, that they may eat their own dung and drink their own urine along with you?*" Namely, by their rulers exposing them to the terrible privations of a siege. In both texts the *Kerî* substitutes the more decent expression: צוֹאָתָם (in Biblical usage צוֹאָה, filth, and צֵאָה, dung, the latter from יָצָא, the former from a secondary צָאָה, *spurcare, spurcum esse, DMZ.* xxv. 668), instead of חראיהם [K. חריהם], which is not to be read חַרְאֵיהֶם, but חֲרָאֵיהֶם (according to the other reading, חֲרָיֵיהֶם, or even in the singular, חֲרֵיהֶם, Num. xxxi. 19; Amos ix. 14), for the noun runs חֲרִי (whence the plural חֲרָיִים or חֲרָאִים, like פְּתָיִים or פְּתָאִים), as shown by 2 Kings vi. 25 (חֲרֵי יוֹנִים, doves' dung, Arab. خرء الحمام; cf. Talm. חַרְיָא דְעִזֵּי, goats' dung). In the same way the *Kerî* puts מֵימֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם (although elsewhere only drinking water is called מֵימֵי, and urine מֵי רַגְלַיִם, which, however, is here described as to be drunk) in the place of שׁיניהם, *i.e.* שֵׁינֵיהֶם from שַׁיִן (שֵׁין), Aramaic שֵׁינָא, *tʼjânâ* (root: תק שק, and in a secondary formation שָׁתַן, *Hiph.* הִשְׁתִּין, formed by a reflexive).[1]

After Rabshakeh has so insolently rejected the request of Hezekiah's messengers, he turns in spite of them to the people, vers. 13–20: "*Then Rabshakeh came near and cried with a loud voice in Jewish* [K. *and spake*], *and said: Hear the words* [K. *the word*] *of the great king, the king of Assyria! Thus says the king: Let not Hezekiah deceive you* [יַשִּׁא, K. יַשִּׁיא], *for he is not able to deliver you* [K. *out of his hand*]. *And let*

[1] Another secondary formation from مثانة the bladder, is مثن, to injure in the bladder, *DMZ.* xxv. 685.

not Hezekiah feed you with hope in Jehovah, saying: Jehovah will deliver, yea, deliver us; this city [הָעִיר, K. אֶת־הָעִיר] *shall not* [K. *and not*] *be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. Hearken not to Hezekiah, for thus says the king* [הַמֶּלֶךְ, K. מֶלֶךְ] *of Assyria: Enter into a relation of mutual goodwill with me, and come out to me, and enjoy every one his own vine and his own fig-tree, and drink every one the water of his own cistern, until I come and take you away into a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread-corn and vineyards* [K. *a land full of noble olive trees and honey; and live and die not, and hearken not to Hezekiah*]; *lest Hezekiah befool you* [K. *for he befools you*], *saying: Jehovah will deliver us! Have the gods of the nations delivered* [K. *really delivered*] *every one his own land, out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad, where the gods of Sepharvaim* [K. adds *Hena'* and *'Ivvah*]? *And how much less* [וְכִי, K. כִּי] *have they delivered that Samaria out of my hand! Who were they among all the gods of these* [K. *the*] *lands, who delivered their land out of my hand? How much less will Jehovah deliver Jerusalem out of my hand!"* The Chronicler has also this continuation of Rabshakeh's address in part (2 Chron. xxxii. 13–15), but blending the Assyrian self-glorying at Rabshakeh's first and second mission together; the encouragement of the people by alluding to the assistance of Jehovah (xxxii. 6–8) precedes in his account this first Isaianic history, and forms the conclusion of the preparations described for the war with Assyria. Rabshakeh now draws nearer to the wall, and harangues the people. הִשִּׂיא, here with the dative (to raise treacherous hope, cf. הִשָּׁה לְ, to cause to forget, Job xi. 6, with the same in xxxix. 17); on the other hand, with the accus. in xxxvii. 10; 2 Chron. xxxii. 15. The מִיָּדוֹ added in K. is a mistake for מִיָּדִי in ver. 20, which is added still oftener by the Chronicler. The reading אֶת־הָעִיר with תִּנָּתֵן is incorrect; it would require יִנָּתֵן, Gesen. § 121. 1. To make a בְּרָכָה with any one = to enter into a relation of blessing, *i.e.* a relation of mutual goodwill, probably a current phrase, which, however, is only found here. יָצָא, used of besieged persons = to surrender oneself, *e.g.* 1 Sam. xi. 3. If they do this they shall remain in quiet possession and enjoyment until the Assyrian fetches them away (after the Egyptian

campaign), and removes them to a land which he paints to them in the most alluring colours in order to reconcile them to the inevitable deportation. Whether the enlarged description in K. is original is questionable, since even הֵנַע וְעִוָּה there, xviii. 34 (LXX. *Ἀνὰ καὶ Ἀβά*), seems tacked on from Isa. xxxvii. 13. Respecting חֲמָת, حماة, and אַרְפָּד, ارفاد (the former still a wealthy city, the latter a large village north of Aleppo), see x. 9. Arvad = עֲרָד, is not to be confounded with Arpad. סְפַרְוַיִם (perhaps a dual form only in appearance, home of the סְפַרְוִים, 2 Kings xvii. 31) is Sippar, whose ruined site was discovered by Rassam along with the archives of the old sun-temple in the hill range *Abu Habba*, 1880–81, where precious monumental treasures have also been obtained since; it lay therefore half-way between Bagdad and Babylon, now a long way from the Euphrates, but formerly close to its banks (see Friedr. Delitzsch in Mürdter's *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, 1882, pp. 273–5). It is the same as the sun-city *Σίππαρα*, in which Xisuthros hid the sacred books before the great flood. The name *Sapherain* (*Saperazin*) in Chorasan, near Nishapur, is accidentally similar in sound (*DMZ.* viii. 22). פֶּן, ver. 18, intimates warning (as after הִשָּׁמְרוּ לָכֶם), and both וְכִי and כִּי, ver. 19 f., open an exclamatory sentence after a negative interrogatory one: And that they should save! that Jehovah should save! = how much less (cf. אַף־כִּי, 2 Chron. xxxii. 15) have they saved, will he save, Ewald, § 354*c*. In vers. 18–20, Rabshakeh's address resembles Isa. x. 8–11. The way in which he reviles the gods of the heathen, of Samaria, and at last the God of Jerusalem, corresponds to the prophecy there. For the rest, the king of Assyria as such is speaking; and it is needless to suppose that Sennacherib's campaign is confounded unhistorically with former ones of Sargon.

The effect of Rabshakeh's speech, vers. 21, 22: "*And they held their peace* [K. *And they, the people, held their peace*], *and answered him not a word; for it was the king's command, saying: Ye shall not answer him. And there came Eliakim, son of Hilkiah* [K. חִלְקִיָּהוּ], *the house-minister, and Shebna, the secretary, and Joah, son of Asaph, the annalist, to Hezekiah with rent garments, and recounted to him the words of Rabshakeh.*" The reading (וְהֶחֱרִישׁוּ הָעָם) is acceptable only on superficial consideration. Since the Assyrians wished to

speak to the king (2 Kings xviii. 18), who sent to them three men as his representatives, the command merely to hear and give no reply, refers only to the latter (who also had actually already made the state of things worse by the one remark in reference to the language), and the Isaianic text has correctly וַיַּחֲרִישׁוּ. The three men are silent, because Hezekiah had enjoined silence on them; and regarding themselves as dismissed by Rabshakeh's turning from them to the people, they hastened to the king, rending their clothes in anger and grief at the indignity they had suffered.

Attitude of the king and mission to Isaiah, xxxvii. 1–4 = 2 Kings xix. 1–4: "*And it came to pass, when King Hezekiah had heard, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with mourning-linen, and went into the house of Jehovah. And he sent Eliakim, the house-minister, and Shebna* [K. omits אֵת], *the secretary, and the elders of the priests, covered with mourning-linen, to Isaiah, son of Amoz the prophet* [K. inaptly: *to the prophet, son of Amoz*]. *And they said to him: This day is a day of trouble and chastisement and blasphemy, for children are come to the matrix, and there is no strength to bring forth. Perhaps Jehovah thy God will hear the words* [K. *all the words*] *of Rabshakeh, with which the king of Assyria, his lord, has sent to revile the living God, and he will punish for the words which he has heard—Jehovah thy God; and thou wilt make intercession for the remnant which still exists.*" The distinguished embassy testifies to the fame of the prophet, and its composition harmonizes with its aim of obtaining a consolatory message for king and people. In the form of the commission again we see the flowing style of Isaiah. תּוֹכֵחָה, as synonym of מוּסָר; נָקָם is used as in Hos. v. 9; נְאָצָה (from the *Kal* נָאַץ), in accordance with i. 4, v. 24, lii. 5, like נֶאָצָה (from the *Piel* נִאֵץ), Neh. ix. 18, 26 (reviling = reviling God, blasphemy). The figure of strength insufficient for bringing forth the child is the same as in lvi. 9. מַשְׁבֵּר (from שָׁבַר, synon. פָּרַץ, Gen. xxxviii. 29) means here not breaking forth (Luzzatto, *punto di dover nascere*), nor yet the delivery-stool (Targ.), like מַשְׁבֵּר שֶׁל־חַיָּה, the delivering-stool of the midwife (*Kelim* xxiii. 4); but, since the children (plur. of the genus) are the subject, not the mother: the matrix or mouth of the womb, as in Hos. xiii. 13: "He (Ephraim) is a foolish child;

when it is time, does he not stop in the children's passage (מִשְׁבַּר בָּנִים)?" *i.e.* the place which the child must pass, not only with its head, but also, for which the strength of the pains often does not suffice, with its shoulders and whole body. The position of the State resembles such hopeless birth-pangs, which, the matrix not opening sufficiently, threaten mother and offspring with death. לֵדָה, like דֵּעָה, xi. 9. The timid question, scarcely daring to hope, begins with אוּלַי; the following imperf. continues in the perf., which is governed by it: and he (Targ. Syr.: Jehovah) will punish for the words,—or, as we have punctuated above: he will punish for the (on account of the) words which he has heard—Jehovah thy God (הוֹכִיחַ, used of judicial decision, as generally also in ii. 4, xi. 4), and thou wilt lift up (*i.e.* begin, as in xiv. 4) prayer. "He will hear," as Judge and Deliverer; "He has heard," as the omnipresent One. The expression לְחָרֵף אֱלֹהִים חַי sounds like a comparison of Rabshakeh to Goliath, 1 Sam. xvii. 26, 36. The "existing remnant" is Jerusalem not yet in the enemy's hand; cf. i. 8 f. Deliverance of a remnant is a leading note in Isaiah's prophecy.

But the prophecy is not fulfilled, unless the grace which fulfils it is met with repentance and faith. Therefore the weak faith of Hezekiah seeks the intercession of the prophet, whose personal relation to God seems here to be nearer than the king's, and even the priest's. Isaiah's answer, vers. 5–7: "*And the servants of King Hezekiah came to Isaiah. And Isaiah said to them* [אֲלֵיהֶם, K. לָהֶם]*: Speak thus to your lord: Thus says Jehovah: Fear not their words, which thou hast heard, with which the minions of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me! Behold, I will bring a spirit upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and return to his own land* [אֶל־אַרְצוֹ, K. לְ]*; and I cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.*" Without necessity Luzzatto takes וַיֹּאמְרוּ, ver. 3, in the modal sense of what they were to do: *e dovenano dirgli.* The position as to arrangement is rather this: ver. 5 goes back and states the ground of ver. 6 (cf. Jonah ii. 4 f.); put in connected form, the passage would run: and when they, saying this, had come to him, he said to them. נַעֲרֵי we have rendered "minions" (*Knappen*), after Esth. ii. 2; it is a contemptuous expression for עַבְדֵי. The God-

given spirit is here by itself alone, as in the combinations, xix. 14, xxviii. 6, xxix. 10, and often, a higher power of a spiritual nature, controlling thought and action.

B.—*Second attempt of Assyria to compel the Surrender of Jerusalem, and miraculous Deliverance*, chap. xxxvii. 8 ff.

Rabshakeh, who is now named alone in both texts as the chief actor, returns to Sennacherib, who sees himself compelled to make another attempt to make sure of Jerusalem, as a position of great strength and decisive importance, vers. 8, 9: "*Thereupon Rabshakeh returned and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah, for he had heard that he had withdrawn from Lachish. And he heard say respecting* [עַל, K. אל, *as regards*] *Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia:* [K. *Behold*] *He is gone forth to fight with thee, and heard and sent* [K. *and repeated and sent*] *messengers to Hezekiah, saying.*" תִּרְהָקָה (with tone on penultima) is Ταρακός (Ταρκός) of Manetho, Assyr. *Tarḳû*, the third ruler of the twenty-fifth (Ethiopian) dynasty. לִבְנָה, lying, according to Onom. *in regione Eleutheropolitana* (the district of *Bêt 'Gibrin*), has not yet been discovered; the only thing in favour of the usual identification with *Tell-eṣ-Ṣâfia* (Hill of the Pure) is the similar meaning of the names. The וַיִּשְׁמַע, repeated in the Isaianic text, goes back and gives the ground of what follows: *quo quidem audito misit;* K. has the more correct וַיָּשָׁב.

The message, vers. 10–13: "*Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah, the king of Judah, saying: Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying: Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what* [K. *that which*] *the kings of Assyria have done to all lands in putting them under the ban; and thou, shouldst thou be delivered? Did the gods of the nations, whom my fathers utterly destroyed* [הִשְׁחִיתוּ, K. שִׁחֲתוּ], *deliver them,—Gozan and Haran, and Rezeph and the Bene-Eden, who are in Telassar? Where is* [K. *Where is he*] *the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of Ir-Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?*" Although אֶרֶץ is feminine, אוֹתָם (K. אֹתָם), like לְהַחֲרִימָם (in keeping with the deficiency of the Hebrew in elaborate distinctions of gender), points back

to the countries, and similarly אֲשֶׁר, *quas pessumdederunt.* It deserves notice that Sennacherib here ascribes to his fathers (Sargon and the preceding kings of the Derketade dynasty whom Sargon overthrew), what in Rabshakeh's first mission he ascribes to himself. גּוֹזָן is not زوزان, which is described by the Arabian geographers as a district of outer Armenia, lying on the *Châbûr;* the vowel-change is possible, but not favourable to the identification; the inscriptions know a city *Guzana,* which is mentioned in connection with Nisibis (*Naṣibina*), and may be sought between the Tigris and the Euphrates (*Paradies,* p. 184 f.; cf. Schrader in Riehm's *HWB,* under Gosan). חָרָן is the *Ḫarrânu* of inscriptions, well known from the patriarchal history (Gen. xi. 31), signifying way and road in Assyrian. רֶצֶף is *Ρησάφα* of Ptol. v. 18. 6, below Thapsacus, Assyr. *Raṣappa,* now *Ruṣâpha,* in the Euphrates valley *ez-Zôr,* between the Euphrates and *Tadmor* (Palmyra). תְּלַשָּׂר (K. תְּלַאשָּׂר), with which Syr. אֶלָּסָר (Gen. xiv. 1), *i.e.* Artemita (Artamita), is confounded by Targ. ii., iii., according to Schrader is the *Til-A-šur-ri* of inscriptions ("to Merodach, who has his dwelling at T."), perhaps one with *Thelser* of the *Tab. Peuting* (תְּלַאסָּר, תְּלַסַּר of the Targums), on the eastern side of the Tigris; the בְּנֵי־עֶדֶן are one with the Syrian tribe and district *Bît-Adini,* in the far west of Mesopotamia, on both banks of the Euphrates; עֶדֶן, of Ezek. xxvii. 23 (*Paradies,* pp. 4, 98, 184). With Hamath and Arpad the enumeration of martial deeds makes a north-west sweep, in order next, with Sepharvaim (the sun-city Sippar), to return to the boundaries of southern Mesopotamia and Babylon. With מֶלֶךְ לָעִיר, cf. Josh. xii. 18, Ezra v. 11, along with Gen. xxxvi. 31; עִיר סְפַרְוָיִם is like עִיר נָחָשׁ, עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ, etc. The words הֵנַע וְעִוָּה, not taken as proper names (Targ. Symm.), would mean: "he has removed and overthrown," for which, however, we should expect הֵנִיעַ וְעִוָּה or הֵנִיעֹתִי וְעִוֵּיתִי; they are perhaps names of cities no longer discoverable; *Hena* is scarcely the well-known عانة, *'Αναθώ,* on the Euphrates (Gesen., v. Niebuhr, Keil *et al.*); *Ivvah* sounds like the name of the home of the עַוִּים, who, according to 2 Kings xvii. 31, were settled on ground once belonging to the kingdom of Israel.

This insolent message, declaring the God of Israel to be powerless, the messengers of Sennacherib brought in writing, ver. 14: "*And Hezekiah took the letter from the hand of the messengers and read it* [K. *read them*], *and went up to the house of Jehovah; and Hezekiah spread it before Jehovah.*" *Leaves* סְפָרִים = letter (not letter *in duplo*), like *litterae* (cf. γράμματα, piece of writing); וַיִּקְרָאֵהוּ (changed by K. into ־ֵם) applies to the collective idea. Thenius calls this spreading a naive act, and Gesenius even refers to the Buddhist prayer-machines; but it is prayer without words, an act of prayer, which then passes into audible prayer, vers. 15–20: "*And Hezekiah prayed to* [K. *before*] *Jehovah, saying:* [K. *and said:*] *Jehovah of hosts* (K. omits *of hosts*), *God of Israel, enthroned on the cherubim, thou, yea thou art God alone of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou, thou hast made the heavens and the earth. Incline, Jehovah, thine ear and hear* [וּשְׁמָע, variant, in both texts וּשֲׁמָע]*! Open, Jehovah, thine eyes and see* [K. with י of the plur.], *and hear the* [K. *all the*] *words of Sennacherib, which he hath sent* [K. *with which he has sent him, i.e.* Rabshakeh] *to revile the living God! Truly, Jehovah, the kings of Assyria have laid waste all lands and their land* [K. *the nations and their land*], *and have put their gods* [וְנָתֹן, K. וְנָתְנוּ] *into the fire, for they were no gods, merely the work of men's hands, wood and stone; so they destroyed them. And now, Jehovah our God, save us* [K. adds *pray*] *from his hand; and let all the kingdoms of the earth know that thou, Jehovah, alone art he* [K. *Jehovah Elohim*]." Respecting יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים (cherubim-enthroned, *i.e.* enthroned on cherubim), see Ps. xviii. 11, lxxx. 2. הוּא in אַתָּה־הוּא is an emphatic resumption, and so a strengthening of the subject, as in xliii. 25, li. 12; 2 Sam. vii. 28; Jer. xlix. 12; Ps. xliv. 5; Neh. ix. 6 f.; Ezra v. 11: *tu ille* (not *tu es ille*, Gesen. § 135. 1) = *tu, nullus alius;* passages like xli. 4, where הוּא is predicate, are different. Respecting the *Pasek* after יהוה, see Baer, *Accentuationsystem*, i. 6. עֵינְךָ is not sing. (like Ps. xxxii. 8, עֵינִי, where LXX. has עֵינַי), but defective plur., as we expect after פְּקַח. The reading שְׁלָחוֹ in K. (which cannot apply to דִּבְרֵי, but only to the bringers of the written message) is to be rejected. And whereas again the reading וְנָתֹן of the Isaianic text (cf. Gen. xli. 3; Gesen. § 113.

4*a*) deserves the preference, אֶת־כָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת וְאֶת־אַרְצָם, compared with אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם וְאֶת־אַרְצָם, is a senseless tautology, perhaps occasioned by the circumstance that after החריב the lands seemed more natural as object than the nations (cf. however, lx. 12). The line of thought is this: Truly the Assyrians destroyed nations and their gods, because these gods were men's works; therefore help us, Jehovah, that the world may know that Thou alone art He, namely God, Elohim, as K. adds, although, according to the accents, יהוה אלהים go together, as in the Books of Samuel, Chronicles, and more often in the mouth of David (see *Symbolae in Psalmos*, p. 15 s.).

The prophet's answer, vers. 21, 22*a*: "*And Isaiah, the son of Amoz, sent to Hezekiah, saying: Thus says Jehovah the God of Israel: What thou hast prayed to me in regard to Sennacherib, the king of Assyria:* [K. adds *I have heard*:] *This is the oracle which Jehovah utters respecting him.*" He sent, *i.e.* sent word, namely, by one of his disciples (לִמּוּדִים, viii. 16). According to the Isaianic text, אֲשֶׁר would begin the protasis to זֶה הַדָּבָר (concerning that which . . . this is the oracle); or, since ו *apod.* is wanting, would begin a relative sentence to what precedes (I to whom). Both views are awkward. שָׁמַעְתִּי, as LXX. Syriac, also read here in Isaiah, cannot be dispensed with.

The Isaianic prophecy now following is among the grandest in all respects we have. It moves in strophe-like strides on the *cothurnus* of the Deborah-style, vers. 22*b*, 23: "*Despises thee, mocks thee—the virgin-daughter of Zion; shakes the head after thee—the daughters of Jerusalem. Whom hast thou reviled and blasphemed, and respecting whom talked loftily* [הרימותה, K. הרימוֹת], *that thou hast lifted up thine eyes on high? Against* [אֶל, K. עַל] *the Holy One of Israel.* The predicate precedes in the masculine (22*b*), at first being still without more precise definition, for בָּזָה has *Kadma* on *ult.*, and is therefore either *part. fem.* of בּז, against which is the parallel לָעֲגָה, or 3 *pers. masc.* of the corresponding verb ל״ה. Zion is called virgin in reference to the shame threatening her without effect, xxiii. 12; בְּתוּלַת בַּת, since the ideas are subordinated to one another in the genitive instead of being co-ordinated in apposition, is = הַבְּתוּלָה בַּת: the virgin-daughter of Zion. With contented and enhanced self-consciousness she shakes her head after

him as he departs in disgrace and shame; and, moving it backwards and forwards, says by the gesture that it must be so and could not be otherwise, Jer. xviii. 6; Lam. ii. 15 f. The accentuation mistakes question and answer, taking אל־קדוש ישׂראל into what is to be uttered in interrogative tone: "and thou turnest thine eyes on high against the Holy One of Israel." But the question reaches only to עיניך, and אל־קדוש ישׂראל is the answer. The reviled one is the God of Israel, whose pure holiness bursts into a consuming fire against all who pollute it, x. 17. The *imperf. consec.* וַתִּשָּׂא is substantially the same as in li. 12 f., and מָרוֹם as in xl. 26.

Second turn, ver. 24: "*By thy servants* [K. *thy messengers*] *thou hast reviled the Lord, in saying: With the multitude* [K. *Chethîb* ברכב] *of my chariots I have ascended the height of the mountains, the heart of Lebanon, and will cut down the lofty growth of its cedars, the pick* [מִבְחַר, K. מִבְחוֹר] *of its cypresses, and will penetrate* [K. *and shall penetrate*] *to the top* [K. *the resting-place*] *of its farthest point, the grove of its orchard.*" The other text seems here generally preferable. Whether מַלְאָכֶיךָ (after vers. 9, 14) or עֲבָדֶיךָ (namely Rabshakeh, Tartan, and Rabsaris, the chiefs of Sennacherib's first mission) is to be preferred, is doubtful; in like manner, whether ברכב רכבי is a copyist's error or a superlative phrase: with chariots of my chariots, *i.e.* my countless chariots; thirdly, whether Isaiah wrote מִבְחוֹר; in iv. 6 he uses מִסְתּוֹר for special reasons; but such obscure forms belong elsewhere to the Book of Kings, with its north-Palestinian colouring; and מבחור is found also in 2 Kings iii. 19 in the first series of Elisha-histories, with their strong Aramaic cast. On the other hand, מְלוֹן קִצֹּה compared with מְרוֹם קִצּוֹ is certainly the original; מְלוֹן is the high pass as a resting-place. It is important for the understanding of the passage that both texts have וְאכרת, not וָאכרת; and the other text, confirming this pointing, presents וְאָבוֹאָה instead of וְאבוא. Lebanon, with the steep forest on its highest ridge (see Hitzig on Zech. xi. 2), signifies here, if not as a direct emblem (as in Jer. xxii. 6=the royal city Jerusalem, in Ezek. xvii. 3=Judah-Jerusalem), yet synecdochically (cf. xiv. 8), the Lebanon-country, *i.e.* the land of Israel, into which the Assyrian has forced his way, and whose strongholds and magnates he will cut down, never resting until Jerusalem

also, the glorious summit of the Lebanon-district, lies at his feet.

Third turn, ver. 25: "*I, I have dug and drunk* [K. *strange*] *waters, and will dry up with the sole of my feet all the Nile-arms* [יְאֹרֵי, K. יְאוֹרֵי] *of Matzor.*" If עָלִיתִי, ver. 24, be taken as perf. of certainty, 25*a* may refer to overcoming the difficulties of the sandy desert (*et-Tih*) on the way to Egypt; but the perfects are contrasted with the following imperfects as assertions of what is actually past. Thus, where no waters were, and his army, as we might think, must needs famish, he dug them (קוּר, from which מָקוֹר, *fodere*, √ קר, قر, not, with Luzzatto, *scaturire*), and drunk this water which was charmed forth, so to say, on foreign soil, *i.e.* overcame all hindrances to his victorious course by opening up new resources; and where there was water, as in Egypt (מָצוֹר in Isaiah and Micah for מצרים, see Ps. xxxi. 22), whose Nile-arms and canals seemed to forbid his approach, it was a trifle to him to reduce to nought these obstacles that stood in his way. The four-armed Nile to him is a mere puddle, which he tramples out with his foot.

And yet what he is able to do is not by his own power, but God's counsel, which he subserves. Fourth turn, vers. 26, 27: "*Hast thou not heard? From of old I have done it* [אוֹתָהּ, K. אֹתָהּ]; *from* [K. לְמִן] *days of the foretime I have formed it, and now brought it to pass* [הֲבֵאתִיהָ, K. הֲבֵיאתִיהָ]: *that thou shouldst lay waste* [לְהַשְׁאוֹת, K. לְהַשּׁוֹת] *fortified cities into desolate stone-heaps; and their inhabitants, powerless, were dismayed and put to shame* [וָבֹשׁוּ, K. וַיֵּבֹשׁוּ]; *they became herb of the field and green of the sward, grass of the house-tops and a corn-field* [וּשְׁדֵמָה, K. *and blighted corn*, וּשְׁדֵפָה] *before the stalk is formed.*" לְמֵרָחוֹק, τηλόθεν, must not be joined to הֲלוֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ, but, although the accents seem to oppose (see Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 50), in accordance with the parallelism, to what follows; the historical reality, here the Assyrian judgment on the nations, had from eternity ideal reality in God; see on xxii. 11. The ל in לְמֵרָחוֹק signifies either local (Job xxxix. 29, xxxvi. 3), or as here temporal, direction (cf. *e.g.* לְעֵת, Gen. viii. 11): in a space of time lying from afar or to afar; we have no preposition corresponding to this ל (see on vii. 15). The address is to the Assyrian; and since his being an instrument is the essential part of the decree, וּתְהִי means not: it should be, or: they

should be, but: thou shouldst be, ἔμελλες ἐξερημῶσαι (cf. xliv. 14 f.; Hab. i. 17; Ezek. xxx. 16; Eccles. iii. 15). Instead of לְהַשְׁאוֹת, K. has לְהַשּׁוֹת (not as *Chethîb*, in which case לְהַשּׁוֹת must have been the pointing), a singularly (instead of לַשְׁאוֹת) syncopated *Hiphil*. The point of comparison in the four images, 27*b*, is the easiness of the conquest: before Assyria the nations became like weak, delicate, superficially-rooted grasses, and a corn-field not yet grown to stalk (שְׁדֵמָה, xvi. 8), which can be easily pulled up and does not need the sickle; for which K., in better keeping with a climax, has: like a blighted corn-field (שְׁדֵפָה, cf. שִׁדָּפוֹן, blasting) before the stalk has grown up, where the Assyrian is viewed as a parching east wind (Thenius conjectures לִפְנֵי קָדִים), which destroys the crop before it grows into stalk. Wellhausen's conjecture is ingenious (Bleek, p. 257); he changes לפני קמה into לְפָנַי קוּמְךָ, and joins it to what follows: thy rising up and sitting down are before me; adopted by Cheyne and Bredenkamp, who, moreover, changes ושׁדמה (K. ושׁדפה) into שְׁדֻף, dropping the ו ("burnt roof-grass").

Thus Assyria is Jehovah's elect instrument in overturning the nations who are short of hand in respect to Him, *i.e.* incapable of resistance; but Jehovah soon puts this lion in close restraint, and before he reaches his proposed goal he will be led back to his own land as with a ring in his nostrils. Fifth turn, vers. 28, 29: "*And thy sitting down and thy going out and thy coming in I know, and thy raging against me. Because of thy raging against me, and because thy self-confidence has come up into my ears, I put my ring into thy nose and my muzzle into thy lips, and lead thee back by the way by which thou camest.*" Sitting down and rising up (Ps. cxxxix. 2), going out and coming in (Ps. cxxi. 8), are all the different aspects of man's doing and resting; all Sennacherib's thinking and acting, deciding and undertaking, especially in regard to Jehovah's people, are under divine control. On יַעַן follows the infin., which is continued in the finite verb, just as in xxx. 12; שַׁאֲנַנְךָ also may be infin. (Ewald, Nägelsbach); but if the reading שַׁאֲנָנְךָ is accepted, it will be an adjective used as substantive; it denotes the Assyrian's complacent, scornful (Ps. cxxiii. 4) self-confidence, and has nothing to do with שָׁאוֹן (Targ., Abulw., Rashi, Kimchi, Rosenm., Luzz.). The figure

of leading away with a nose-ring (חַחִי, with latent *dagesh*) is repeated in Ezek. xxxviii. 4. Like an untameable beast, held in with violence, the Assyrian will return home without having attained his end with Judah (and Egypt).

The prophet now turns to Hezekiah, ver. 30: "*And let this be the sign to thee: this year men eat fallow-growth, and the second year root-growth* [שָׁחִים, K. סָחִישׁ]; *and the third year sow ye and reap, and plant vineyards and eat* (*Chethîb* אכול) *their fruit.*" The three years' space is reckoned by the beginning and end of the husbandman's year, which reached in the time of the Kings from Tishri to Tishri as a fixed calendar-year, and united in its beginning the close of the harvest and the new sowing. We may further assume, that הַשָּׁנָה is the current year, not, as Thenius would have, the first after the Assyrian invasion; הַשָּׁנָה is the present year in xxix. 1, xxxii. 10, as הַיּוֹם is the present day (to-day). When now the prophet says אָכוֹל הַשָּׁנָה סָפִיחַ, this cannot be a prediction. סָפִיחַ is the aftergrowth from the scattered grains of the previous harvest (LXX. αὐτόματα), either from סָפַח, سفح, *effundere*, or from סָפַח (a harder form of סָפָה), *adjicere*, therefore either as something scattered, *i.e.* involuntarily sown, or as something added to the previous harvest by way of supplement. But if only such aftergrowth can be enjoyed instead of the present year's produce, this at the time when the prophet speaks is the natural consequence of the impossibility of sowing. The second part of the sign, וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשֵּׁנִית שָׁחִים, states that in the second year from now men will eat root-growth, *i.e.* what grows of itself, αὐτοφυές (Aquila, Theodotion), what springs up but sparsely, not so much from the previous year's scattered grains as from the roots of the corn (cf. شاخيص, standing apart from each other, synon. *mutafâwit*). The point, then, of the sign lies in this, that the plan of Sennacherib against Judah will as certainly be wrecked as that no regular sowing and reaping will take place before the third year from now, but then will be again possible. Jehovah, the Omniscient, as whose organ the prophet foretells this, is also the Almighty, who will compel the great conqueror to return to Assyria without attaining his end. But the sign cannot be used with certainty as a measure either of the Assyrian

occupation or to fix the period of the catastrophe in xxxvii. 36; 2 Kings xix. 35. For the prophet's standpoint in giving the sign may either be at a part of the current year when the impossibility of tillage in the second year could not be determined beforehand without the gift of prophecy, or also at a much later part of the year, when men were eating fallow-growth, and already knew for certain (because harvest-time was near, and the fields had not been sown) that in the next year they would have to eat root-growth. The purpose of the sign was to confirm King Hezekiah in rejecting Sennacherib's demand.

The agricultural prospect of the third year now becomes an image of Judah's future. Seventh turn, vers. 31, 32: "*And that which escapes of the house of Judah, that remains, shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward. For from Jerusalem a remnant shall go forth, and an escaped one from Mount Zion. The zeal of Jehovah of hosts* [K. *Chethîb* omits צְבָאוֹת] *will accomplish this.*" Isaiah's motto, "a remnant shall return," is fulfilled: Jerusalem is spared, and becomes the centre and starting-point of national regeneration. We hear the echo of chaps. v. 24, ix. 6, and also of xxvii. 6. As in ver. 16, "of hosts" is wanting here in Kings; this divine name is rare in the Book of Kings, occurring there only in the first series of Elijah-histories, 1 Kings xviii. 15, xix. 10, 14, cf. 2 Kings iii. 14.

The prophecy of the preservation of Jerusalem becomes now, in the last turn, more precise than ever before, vers. 33–35: "*Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning the king of Assyria: He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor assault it with shield, nor throw up a mound against it. By the way by which he came* [K. *shall come*] *he shall return, and he shall not come into this city, saith Jehovah. And I protect this city* [עַל, K. אֶל] *to help it, for my own sake and for the sake of David my servant.*" According to Hitzig this conclusion belongs, because of its "suspicious definiteness," to the later annalist; on the other hand, Knobel thinks it need not be denied to Isaiah, for "probably the pestilence had then already begun (xxxiii. 24), threatening seriously to weaken the Assyrian army, but also suggesting to the prophet the hope that Sennacherib would not be able to resist the

mighty Ethiopian king." But here we listen to the language of a man raised above the limits of natural possibility, and admitted by God the Controller of history into His secret, Amos iii. 7. We see here prophecy at the lofty point to which it has been steadily climbing, keeping the goal ever in sight, from vi. 13, x. 33 f. onward through all the obstacles arising from the moral state of the nation (see the concluding remarks on xxii. 1–14, xxxii. 9–20). The Assyrian will not storm Jerusalem, nor even reach the stage of siege-preparations. The verb קִדֵּם (cf. Arab. *mukdim*, venturing boldly at the foe, *ikdâm*, boldness) is construed with double accus., as in Ps. xxi. 4; סֹלְלָה means siege-mound, as also in Jer. xxxii. 24. The reading יָבֹא instead of בָּא, arose through the eye wandering to the following יבא. The promise, 35*a*, reads as in xxxi. 5; the reading אֶל instead of עַל is incorrect. The motive, "for the sake of David my servant," runs as in 1 Kings xv. 4 and often, but "for my own sake" as in xliii. 25, xlviii. 11; cf. also lv. 3. On one side it is Jehovah's glory and fidelity according to which Jerusalem is saved; on the other hand, David's merit, or, what is the same, Jehovah's love for him, which secures Jerusalem's good.

The culminating prophecy is followed by the account of the catastrophe, ver. 36: "*Then* [K. *And it came to pass that night that*] *the angel of Jehovah went forth and smote* [וַיַּכֶּה, K. וַיַּךְ] *in the camp of Assyria a hundred and eighty-five thousand; and when men arose in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses.*" The first pair of histories concludes here with the brief account of the issue of the Assyrian drama, in which all the prophecies of Isaiah relating to the destruction of the Assyrian forces, *e.g.* x. 33 f., and to the flight (xxxi. 9) and death (xxx. 33, xxxvii. 7) of the king of Assyria, are fulfilled. Glancing forward at the second pair of histories, chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., we see in xxxviii. 6 that the account of these final events forms a preliminary conclusion; for the third history brings us back to the time before the catastrophe. The haste and brevity of this closing historical account may be partly explained by the fact that the history of the Assyrian complications and the prophecy bearing on them is here meant to be brought to a conclusion. But looking back, we see a gap between xxxvii. 25 and what

has just been related. For between prophecy and fulfilment, according to ver. 30, lies a full year of misery, during which tillage will be suspended. In this second year, however the impossibility of tilling the land may be explained, fall in any case Sennacherib's complications with Egypt and Ethiopia. For, when Rabshakeh returned from his mission to Hezekiah, he found Sennacherib no longer before Lachish, but before Libnah, which lay to the north-east. Lachish was the strong point, by holding which he prevented Egypt uniting with Judah, and whence he captured one city of Judah after another. A palace-picture shows him to us still in this proud situation. He is sitting in his tent on a high, beautifully-adorned throne, two arrows in the right, a bow in the left hand, two eunuchs with fans to keep him cool behind; a general in front, behind whom are curly-haired, bearded captives and women. The inscription on the tent says: "Tent of Sennacherib, king of the land of Assyria." Under the figures we read: "Sennacherib, king of the nations, king of the land of Assyria, sat on a lofty throne and received the plunder of Lachish."[1] The retreat of Sennacherib from Lachish to Libnah was caused by the march of the Egyptian army; it was a strategic measure. He then retired, as we learn from the prism-inscription, still farther to Timnath and Elteke, where he accepted battle, and therefore on Palestinian soil. According to a tradition originating in Egypt, he fought against Egypt within its own territory. Herodotus (ii. 141; cf. also Berosus in Joseph. *Antiq.* x. 1. 4) says: After Anysis, the blind, who had lost his throne for fifty years by an Ethiopian invasion of Egypt under Sabakon, and regained it, Sethon (Σεθών), the priest of Hephaestus, came to the throne. The latter oppressed the warrior-caste, so that when Sanacharibos, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, led a great army against Egypt, it refused its help. Then, when the priest-king prayed in the temple, God promised His help. Before Pelusium, where the inroad was to take place, and where, with those who remained faithful, he awaited the foe, he witnessed the fulfilment of the promise. "Directly after Sanacharibos' arrival an army of field-mice overran the camp

[1] See the wording in Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. p. 280, and the picture in Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 620.

of the enemy and gnawed to pieces their quivers, bows, and shield-straps, so that when morning dawned they had to flee weaponless, many of them perishing. Therefore the stone statue of Sethon yet stands in the temple of Hephaestus (at Memphis), holding a mouse in its hand, and saying in the inscription: He that looks on me let him fear the gods!"[1] Duncker thinks this account in Herodotus of the Assyrian catastrophe useless for historical purposes; whilst Maspero gathers from it that half the Assyrian army perished of pestilence during the Delta march; and even Stade (*Gesch.* i. 621) refers the account of Herodotus to one and the same event as the Biblical account. As matter of fact, an obscurity lies on the locality of the occurrence, ver. 36, which can scarcely be cleared up. Looking at the prophecies, that the power of Assyria is to be broken in the sacred land of Jehovah (xiv. 25), that the Lebanon forest of the Assyrian army will collapse before Jerusalem (x. 32–34), that there the Assyrian camp will without fighting be the prey of the inhabitants of the city (xxxii. 33), we seem obliged to suppose that the catastrophe happened before Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1). But could Sennacherib, who was expecting to encounter the Egyptian forces, leave an army-division of nearly 200,000 men before Jerusalem? It is noteworthy that the account of the catastrophe, ver. 36 (2 Kings xix. 35), leaves both the time (for the akoluthic formula ויהי בלילה הוא makes no claim to chronology) and place of the occurrence in obscurity. The narrative reads like the killing of the first-born in Egypt, Ex. xii. 12, xi. 4. This plague is there characterized by נֶגֶף, used along with הִכָּה, as pestilence (Ex. xii. 13, 23); cf. Amos iv. 10, where there seems to be allusion to it under the name דֶּבֶר; here also we can think of nothing else than this divine visitation, which still defies all casual explanation, and in 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 ff., as well as here, seems to be effected through angels. The conciseness of the narrative allows us to suppose a longer raging of the pestilence in the Assyrian camp, carrying off thousands in the night (Ps. xci. 6), up to a total of 185,000.[2] The chief matter is that the prophecy of

[1] This Sethon monument has not yet been discovered (Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 79).

[2] To the plague in Milan in 1629, according to Tadino, 160,000 fell

xxxi. 8 was essentially fulfilled. The issue of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah must have been unfortunate; for (1) although Sennacherib reigned twenty years after this campaign, he never made another attempt against Judah; first of all, he had to subdue rebellious Babylon, which certainly would not have lifted up its head again unless it had been encouraged by the miscarriage in Judah. (2) Sennacherib himself, in the prism-inscription, can only speak of the outcome of his undertaking against Jerusalem in the following terms: *šâšu kima iṣṣûr ḳuppi kirib Ursalimmu âl šarrûtišu êsiršu ḫalṣâni elišu urakkisma âṣê abulli âlišu utirra ikkibûš(u)*, *i.e.* I shut him up in Jerusalem, his royal city, like a bird in a cage; I threw up mounds against him, and whosoever came to his city-gate, I turned him on his heel, *i.e.* compelled him to turn right round (Friedr. Delitzsch). Since nothing is said here of assault and capture (in the case of the cities of Judah both are emphasized in proud detail), Sennacherib effected nothing against Jerusalem, except that he blockaded it some time. (3) In further relating that he severed the captured cities from the land of Hezekiah and gave them to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza, whom he had set up; that he laid tribute on Hezekiah; that the latter gave him 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, etc.,—he is seeking to cover the failure of the investment of Jerusalem and its forced raising; as also the issue of the battle with the Egyptians at Elteke is covered.[1]

End of the epilogue, vers. 37, 38: "*Then Sennacherib, king of Assyria, broke up and departed, and returned and settled down in Nineveh. And it came to pass, while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch his god, Adrammelech and Sarezer his sons* [K. *Chethîb* omits בָּנָיו[2]] *smote him with the sword; and*

victims, in Vienna (1679) 122,849, in Moscow at the end of the previous year, according to Martens, 670,000, but, of course, during the whole time of its raging.

[1] See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. pp. 297–307. Respecting the relation of the battle at Elteke to xxxvii. 8 f. agreement can scarcely be reached; the Assyrian accounts know only of the one encounter with the Ethiopian king (Schrader, ii. pp. 10, 11).

[2] The parallels, 2 Kings xix. 31 and 37, two of the ten קרין ולא כתבן (words to be read and not written in the text), see Norzi on Ruth iii. 5, and *Ochla we-Ochla* (ed. Frensdorff), No. 97.

whilst they fled to the land of Ararat, Esar-haddon his son became king in his stead." The three verbs, "he broke up and departed, and returned," paint the rapidity of the retreat like *abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit* (Cic. ii. *Catil. init.*). The construction, ver. 38, puts Sennacherib's act of worship and his sons' murderous deed side by side as contemporaneous; the relation would be somewhat different if it said וַיַּכֻּהוּ (cf. Ewald, §. 341*d*). Nisroch (LXX *Νασαραχ, 'Ασαραχ*) is a name of deity foreign to the Babylo-Assyrian pantheon, possibly a corruption, or even assimilated to the Hebrew from *Nusku* (נסך), the god of fire and war; that Sennacherib should give special honour to this god is intelligible.[1] The name אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ signifies, Adar is prince, Assyr. *Adarmalik;* and שַׂרְאֶצֶר, for which Baer here and Zech. vii. 2 (cf. Norzi and J. H. Michaelis on Jer. xxxix. 3) has rightly received שַׂרְאֶצֶר,[2] signifies, Guard the king! Assyr. *Šar-uṣur;* the Armenian form of the name (in *Moses Choren.* i. 23), *San-asar* (along with *Adramel,* who is also called *Arcamozan*), accordingly does not mean: The moon-god *Sin* guard, but arises only from interchange of sounds. Polyhistor (in Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* p. 19, ed. Mai) and Abydenus (*ib.* p. 25) name only Adrammelech (Adramelos in Abyd., Ardumuzanos in Polyh.) as the murderer, and Nerzilos (= Nergal Sarezer) as Sennacherib's successor, which, however, indirectly confirms Sennacherib's removal as the common deed of the two sons.[3] The murder did not take place as soon after the return as represented by Joseph. *Ant.* x. 1. 5 (cf. Tob. i. 21–25, Jerome); the Isaianic "and settled down in Nineveh" suggests the idea of a considerable interval. *Asordan* of Polyhistor, *Axerdis* of Abydenus is Esar-haddon, Assyr. אשור־אח־ידן, *Ašûr-aḫ-iddina* ("Asshur has given the brother").

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch, *Sprache der Kossäer* (1884), p. 52.

[2] Respecting the diverse mode of writing שראצר, see *Complutensische Varianten* (1878), p. 16 f., and Strack in *DMZ.* xxxviii. 302 (according to whom the Petersburg codd., B 3 and B 19*a*, also confirm Sareser with *Sin*); and respecting Nergilos=נרגל שראצר, Schrader, *Inscriptions,* ii. pp. 14, 15.

[3] The motive for the parricide was jealousy of the younger brother Esar-haddon, whom Sennacherib favoured, and who, when he heard of the murder, quitted Armenia, where he was with a division of the army, in great wrath, and came to Nineveh by forced marches (see Friedr. Delitzsch, art. "Sanherib" in Herzog's *Cyclopaedia,* xiii. 387).

The last year of Sennacherib, according to the Assyrian monuments, is 682–1. This brings us far into the reign of Manasseh, more or less, a time when Isaiah certainly was dead, from which it follows that ver. 37 f. is an addition by a later hand, a fact confirmed independently by its style, which resembles that of the Book of Kings. The two parricides fled to the land of Ararat, therefore to Central Armenia; Armenian history derives the tribes of the Sassunians and Arzrunians from them. From the royal house of the latter, among whom the proper name Sennacherib was common, sprang Leo the Armenian, whom Genesios describes as of Assyrio-Armenian blood. If this is so, no fewer than ten Byzantine emperors may be regarded as descendants of Sennacherib.[1]

C.—*Hezekiah's Sickness, and his Recovery promised by Isaiah*, chap. xxxviii.

It cannot surprise us now to be carried back to the time when Jerusalem was still under the despotic sceptre of Assyria, since the purpose of the concluding piece, xxxvii. 36 ff., was merely in anticipation to complete the picture of the last Assyrian troubles by relating their termination as foretold by Isaiah. Into this framework falls the following act of Isaiah; and indeed (if Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, fifteen of which are added to him) it falls about the fourteenth year, mentioned in xxxvi. 1 in the wrong place, and properly belonging to the last two histories, vers. 1–3: "*In those days Hezekiah became dangerously ill; and Isaiah, son of Amoz, the prophet came to him and said to him: Thus saith Jehovah: Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die, and not recover. Then Hezekiah* [K. omits] *turned his face to the wall and prayed to Jehovah, and said:* [K. *saying*:] *O Jehovah, remember now this,*

[1] Armenian tradition (cf. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, ii. 465) puts the flight of the two, who, as is said, were to be sacrificed by their father, in the year of the world 4494=705 B.C. (see the historical survey of Prince Hubbof in *Miscellaneous Translations*, vol. ii. 1834). The Armenian historian Thomas (end of the ninth century) traces his descent to the Arzrunians, and so to Sennacherib; his historical work is therefore chiefly devoted to Assyrian affairs (see Aucher on Euseb. *Chron.* i. p. 15); and respecting "the crown of Sennacherib on the head of the Arzrunians," cf. *DMZ.* xl. 493.

that I have walked before thee in truth and with the whole heart, and have done what is good in thine eyes! And Hezekiah wept with loud weeping." "Give command to thy house" (לְ, cf. אֶל, 2 Sam. xvii. 23) = make known to thy family thy last will (cf. Rabb. צַוָּאָה, last arrangement, testament), for צִוָּה is indeed usually joined with *accus. pers.*, but also with לְ, *e.g.* Ex. i. 22 (cf. אֶל, Ex. xvi. 34). חָיָה means in such connection *reviviscere, convalescere.* The announcement of death is unconditional in terms. *Reticetur,* remarks Vitringa, *conditio, ut Deus illam tanquam voluntariam eliciat.* The sick man turns his face to the wall (הֵסֵב פָּנָיו, whence the usual *imperf. consec.* וַיַּסֵּב, as in 1 Kings xxi. 4, viii. 14) in order to retire into himself and God. Before אֲדֹנָי=יהוה (Neh. i. 11) the imploring אָנָּה (here, as in Ps. cxvi. 4, 16, and in all six times, with ה) has the chief tone always on *ult.;* the *methegh* occasionally passes into a conjunctive accent, *e.g.* Gen. l. 17; Ex. xxxii. 31. אֵת אֲשֶׁר signifies here not "that which," but "this that," as in Deut. ix. 7; 2 Kings viii. 12, and often. בֶּאֱמֶת, not so much "in continuance" as "in fidelity," *i.e.* without wavering and deceit. בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם, with complete, whole heart, as in 1 Kings viii. 61 and often. He wept aloud, for to have to die in the strength of manhood, with the State in so critical a condition, and without heir, was terrible to him.

The gracious withdrawal of what was threatened, vers. 4–6: "*And it came to pass* [K. *Isaiah was not yet out of the inner city; Kerî* חָצֵר, i.e. *court, and*] *the word of Jehovah came to Isaiah* [K. *to him*] *as follows: Go* [K. *return*] *and say to Hezekiah:* [K. adds *to the prince of my people:*] *Thus saith the God of David thy ancestor: I have heard thy prayer, seen thy tears; behold, I* [K. *heal thee, on the third day thou shalt go up to the house of Jehovah*] *add* [K. *and I add*] *to thy days fifteen years. And I will deliver thee and this city from the hand of the king of Assyria, and will protect this city* [K. *for my own sake and for the sake of David my servant*]." Instead of העיר, *Kerî* and the ancient translators have חָצֵר; the city of David is nowhere else called "middle city;" on the contrary, Zion, with the temple-mount, formed the upper city; thus the inner court-space of David's city seems really to be meant, from which Isaiah had not yet stepped out by the "gate of the midst" to go to the lower city, where he lived (cf. on xxii. 1).

The text in K. is here more authentic throughout, only "prince of my people" is an annalistic ornament. הָלוֹךְ in Isaiah is *infin. abs.* in *imperf.* sense; שׁוּב, on the other hand, of the other text is *imperative.* As to יוֹסִף, see on xxix. 14. The promise of deliverance from Assyria does not necessarily imply that Sennacherib had already set out to reconquer Judah, but only that Hezekiah had withdrawn from the obligation of tribute, or at least was engaged in doing so, 2 Kings xviii. 7.

The Isaianic text is here not only violently curtailed, but also involved in confusion; for vers. 21, 22, although even the LXX. found them after Hezekiah's psalm, have fallen out of their right place; they were omitted by mistake here after ver. 6, and then written beneath on the margin of the page where they now stand (perhaps with σύγλη, sign of supplement). We insert them here where they belong, vers. 21, 22: "*Then said Isaiah, Let them bring* [K. *take ye*] *a cake of figs and plaster over* [K. *and they brought and covered*] *the boil, that he may recover* [K. *and he recovered*]. *And Hezekiah said:* [K. *to Isaiah:*] *What is the sign that* [K. *Jehovah will heal me, so that I go up*] *I shall go up* [K. *on the third day*] *into the house of Jehovah?*" Since שְׁחִין (from שׁחן, سخن, to be inflamed, in a fever, whence *es-suḫûna,* intermittent fever) nowhere means plague-boil, but (cf. Ex. ix. 9; Lev. xiii. 18) boil, especially of the leprous, the connection into which Hezekiah's sickness (alongside xxxiii. 24) has been brought with the plague that broke out later in the Assyrian army is inadmissible. The application of the figs leaves it uncertain whether a boil (*bubon*) or a carbuncle (*charbon*) is to be supposed. Figs were a popular *emolliens* or *maturans;* they were used to hasten the rising of the swelling, and therefore the mattering-process; וימרחו על is here, perhaps, more original than the easier but less descriptive וישימו על. The Book of Kings, which with "and they brought" glides into the historical tone, instead of "that he may recover," has the statement of the result, "and he recovered," thus anticipating in the usual style of Biblical history (see on vii. 1, xx. 1).

The desired, security-giving sign, vers. 7, 8: [K. *Then said Isaiah:*] "*And* [K. omits] *let this be the sign to thee from Jehovah, that* [אֲשֶׁר, K. כִּי] *Jehovah will perform this* [K. *the*]

word which he spake: Behold, I make the shadow of the steps, which it has gone down on the step-clock of Ahaz by reason of the sun, go back, ten steps backward. And the sun went back ten steps on the step-clock, which it had gone down. [K. *Shall the shadow advance ten steps, or shall it go back ten steps? Then said Hezekiah: It is easy for the shadow to decline ten steps; nay, but let the shadow go back, ten steps backwards. Then Isaiah the prophet cried to Jehovah, and turned back the shadow the ten steps, which it had gone down on the step-clock of Ahaz, ten steps backwards.*] The Book of Kings is here fuller in detail. Isaiah gives the king the choice to demand the shadow's going forwards or backwards; הָלַךְ in the first member of the twofold question (for which also הָלֹךְ might be used, Job xl. 2) means *iveritne* (cf. Gen. xxi. 7; Ps. xi. 3; Job ix. 4, xii. 9; Prov. xxiv. 28; Ezek. xiv. 4*b*, xvii. 15*b*).[1] "Steps of Ahaz" here are not the steps of the royal palace (Dillov, *das Wunder an den Stufen des Ahas*, 1885), but a step-clock erected by Ahaz is so called. Since מַעֲלָה may signify degree as well as stair-step (syn. מַדְרֵגָה, *scala* and *gradus*, cf. the calendar-name *daraǵat el-aukât*, *i.e.* time-ladder), we might suppose a disc with sun-pointer (gnomon); but the phrase directly suggests an actual flight of steps, therefore an obelisk on a graduated square, or better, round elevation, which cast the shadow of its summit at noon on the uppermost step, morning and evening on one or the other side of the lowest step, and so served to measure the hours; in this sense the Targ. renders, in 2 Kings ix. 13, גֶּרֶם הַמַּעֲלוֹת by דְּרַג שָׁעַיָּא, step (stair-ascent) of the sun-dial; such an obelisk, serving as sun-dial, was that of Augustus on the field of Mars in Rome. The advance or going down, or inclining (downwards) and going back of the shadow is determined by the mid-day line, and may indeed be applied under certain circumstances to a vertical dial, *i.e.*, a sun-dial with vertical disc, but more properly to a step-clock, *i.e.* a sun-dial, whose degrees, measuring definite portions of time, are real *gradus*. The step-clock of Ahaz may have consisted of twenty or more steps, which measured the time of day by half or even

[1] Judg. ix. 9, 11, 13, הֶחֳדַלְתִּי belongs to the same class, if it is taken with Ed. König (*Lehrgebäude*, p. 242) as *Hophal*: Should I be made to give up?

quarter hours.[1] If the fulfilment of the sign took place an hour before sunset, the shadow went back ten steps of half an hour each, and thus again reached the point where it stood at noon. But how was this done? Certainly not by giving the earth's turning on its axis an opposite direction; it was no miracle of the sun, but (especially according to the text of the Book of Kings), since a sign of assurance is here in question, simply a phenomenon of refraction (Keil); it suffices, that the shadow which had declined in the afternoon, by a sudden refraction not to be foreseen was bent upwards. אֶת־צֵל הַמַּעֲלוֹת, ver. 8, are united genitivally by syntax and accentuation; עֶשֶׂר מַעֲלוֹת is accus. of measure, Gesen. § 118. 2*c*, synon. with בְּמַעֲלוֹת in the sum of the steps, 2 Kings xx. 11. The relative clause is to be rendered: *quos* (*gradus*) *descendit* (יָרְדָה, צֵל, fem., like הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ afterwards) *in scala Ahasi per solem*, *i.e.* by reason of the advancing sun. Instead of reading הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ (Cheyne), it would be better to erase בַּשֶּׁמֶשׁ. If, then, it is said: "the sun returned," the phrase is formed on the optical appearance; it is not the sun in the heavens that is meant, but the sun on the step-clock; with the shadow the sun also went back, the limit between shadow and light shifting its place. What is related claims to be a miracle, and it is one; will asserted itself as a power over natural law, the phenomenon followed on the prophet's prayer as an extraordinary work of God.

A psalm of Hezekiah is added in the Isaianic text to this third history as documentary evidence, in which he celebrates his miraculous deliverance from the brink of death. The author of the Book of Kings has omitted it. Its genuineness is undoubted. The heading runs, ver. 9: "*Writing of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when he had been sick and was recovered from his sickness.*" The following poem might be headed מִכְתָּם, for it has the character of this class of psalms (see on Ps. xvi. 1); מכתב means piece of writing in general. We may not conclude from בַּחֲלֹתוֹ that it was composed by the sick man (cf. on Ps. li. 1); וַיְחִי stamps it as a thanksgiving

[1] See the attempt at a reproducing picture in *Transactions of Biblical Archaeology*, iii. 1, p. 36 s. G. Bilsinger gives the best account of ancient sun-dials, especially of their construction, in his work, *Die Zeitmesser der antiken Völker*, 1887, 4.

of one recovered. In common with the two Ezrahite Psalms lxxxviii., lxxxix., it has not only many echoes of the Book of Job (see the collection in Drechsler, ii. 220 f.), but also more of the strained elevation which comes of imitating ancient models than of the spontaneous greatness of the lyric.

The first strophe consists indisputably of seven lines, vers. 10–12:

"*I said: In the quiet of my days I must depart into the gates of Hades,*
I am deprived of the remnant of my years.
I said: I shall not see Jah, Jah in the land of the living,
I shall no more behold man, with the inhabitants of the land of death.[1]
My dwelling is broken off and carried away from me like a shepherd's tent.
I rolled up my life like a weaver, because he cuts me off from the web.
'*From day to night thou makest an end of me!*'"

"In quiet of my days" is not = in its (the life-clock's) stoppage (Nägelsbach), an unexampled metaphor, but as v. Orelli: when my life seemed to be going on undisturbed; דְּמִי (or דֳּמִי, lxii. 6 f.) from דָּמָה = دام, to be calm, properly even (*planum, aequum, aequale*), see Mühlau-Volck under דמם). On the cohortative in the sense of must, see Ewald, § 228*a*; אֵלֵכָה as to its verbal idea has the same meaning as in Ps. xxxix. 14, 2 Chron. xxi. 20, and the junction by בְּ (=וְאָבוֹאָה אלכה) is *constr. praegnans* (Luzzatto). The *Pual* (פֻּקַּדְתִּי) does not mean: I am made to want (Rashi, Knobel *et al.*), which as passive of the causative would have required הָפְקַדְתִּי, like הָנְחַלְתִּי, I am made to inherit, Job vii. 3, but: I am visited as to the remnant, mulcted of it, deprived as punishment of the remnant of my life. Perhaps קֻפַּדְתִּי should be read: I am (Fürst, Cheyne: קִפַּדְתְּ) cut short (*coupé*) as to the remnant (by the remnant) of my years; but it would be a mark of poverty for the poet to use this figure twice (here and 12*b*). Instead of "Jah, Jah," we find "Jehovah" in some places; Jerome, *Dominum Deum*. In correspondence with the clause "Jah in the land of the living," God revealing

[1] [*Endschaftsland*, land of cessation.]

Himself in the land of the living, is the clause "man with the inhabitants of the land of death," where חֶדֶל seems to be a synon. of אֶרֶץ הַחַיִּים, and so synonymous with חֶלֶד as a designation of the present temporal world (Ps. xvii. 14, xlix. 2). Since, however, חָדַל, "to cease," is the direct opposite of חָלַד, خلد, "to abide" (see von Orelli, *Zeit u. Ewigkeit*, pp. 42–45), we should need, with Reuss, Cheyne *et al.*, to read חֶלֶד (of the present life); Strack's *Babylonicus* actually has חלד from the first hand, with no distinction of *Chethîb* and *Kerî*. Therefore: I shall no more behold man (dwelling henceforth) with the inhabitants of חֶדֶל, *i.e.* the end of life, the negation of conscious, active existence, thus the kingdom of the dead. דּוֹרִי we explain (with Saadia, Kimchi) after דור = دار, Ps. lxxxiv. 11, the Targum word for גּוּר. The body is called דּוֹר, "dwelling," as the abode of man considered as able to sever himself from everything he has (*Bibl. Psych.* p. 268). It is compared to a אֹהֶל רֹעִי, nomad's tent; רֹעִי (differently in Zech. xi. 17, where *î* is the *Chirek compaginis*) is not genitive = רֹעֶה, Ewald, § 151*b*, but adj. in *î*, like, *e.g.*, רֹעֶה אֱוִלִי, Zech. xi. 15. נִגְלָה (along with נִסַּע, as in Job iv. 21) means to be put in the state of גָּלוּת, forced to depart; cf. the New Testament ἐκδημεῖν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, 2 Cor. v. 8. The meaning of the ἀπ. γεγρ. קִפַּדְתִּי is shown by the name of the hedgehog, קִפּוֹד (from contracting): I gathered up, *i.e.* folded up my life, as the weaver does the finished web. He does this already in spirit, because He (God) cut him loose from the thrum (synchronistic imperf.), *i.e.* put an end, so it seemed, to his life. דַּלָּה means properly, like Syr. *dûlû* (= لحمة), the web, woof, *subtemen*, synon. עֵרֶב, Lev. xiii. 48, opposite to שְׁתִי there, Syr. ܫܬܝܐ, Arab. سدى, سَتًا (from stretching in breadth), warp, *stamen*. But here דַּלָּה (from דָּלַל, to be thin, fine), briefly for דַּלָּה וּשְׁתִי, the entire weaving-piece (cf. Lat. *licium*) on the loom. The warp becomes shorter, the more the web (*in stamine subtemen intexere*, Jerome, *Epp.* lxv. 19) progresses, until the weaver releases the complete piece from the remaining small ends by cutting it (בִּצַּע, cf. Job vi. 9, xxvii. 8). The strophe concludes with the deep lament of the sufferer at that time: he was forced to fear that God would

make an end of him (שִׁלַּם, syn. כִּלָּה, תִּמַּם, גִּמַּר) from day to night, *i.e.* in the briefest space (cf. with Luzzatto, Job iv. 20).

In the second strophe the backward glance continues; his grief swelled more and more, so that nothing was left him but a suppressed sighing, a faint glance upward for help, vers. 13, 14:

"*I waited patiently for the morning; like the lion,*
So it brake all my bones in pieces.
'*From day to night thou makest an end of me!*'
Like a swallow, a crane, so I chirped,
I moaned like the dove;
My eyes languished to the height;
O Lord, woe is me! Appear as my surety."

Since שִׁוִּיתִי does not fit syntactically in the sense "I was like" (Saadia: *sâweitu*, see Wickes, p. 136), we have to refer to Ps. cxxxi. 2 to obtain a sense: "I smoothed, *i.e.* soothed my soul till the morning." Still we miss נַפְשִׁי, and so, perhaps (after Houbigant, with Hupfeld, Knobel, Cheyne, Bredenkamp), should read שִׁוַּעְתִּי: I cry for help till the morning. But so far from his cry being heard, grief broke all his limbs with lion-like violence; he was obliged to fear and lament, that he would perish within the day now opening, without seeing another. Since יְשַׁבֵּר is followed by תַּשְׁלִימֵנִי, the subject to the former is perhaps the general "it," namely, the pain raging in his limbs. The Masora has here the remark, important in its bearing on Ps. xxii. 17, that כָּאֲרִי (with art.) occurs twice, and indeed בתרי לישני in two different senses.[1] Contrary to the meaning, the accentuation joins כארי to the first clause. The meaning of כְּסוּס עָגוּר is determined by Jer. viii. 7, according to which עָגוּר here is not an attribute of סוּס: to twitter mournfully, or, to fly round and round (cf. عكر عاجل, to bend, turn round, turn right round), but the name of a bird, namely, a crane, and so an asyndeton, like Nah. ii. 12; Hab. iii. 11; cf. *nectar ambrosiam* in Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, i. 40, § 112. For although Targ. and Syr. seem to render סוס there (*Keri*, סִיס, which is conversely *Chethîb* according to the reading of the Orientals[2]) by כּוּרְכְּיָא (crane, Syr. also *kurkalâ*), and עגור

[1] See *Complut. Varianten*, pp. 27, 28.

[2] See Strack in *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1877, 46; cf. de Lagarde in the *Nachr. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1888, p. 6 f.

by סְנוּנִיתָא (the name of the swallow now in use in modern Syriac, Assyr. *sinûntu*, Arab. *senûnû*, explained by Hai Gaon by Arab. *ḫuṭṭâf;* cf. Rashi in *Shabbath* 77*b*), still really the case is the opposite: סוס (סִיס) means the swallow (cf. شاش imperf. يشوش, to fly wildly), עָגוּר, the crane, after which Rashi in *Kiddushin* 44*a* ("then Rêš Lakîš cried like a crane," כי כרוכיא) explains כרוכיא by עגור, Fr. *grue* (cf. γέρανος, *grus*, Anglo-Saxon *cran*); whereas Parchon (*sub voce* עגור) confounds the crane with the (hoarsely-hissing) stork (*ciconia alba*). The verb אֲצַפְצֵף suits both the *flebile murmur* of the swallow (according to the Greek myth of the transfigured penitent Procne) and also the shrill scream of the crane caused by the extraordinary length of the windpipe, which is expressed by the imitative name *'agûr;* צִפְצֵף, like τρίζειν, the repeating of any kind of shrill, piercing, inarticulate sound. Respecting the tone on דַּלּוּ, see on Job xxviii. 4: the meaning "to hang long and loose" passes here into that of languishing (synon. כָּלָה). דַּלְפוּ (Bredenkamp) would be clearer and also more elegant. The divine name, 14*b*, is Adonai, not Jehovah, for it is among the hundred and thirty-four וְדָאִין, *i.e. Adonai*, actually written, and not merely to be read. It is impossible to take עָשְׁקָה־לִּי as *imper.;* the pointing, according to which *'āshka* is to be read, permits this (cf. אָרָה־לִּי and קָבָה־לִּי in the history of Balaam; שָׁמְרָה, *shāmra*, Ps. lxxxvi. 2, cxix. 167; and, on the other hand, שָׁמְרָה־זֹּאת, 1 Chron. xxix. 18, where, however, the reading שָׁמְרָה־ is also found, and זָכְרָה־לִּי, *zochrālli*, Neh. v. 19 and often),[1] but usage gives no meaning of this imperative that is suitable; עָשְׁקָה is either 3 pers. in neuter sense (like וַתֵּצֶר לְ, Judg. x. 9; Nägelsbach, § 60. 6*b*): it is anxious, fearful with me, or, as Luzzatto rightly thinks more probable because of the contrast of עשקה and עָרְבֵנִי, it is substantive, *'oshqua* for *'osheq:* distress to me (cf. חַי־לִי, xxiv. 16), pain arising from the sense of sin, like עָשֻׁק, Prov. xxviii. 17, which is then followed by the petition: pledge me, *i.e.* offer security for me, become security for me; see on Job xvii. 3.

In the third strophe he describes how Jehovah promised him help; how this promise gave him new life; and how

[1] Baer, *Thorath Emeth*, p. 22 s. The Babylonian pointing writes עָשְׁקָה with קמץ רפי (*i.e.* חטוף); see Pinsker, p. 113, l. 3.

it was fulfilled, turning his suffering into blessing, vers. 15–17:

"What shall I say that he promised me and performed it?
I should walk softly all my years upon the anguish of my soul!
'O Lord, by such things men live again, and in them is the life of my spirit in every way.
So wilt thou make me whole, and cause me to live!'
Bitter, bitter things turned to my good;
And thou, thou hast loved my soul out of the pit of destruction;
For thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back!"

The question, "What shall I say?" is to be understood after 2 Sam. vii. 20 (cf. Prov. xxxi. 2): What shall I say to thank Him for promising me this and fulfilling His promise; the וְ of וְאָמַר adds the ground (Gesen. § 154). Respecting הִדַּדָּה (=הִתְדַּדָּה) from דָּדָה (=דָּאדָא), see on Ps. xlii. 5. The imperf. in 15*b* states God's purpose in regard to him. He was to walk gently without further disturbance (here in reference to the walk of life, not the walk to the temple) all his years upon the anguish of his soul, *i.e.* all the years following it and added to him. So עַל is to be interpreted with Böttcher after xxxviii. 5, xxxii. 10; Lev. xv. 25; not "in spite of" (Ewald), not after lx. 7, Ps. xxxi. 24, Jer. vi. 14, where it expresses adverbial qualifications after the manner of the Arabic على (*e.g.* "I am upon sadness" = in a state of sadness); but the context is against this; better "on account of," in humble, admonitory remembrance of the deadly peril which God's free grace averted. What follows in ver. 16 may be taken, having regard to the petition 16*b*, merely as Hezekiah's response to the divine promise made known to him through the prophet. Accordingly, the neuters עֲלֵיהֶם and בָּהֶן (cf. lxiv. 4; Job xxii. 21; Zeph. ii. 7; Ezek. xxxiii. 18 f.) allude to the divine words and acts of grace: these are the true support of life (עַל, as in Deut. viii. 3) for every one, and therein consists also (בָּהּ, Job vi. 29) his spirit's life, his inmost and highest source of life,—לְכָל, on all sides, for which the pointing should be לְכֹל, as in 1 Chron. vii. 5; cf. בַּכֹּל in every respect, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. On this explanation the conjecture רוּחוֹ (Ewald, Knobel) falls away. From the general truth, which is then personally applied, that God's word is the source of all life, he drew the inference which he here repeats

with retrospective look: so wilt thou make me whole (see the *Kal* in Job xxxix. 4) and preserve me in life (instead of וְתַחְיֵנִי, which is occasionally presupposed as the reading, the hope passing into prayer). First with "Behold" thanksgiving follows for the fulfilment of the promise. His dangerous sickness (respecting the radical meaning of the redoubled מַר with superlative force, see on Job xxiii. 2) was permitted with a view to a happy issue; the Lord meant good; the suffering was a chastisement, but a loving chastisement; casting all his sins behind Him as one does with things which one does not care to know and remember (cf. *e.g.* Neh. ix. 26). He lured him, *i.e.* drew him alluringly (חשק, love as strong, inward attachment), out of the grave of destruction (בְּלִי, elsewhere a particle, here in its natural substantive meaning, from בָּלָה, to wear out, *consumere*). Maimonides in *Kelim* i. 2 cites this passage as if it said חָשַׂכְתָּ; a likely conjecture (Cheyne, Klostermann, Bredenkamp), but one that sets aside a more significant word.

In the fourth strophe he rejoices in life preserved as the highest good, promising to praise God for it with His people to the end of life, vers. 18–20:

"*For Hades praises thee not, death gives thee no thanks;*
They that sink into the pit hope not in thy faithfulness.
The living, the living, he praises thee as I do this day.
The father to the children makes known thy faithfulness—
Jehovah is ready to deliver me.
So will we strike my stringed instrument all the days of our life
Above in the house of Jehovah."

The view of the future world given by Hezekiah, ver. 18, is the cheerless one familiar to us in the Psalter (vi. 6, xxx. 10, lxxxviii. 12 f., cf. cxv. 17), and also in the Book of Ecclesiastes (ix. 4 f., 10); its basis, despite mythological details, is positive truth (*Bibl. Psych.* p. 479), above which the personal faith of the hero of the Book of Job tries to raise itself, but whose decisive abolition was matter of progress in religious history. The passage begins with "for," because the proof of God's gracious action is that He would be glorified hereafter by him whom he delivered. לֹא stands once for twice, as in xxiii. 4. שִׂבֵּר, to hope, to wait, perhaps properly to look up, lift up the

countenance, the Aramaic סַבַּר, cf. סְבַר אַפִּין. Those "sinking into the pit" are not thought of as dying, but as dead. אֱמֶת means God's truthfulness, with which He fulfils His promises. The first אֶל denotes the direction, the second the reference of the subject-matter; לְבָנִים instead of accus., according to Ewald, § 283*c*. The phrase ה׳ לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי, μέλλει σώζειν με, is as in xxxvii. 26. The change of number is explained by the fact that the delivered one regards himself as the choragus of his family; *ay* is suffix, not end of noun, Ewald, § 164, p. 427. עַל in עַל־בֵּית ה׳ points upward, as in Micah iv. 1, cf. Ps. lxviii. 30 (see Gesen. *Thes.*). The impression of studied rather than spontaneous poetry accompanies us to the end. Hezekiah's love of ancient sacred literature is well known. He restored liturgical psalmody, 2 Chron. xxix. 30. He initiated an aftermath to the older Book of Proverbs, Prov. xxv. 1. The "men of Hezekiah" are like the Pisistratian Society, of which Onomacritus was the head.

Respecting vers. 21, 22, see after vers. 4–6, where these two verses belong.

D.—*Threat of the Babylonian Exile due to Hezekiah,* chap. xxxix.

From this point again the text of the Book of Kings runs parallel (2 Kings xx. 12–19, cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24–31).

Babylonian ambassadors come to the king of Judah on his recovery, ver. 1: "*At that time Merodach Baladan* [K. *Berodach Baladan*], *son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent a letter and present to Hezekiah, and heard* [K. *for he had heard*] *that he* [K. *Hezekiah*] *had been sick, and had recovered*" [K. omits]. The two texts here share the original between them. Instead of the unnatural וַיִּשְׁמַע (which would make the cause follow the effect, as in 2 Sam. xiv. 5), we should read כִּי שָׁמַע; and, on the other hand, וַיֶּחֱזַק of our text, out of which חזקיהו in the other text has grown, is scarcely indispensable, for חָלָה might also intimate that the king had been and was still sick. In like manner the name of the king of Babylon runs here correctly, מְראֹדַךְ (Nissel: מְרֹדַךְ, without א, as in Jer. l. 2), for which K. has בְּראֹדַךְ (according to the Masora with א), probably occasioned by בַּלְאֲדָן beginning with ב. The addition בֶּן־בַּלְאֲדָן in both

texts is of historical importance. *Marduk-apal-iddina,*[1] son of Yakin, is the Chaldean ruler who more than any other vassal embittered the life of the Assyrian suzerain, because as a rival suzerain he was always renouncing obedience to one whom he felt to be a disgrace to the ancient renown of his country. Lenormant, in his *Anfängen der Cultur*, Bd. ii., has devoted a beautiful essay to him under the title, "A Babylonian Patriot of the Eighth Century B.C." The chief matter told about him by the monuments is this: In the year 731 he did homage at Sapiya to the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-pileser IV. In Sargon's first year (721) he, who was properly king of South Babylonia only (*šar mât tâmtim*), brought also North Chaldea into the range of his rule; war ensued, but although beaten he still maintained himself on the throne, and from that time count the twelve years given to him by the Ptolemaic canon as king of Babylon (*šar Kaldi* or even *šar Karduniâš*). In Sargon's twelfth year (710) he shook off the Assyrian yoke; only a year afterwards (709) Sargon succeeded in capturing and burning to ashes the fort Dur-Yakin, into which he had thrown himself; he himself, being required to surrender unconditionally, vanished. Sennacherib's first campaign again applies, as related by the inscription of the six-sided prism (of the Taylor-cylinder) and others, to Merodach-Baladan: "On my first campaign I inflicted defeat on Marduk-apal-iddina, king of Kardunias, along with the army of Elam, his ally, near the city Kis. . . . I entered his palace at Babylon as victor, and opened his treasure-house. In the power of Assur my lord I besieged and took 75 of his strong cities, strongholds of Chaldea, and 420 smaller cities of its territory, and carried off their spoil," etc. Lenormant and Maspero make this Merodach-Baladan one with the defeated hero of Dur-Yakin; whilst Duncker, Schrader, Valdemar Schmidt,[2] Fredr. Delitzsch, see in him a second Merodach-Baladan; and rightly. For (1) it is very improbable in itself that the Merodach-Baladan, with whom four Assyrian monarchs (Tiglath-pileser, Shalmanassar, Sargon, Sennacherib) had to do, is one and the same person; (2) the Marduk-apal-iddina of Sennacherib is nowhere (whatever this surname means) called "son of Yakin;" (3)

[1] The name means: *Marduk* (written also *Maruduk*) has given a son.

[2] *Assyriens og Aegyptens gamle Historie*, i. 443.

when the Biblical narrative in both texts calls Merodach-Baladan, who seeks to make Hezekiah an ally, "son of Baladan," it declares him to be a second of this name; for בלאדן is still merely an abbreviation of מראדך בלאדן. The embassy in any case did not fall later than Sennacherib's campaign against Palestine and Egypt, since Hezekiah's kingdom is still intact. If the conjecture is correct that the statement of time, xxxvi. 1, applied originally to the two histories, chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., it would fall in the midst of Hezekiah's reign, and in this case in the reign of Sargon 722–705, and the ruler of Babylon would be the one called "son of Yakin," which again would have the Biblical appellation against it. The conclusion will be different according as one holds either the putting of the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah, or the putting of Sennacherib's campaign in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, to be a wrong calculation. We have no means of solving the problem, and content ourselves with saying that the embassy coincided with the liberation-war of the dynasty Bît-Yakîn against Assyria, and took place later than 722 and earlier than 701. It had the apparently harmless object of congratulating the king on his recovery (according to 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, also in the interest of Chaldee astronomy to inquire into the sign on the sun-dial), but secretly without doubt the political object of making common cause with Hezekiah in getting rid of the Assyrian yoke.

Hezekiah can still make a brave show with the whole store of his treasures before the ambassadors, ver. 2: "*Then Hezekiah rejoiced* [K. unsuitably, *heard*] *concerning them, and showed them his* [K. *whole*] *storehouse: the silver and the gold and the spices and the fine oil* [הַשֶּׁמֶן, K. שֶׁמֶן], *and his whole armoury, and everything that was among his treasures; there was nothing which Hezekiah did not show them in his house and in his whole kingdom.*" Although spiceries were found in בֵּית נכת, still נכת is not = נכאת, which (from נָכָא, to break to pieces, pulverize) means gum-dragon and other drugs (ξηρά), but *Niph.* נָכוֹת from כות (*Piel*, Arab. *kayyata*, to cram full); it corresponds, as Fredr. Delitzsch shows, *Proleg.* 141, to *bît nakamti* (*nakaFti*), treasure-house (from *nakâmu*, to heap up), therefore not: spicery-house (Aq. Symm. Jer.), but treasure or store house (Targ. Syr. Saad. Arab. of the Polyglots). The fine oil,

according to Movers, is balsam oil from the royal garden, for Hezekiah had special מסכנות, magazines, for olive oil, 2 Chron. xxxii. 28; the wording, ver. 2, does not preclude the supposition that he showed the ambassadors the stores laid up there. He was able to show them what was worth seeing "in his whole kingdom," in so far as it was concentrated in Jerusalem, the capital.

The results of this dallying with the children of the foreigner, and this parade with trifles, vers. 3–8: "*Then came Isaiah the prophet to King Hezekiah, and said to him: What have these men said, and whence came they to thee? Hezekiah said: From a distant land they have come to me* [K. omits אֵלַי], *from Babylon. He said further: What have they seen in thy house? Hezekiah said: Everything that is in my house have they seen, there was nothing that I did not show them among my treasures. Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah: Hear the word of Jehovah of hosts* [K. omits *of hosts*]. *Behold, days come when everything which is in thy house and which thy fathers laid up to this day shall be carried away to Babylon, nothing shall remain, says Jehovah. And of thy children who shall issue from thee, whom thou shalt beget, they shall take* [K. Chethîb: *he shall take*], *and they shall become courtiers in the palace of the king of Babylon. Thereupon Hezekiah said to Isaiah: Good is the word of Jehovah which thou hast spoken, and said further: There shall verily* [כִּי, K. omits הֲלוֹא אִם] *be peace and stability in my days.*" Hezekiah's two frank replies, vers. 3, 4, with their אֵלַי and כל, give the impression of a feeling of provocation at the prophet's unwelcome interference, but are at the same time an involuntary condemnation of his own conduct, which is sinful in two respects (cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 25, כִּי גָבַהּ לִבּוֹ). This complacent display of worthless earthly treasures is punished by their loss, and this abject courting of the admiration and favour of foreigners by plundering and enslaving on the part of these foreigners, whose greed he had excited. The prophet here foretells the Babylonian exile; but, in keeping with the immediate occasion, not as the fate of the nation, but of the house of David. Cheyne, whom G. A. Smith follows on this point, doubts the historical character of this prediction; but we would rather give up xxi. 1–10 as old Isaianic, than allow this threatening of Hezekiah with a Babylonian exile

to be wrested from us on light grounds. Even political sagacity might foresee such evil consequences of Hezekiah's unwise course; but certainly without the spirit of prophecy such unqualified certainty that Babylon will be the heir of the Assyrian empire and the instrument of God's wrath against Judah, would be impossible. For Chaldea was again and again defeated and gagged by Sennacherib, as by Sargon, in its longing and struggles for freedom. One of the consequences of Sennacherib's eighth campaign was, that Nabû-šum-iškun, son (grandson) of Merodach-Baladan, was beheaded. Babylon was plundered and destroyed; yet, four years later, after Sennacherib's murder, it again revived. During the thirteen years' reign of Esarhaddon, who put it almost on a level with Nineveh, there was rest. The family of Merodach-Baladan comes again to the front. Nabû-zîr-napišti-lîšir, brother of Nabû-šum-iškun, with the help of the Elamites, maintains himself as ruler in Bet-Yakin until a younger brother offered more unreserved submission to the suzerain, and thus became the means of destroying the life of his brother and this remnant of freedom. In the year 668 Esarhaddon renounced the government in favour of his son Asurbanipal. He himself ended his life in Babylon, the reconciliation of which he had made the task of his life. Esarhaddon's second son, Samaš-šum-ukîn, became a vassal-king of Babylon. But the latter rebelled against his older brother, who held the suzerainty, and Nabû-bêl-šumâti (?), grandson (great-grandson) of Merodach-Baladan, true to the tradition of his house, joined the great insurrection; the enterprise miscarried, he fled to Elam; his corpse was sent to the suzerain, who cut off the head, and then left it to rot, without burial, in the shambles. A small bas-relief in the British Museum, coming from the palace at Kujundshik, and carved in the best style, shows Asurbanipal revelling with his wives in the harem-garden at Nineveh; the embalmed head of Nabû-bêl-šumâti hangs on one of the trees of the garden opposite the king. Isaiah's glance flies beyond all these elevations of Babylon, which are followed by such deep humiliations; his prophecy implies that the independence of Babylon will be at last established (it took place 605), and the Assyrian empire will go to ruin. From ver. 7 we infer that at the time of this declaration of Isaiah, Hezekiah

had no son, which 2 Kings xxi. 1 also confirms; the threat, indeed, applies to posterity generally, but is so worded that immediate descendants are not excluded. כִּי here gives reasons and so confirms; הֲלוֹא אִם (here only) also gives reasons, but interrogatively: is it not good (*i.e.* nevertheless good) if, thus in the sense of "verily if only" (Ewald, 324*b*). Hezekiah suppresses his wounded sense of honour, and submits to the word of Jehovah with penitent recognition of his foolish, short-sighted, untheocratic conduct, seeing merciful forbearance in the fact that at least as long as he lives the divine blessings of peace and stability (אֱמֶת, a permanent state without deceptive fluctuations) will continue. *Tametsi futuris seculis bene consultum esse optabat*, remarks Calvin, *non tamen debuit quod Deus vindictam suam differens clementiae signum dabat pro nihilo ducere.*

Over the kingdom of Judah hovers now, in consequence of the baneful programme of xxxix. 6 f., the same doom of exile which put an end to the kingdom of Israel. The author of the Book of Kings, in putting the recapitulation, xviii. 9–12 (cf. xvii 5 f.), before the four Isaianic histories, 2 Kings xviii. 13–20, intimates that in the time of Hezekiah the end of the kingdom of Israel and the beginning of the end of the kingdom of Judah touch. As Israel fell a prey to the Assyrian empire, which is shattered on Judah, of course by the miraculous intervention of divine grace (see Hos. i. 7), so Judah falls a prey to the Babylonian empire.

SECOND HALF OF THE COLLECTION OF PROPHECIES.

CHAPS. XL.–LXVI.

The first half contained seven parts; this second one contains three. Since the time of Rückert (*Uebers. und Erläut. hebräischer Proph.* 1831), the trilogical arrangement has been almost universally acknowledged. It may be accepted as no less certain, that every part consists in itself of 3 × 3 discourses. The division into chapters bears involuntary testimony to this, though not everywhere lighting on the right beginnings. The first part, chaps. xl.–xlviii., falls into the following nine discourses: xl., xli., xlii. 1–xliii. 13, xliii. 14–xliv. 5, xliv. 6–23, xliv. 24–xlv., xlvi., xlvii., xlviii; the second part, chaps. xlix.–lvii., into the following nine: xlix., l., li., lii. 1–12, lii. 13–liii., liv., lv., lvi. 1–8, lvi. 9–lvii.; the third part, chaps. lviii.–lxvi., into the following nine: lviii., lix., lx., lxi., lxii., lxiii. 1–6, lxiii. 7–lxiv., lxv., lxvi. Only in the middle of the first part is the division uncertain.

The theme of the whole is the call to comfort, and also the call to repent, based on the approaching deliverance. For the deliverance applies to the Israel, which remains faithful to the service of Jehovah, even in tribulation, and when salvation is delayed,—not to the apostates who deny Jehovah in word and deed, and descend to the level of the heathen. *There is no peace, saith Jehovah, for the wicked,* so concludes the first part of the twenty-seven discourses, xlviii. 22. The second concludes in more animated, earnest tones, lvii. 21: *There is no peace, saith my God, for the wicked.* And at the close of the third part (lxvi. 24) the prophet drops the form of refrain, and depicts the gloomy fate of the wicked in terror-striking colours: *Their worm shall not die, nor their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abomination to*

all flesh, just as at the close of the fifth book of Psalms the brief form of the *beracha* is abandoned, and an entire psalm, the Hallelujah Ps. cl., takes its place.

The three sections, thus marked off by the prophet himself, are merely variations of the theme common to all, but each one having a leading thought and a leading note, which is struck in the first words. In each of the three sections a different antithesis stands in the foreground: in chaps. xl.–xlviii. the antithesis of Jehovah and the idols, of Israel and the heathen; in chap. xlix. 57, that of the suffering of Jehovah's Servant at present, and his glory in the future; in chaps. lviii.–lxvi., that within Israel itself, the hypocrites, the immoral, the apostate on the one hand, the faithful, the mourners, the persecuted on the other. For in the first part the deliverance from Babylon is set forth, in which the prophecy of Jehovah is fulfilled, to the rebuke and overthrow of the idols and their worshippers; in the second part the exaltation of the Servant of Jehovah, effected through deep humiliation, which is at the same time Israel's exaltation to the height of its universal calling; in the third part the conditions of participating in the future deliverance and glory. The promise rises in the circular movements of the 3 × 9 discourses higher and higher, until it reaches its zenith in chaps. lxv., lxvi.

In regard to the language, there is nothing in the Old Testament more finished, nothing more splendid than this trilogy of prophetic discourses. In chaps. i.–xxxix. of the collection, the prophet's language is for the most part more compressed, rigid, sculpture-like, although even here assuming every hue of colour. But in chaps. xl.–lxvi. it has become a broad, clear, shining river, bearing us on majestic, but gentle and transparent waves as into a better world. Only in two passages is it harsh, turbid, ponderous, namely, chaps. liii. and lvi. 9–lvii. 11*a*. There it is the feeling of grief, here of anger, that is reflected in it. Wherever it wanders elsewhere, the influence of the subject and the feeling is felt. In lxiii. 7 the prophet strikes the note of the *tephillah;* in lxiii. 19*b*–lxiv. 4 it is sadness which blocks the flow of speech; in lxiv. 5 one hears, as in Jer. iii. 25, the tone of the liturgical *vidduy* (prayer of confession).

In regard to their contents, this trilogy of prophetic discourses is still more incomparable. It begins with a prophecy putting into the mouth of John the Baptist the theme of his preaching; it concludes with the prophecy of the creation of a new heaven and new earth, beyond which even the last page of the New Testament Apocalypse cannot soar; and in the middle, lii. 13–liii., the suffering and exaltation of the Servant of God are announced as plainly as if the prophet had stood beneath the cross and seen the Risen One. Placing himself at the beginning of N. T. days, he begins like the N. T. Gospels; he describes further the death and new life of God's Servant as completed facts with the clearness of Pauline preaching; he cleaves at last to the higher, heavenly world, like the Johannine apocalypse;—and all this without exceeding the O. T. limits; but within these he is evangelist, apostle, and apocalyptist in one person. Nowhere in these discourses do we find a proper Messianic prophecy; and yet they are deeper Christologically than all Messianic prophecy taken together. The bright image of the king, found in Messianic prophecy before, has here undergone a transformation, from which it has issued richer by many essential elements, namely, that of the two *status*, the *mors vicaria*, the *munus triplex*. The typical, obscure background of suffering, given to the Messiah-picture by the passion-psalms of David, becomes here first a constituent part of direct prophecy. In the place of the Son of David, who is only king, appears the Servant of Jehovah, who is prophet and priest, on the ground of His offering of Himself, and king in one person, persecuted by His own people to the death, but exalted by God as priest and king, to be the Saviour of Israel and of the heathen.

If the first half of the book, as to the pith and marrow of its contents, was a preparation and prediction of the coming Christ, this second half, as to the pith and marrow of its contents, is a preparation and prediction of the coming Jesus; for the O. T. path of Christological truth goes from Christ to Jesus, as conversely the N. T. path goes from Jesus to Christ, from the crucified to the risen and glorified King. If it can be said of any prophetic book, that it was certainly the favourite book of our Lord, it is this book

of the second Isaiah, in which what God's Elect One was to be and do was outlined with studied ideality. Here the ideal stood before Him, the realizing of which was His life-task. When He read in this book, the person of the Coming One and the Manifested One met together; the former found its body and the latter its soul.

We say "of the second Isaiah;" for that the Isaiah, who composed chaps. xl.–lxvi., in comparison with the Isaiah of the time of Uzziah till Hezekiah, is one raised far above that time, and at a higher stage of insight into God's work in the future, is certain, whether the two Isaiahs are one person or two persons. Thus the critical question is not easily answered. For however it is answered, obscure points remain which cannot be cleared up. The matter in question is the solving of a problem, not the expounding of a matter beyond all doubt; at least not for us to whom the naming of Cyrus is not a conclusive disproof of the personal unity of the two Isaiahs. We also hold this disproof to be almost, although not absolutely, conclusive; but it is strengthened by other proofs from the substance of religious truth taught, and the outward form of these discourses to the exiles. The result is immovably certain, but not so that many insoluble questions do not still remain which defy satisfactory answering, and throw their shadow on the light of this result.

God's supernatural intervention in the inner and outer life of man is of various kinds and degrees; and even the far-reaching glance of the prophet is very different in extent, according to the measure of his charism. Hence it is possible, indeed, that Isaiah, at a time when the Assyrian empire was yet standing, foresaw *πνεύματι μεγάλῳ* (Ecclus. xlviii. 24) the tribulations of the Babylonian age and the deliverance beyond, living and moving in these *ἔσχατα*; but the possible is not to us on this account the actual. The second Isaiah appears as the prophet of another, far more advanced period; for through all the twenty-seven discourses he has the exile as the fixed standpoint, and only in a sense movable, in so far as the deliverance comes nearer and nearer; he looks backward from the standpoint of the exile, never forward from the pre-exilian standpoint. Where he depicts pre-exilian things, as in lvii. 9 f., he does it retrospectively; and

where, as in lvii. 3–8, he launches out into censure of idolatry, he weaves together traits from the time before the exile and from the time of the exile. But his discourse is everywhere addressed to the people of the exile; and since the prophetic view of the future everywhere else has its roots in the soil of the present, and grows from it, he professes to belong to the people of the exile.

But it is true that Ezekiel was bound up with Babylon in a much more concrete way. He tells us the name of the spot where he was settled with other exiles, and where, on the Chebar, he was called to the prophet's office amid wondrous incidents; how, sitting amid the elders of Judah gathered in his house, he was seized by the spirit of prophecy, and how his fellow-exiles, seated on the walls and at the doors, applauded him; how he served God as a willing example for setting forth future events in terrible pictures, and how the message of the end of Jerusalem's deadly struggle loosed his tongue after long dumbness. In Isaiah ii. we find no such personal details and local colours. The prophet lives among the exiles, but not in such tangible reality as Ezekiel, but like a spirit without visible form. We learn nothing directly about the time and place of his appearance. He floats along through the exile like a being of a higher order, like an angel of God; and one must needs confess that this distinction may be used to support the view, that the life and action of the Deutero-Isaiah in the exile is an ideal one, not like Ezekiel's corporeal. A. Rutgers in his work, *De echtheid van het tweede gedeelte van Jesaja* (Leiden, Brill, 1866), seeks to prove that everything contained in chaps. xl.–lxvi. in allusions to place, history, idolatry, etc., points, not to an author living during the exile in Babylon, but to one living in the Holy Land. Cheyne thought formerly that, while chaps. xl.–liii. 12 were written in Babylon, the remainder, in nine discourses of different periods, agrees with a Palestinian standpoint; and even now the impression of Palestine made on him, especially by chaps. lvi., lvii., lxv., lxvi., is so strong that his scientific conscience is thrown into no slight perplexity (ii. 210–218, 2nd ed.). Nevertheless Driver seems to be right in maintaining the continuous identity of the Babylonian standpoint. Signs of acquaintance with the nature and customs of Baby-

lonia are not wanting. We leave out of account עָרָב (xliv. 2, cf. xv. 7) and שָׁרָב (xlix. 10, xxxv. 7), for neither *populus Euphratica* nor the *fata morgana* is specifically Babylonian.[1] But xliv. 27, xlv. 1 f. betray knowledge of the country intersected by main and branch rivers; xliii. 14 knowledge of the traffic enlivening these water-ways; chap. xlvii. knowledge of the capital, with its luxurious living, its organized astrology and magic, its markets, the resorts of merchants from far and near; and although, which seems very strange, lxv. 3–5, 11, lxvi. 17, cannot be explained as an imitation of Babylonian customs of worship, yet, xlvi. 1 names Bel and Nebo as gods of Babylon, in reference to processions with their images.[2] And, which is the chief matter, Cyrus is named; the prophet knows that this conqueror comes from the east and also from the north (xli. 2, 25), and foretells his capture of Babylon, showing at the same time acquaintance with the capital, guarded by mighty waters (xliv. 27) and gates (xlv. 1 f.), and rich in well-protected treasures (xlv. 3).

And yet much seems to be better explained when chaps. xl.–lxvi. are regarded as testamentary discourses of the one Isaiah, and the entire prophetic collection as the progressive

[1] Generally the pictures from nature used by an author are no sure index of his actual physical surroundings. One who has never seen the sea may indulge in pictures of it; one may in this way use steppe, prairie, glacier, Alpine flora, who only knows them from descriptions or pictures; one may speak of gazelle's eyes, rhinoceros' hide, hippopotamus' bulkiness, who only knows these beasts from zoological shows. I do not think Cobb has proved that Ezekiel betrays Babylonian, and Isa. ii. Palestinian surroundings in nature. Thus, *e.g.*, it is by chance that in Ezekiel צֹר, stone (iii. 9), occurs only once, and צוּר, rock, never; a letter of Hilprecht to me from Niffer (24th Feb. 1889) mentions the "glistening chalk-cliffs on the Euphrates," and the "steep wadis which break through the lime-cliffs in numbers on the west side of the Euphrates!" One merit of Cobb's treatise on "The Integrity of the Book of Isaiah," is the proof that no reciprocal relation whatever exists between Isa. ii. and Ezekiel, from which not a few strange things follow, *e.g.* that Isa. ii. celebrates God as בֹּרֵא, whereas in Ezekiel the word ברא does not occur.

[2] "At the feast of the New Year the images of Merodach and his son, Nebo, were carried on splendid cars, in solemn procession, through Babylon, and that in a procession-street (*mašdaḫu*) specially made for this purpose after Nabopolassar's days," Friedr. Delitzsch.

development of his incomparable charism. For the deliverance predicted, with its attendant circumstances, appears in these discourses as something beyond the range of creaturely foreknowledge, and known to Jehovah alone, and, when it takes place, proclaiming Him the God of gods. Jehovah, the God of prophecy, knows the name of Cyrus before he does himself, and by predicting the name and work of Israel's deliverer proves His Godhead to the whole world, xlv. 4–7. And if chaps. xl.–lxvi. are not cut off from chaps. i.–xxxix. and taken by themselves, the entire first half of the collection forms, as it were, a staircase leading up to these discourses to the exiles. The collection is so arranged that the prophecies of the Assyrian period are interspersed throughout with layers of prophecies reaching beyond, so that the former become the foundation and the latter the summit. Such are chaps. xxiv.–xxvii. in relation to chaps. xiii.–xxiii., and chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. in relation to chaps. xxviii.–xxxiii. And the cycle of prophecies against the heathen nations has three Babylonian predictions, xiii.–xiv. 23, xxi. 1–10, chap. xxiii. as beginning, middle, and end; the Assyrian prophecies stand within a circle, whose circumference and diameter are formed by prophecies of vaster range. The oracle respecting Babylon, xiii.–xiv. 23, has in the epilogue, xiv. 24–27, an Isaianic supplement. The other oracle respecting Babylon, xxi. 1–10, is not merely joined with three admittedly genuine Isaianic pieces, but also incorporated with them in style and substance. The prophetic cycle of the final catastrophe, chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., begins in such an Isaianic strain that nearly every word and turn in xxiv. 1–3 bears Isaiah's stamp, and in xxvii. 12 f. it concludes like the book of Immanuel, xi. 11 ff. And is not xiv. 1 f. like the substance of chaps. xl.–lxvi. *in nuce?* Is not the trilogy "Babylon," chaps. xlvi.–xlviii. like the unfolding of what is beheld in xxi. 1–10? Is not the prophecy about Edom, chap. xxxiv. the counterpart to lxiii. 1–6? And in chap. xxxv. does not one hear the direct prelude of the melody that is carried on in chaps. xl.–lxvi.?

In addition, the Isaianic marks, distinguishing the prophecies attacked, are the same as those of the prophecies admitted. The divine name characteristic of Isaiah, "Holy One of Israel," which appears everywhere in chaps. i.–xxxix.

in acknowledged prophecies, runs also through chaps. xl.–lxvi., whereas it is wanting in the prophecies of the first part, which are attacked, a point partly easy of explanation and partly hard. In the same way the introduction of divine words by "Jehovah saith" (i. 11, 18, xxxiii. 10, xl. 1, 25, xli. 21, lxvi. 9), their confirmation by "for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it" (i. 20, xl. 5, lviii. 14), and the interchange of the national name Jacob with Israel. In both parts God is often called King (vi. 5, xxxiii. 22, cf. viii. 21, xli. 21, xliii. 15, xliv. 6), and His royal dominion is celebrated (xxiv. 23, lii. 7); the psalms with the motto "Jehovah reigns" (xciii., xcvi., xcvii., xcix.) are all written in Isaianic (Deutero-Isaianic) style. And if, in chaps. xl.–lxvi., the divine omnipotence is often incidentally called "Jehovah's arm" זְרוֹעַ (xl. 10, xlviii. 14, li. 5, 9, lii. 10, liii. 1, lix. 16, lxii. 8, lxiii. 5, 12), Isa. i. is the precursor of Isa. ii. in this also (xxx. 30, xxxiii. 2). The figure of epanaphora (repeating the catchword of a verse at its end) is found also outside the Book of Isaiah (Gen. ii. 2, vi. 9, xiii. 6, xxxv. 12; Lev. xxv. 41; Deut. xxxii. 43; Job xi. 7; Eccles. i. 6, ii. 10, iii. 16, iv. 1; Ezek. xxxiv. 5; Mal. i. 11), but in the Book of Isaiah it runs as a favourite rhetorical phrase from beginning to end: i. 7, iv. 3, vi. 11, xiii. 10, xiv. 25, xv. 8, xxx. 20, xxxiv. 9, xxxvii. 33 f., xl. 19, xlii. 15, 19, xlviii. 21, l. 4, li. 13, liii. 6 f., liv. 4, 13, lviii. 2, lix. 8.[1] The same holds good of anadiplosis, which is noticed already in *Pesikta de-Rab Cahana* 126*a*, as a peculiarity of Isaiah: "All prophets prophesy נבואות פשוטות אבל את מתנבא נבואות כפולות;" this figure is also found as in xl. 1, xli. 27, xliii. 11, 25, li. 9, 12, 17, lii. 1, 11, lvii. 14, 19, so also in viii. 9, xxix. 1, cf. xxi. 9. In the same way the crowding together of short sentences as in i. 17, xxiii. 10, xlvii. 2—everywhere the same breathless haste in the movement of thought. But there are still more intimate lines of connection. How strikingly, for example, xxviii. 5 and lxii. 3 rhyme together, and also xxix. 23 and v. 7 with lx. 21! And does not the fundamental thought,

[1] On the other hand, the emphatic repetition of one and the same verse in two connected verses, as Driver shows (p. 200), is found in the second part far more frequently than in the first, *e.g.* xl. 12 f. (תִּכֵּן), 13 f. (יוֹדִיעֶנּוּ), xli. 8 f. (בְּחַרְתִּיךָ), cf. xxxii. 17 f. (שָׁלוֹם).

heard in xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26 (cf. xxv. 1), that everything realized in history pre-exists as idea, *i.e.* a mental picture, in God, run through chaps. xl.–lxvi. as a constant echo? And is not what is said in xi. 6 ff., xxx. 26, and other places of the future glorifying of the earthly and heavenly creation repeated in the second half in grand, elaborate pictures, and partly in the same words, a not un-Isaianic feature, lxv. 25? Also the designation of God as "Saviour," found everywhere in chaps. xl.–lxvi., has its roots in the sayings of the first part, such as xii. 2, xxxv. 4. We may say that the second half of the Book of Isaiah (chaps. xl.–lxvi.) is in course of progressive growth as to its theme, standpoint, style, and ideas throughout the first part (chaps. i.–xxxix.).

But, on the other hand, it is also true that all this does not prove the identity of the two Isaiahs, but only that the second Isaiah is a disciple of the first, outstripping the master, on whom he is formed. The Isaianic and Deutero-Isaianic forms of speech have been recently contrasted with exhaustive and painful exactness by Nägelsbach in his commentary; by A. B. Davidson in *Brit. and For. Evang. Rev.* 1879; Urwick in his monograph, *The Servant of Jehovah* (1880); Cobb in his two essays, "Two Isaiahs or One" (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1881 and 1882), and in the essay, "The Integrity of the Book of Isaiah" (*ibid.* 1882, p. 519), in which the vocabulary of Isa. i., consisting of 1828 words, and that of Isa. ii., consisting of 1313, are compared with Ezekiel's vocabulary in every region of idea and observation; Cheyne in his comm. (ii. 241–244, and elsewhere); and, exactly distinguishing what is inconclusive in the evidences of the unity of the two Isaiahs, by Driver in his *Isaiah*, 1888 (chap. v: *Authorship of chaps.* xl.–lxvi.), who registers (1) the exclusively Proto-Isaianic, (2) the exclusively Deutero-Isaianic, (3) the Deutero-Isaianic in chaps. xl.–lxvi. and also chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., and (4) what is common to the two Isaiahs. In carefully weighing the material collected in these lists one is surprised at the number of phenomena telling against the unity of authorship. It is strange that the combination of divine names, "Lord, Jehovah of hosts" (i. 24, iii. 1, x. 16, 33, xix. 4), meets us nowhere in the Deutero-Isaianic parts, and the description of God's judicial power by "His hand stretched

out" (v. 25, ix. 12, 17, 21, x. 4, xiv. 26 f., xxxi. 3) only in xxiii. 11; but it is still more strange that the Isaianic leading thought of a remnant surviving the period of judgment (שְׁאָר, שְׁאֵרִית, פְּלֵטָה, שָׂרִיד) is nowhere put in this form in chaps. xl.–lxvi., and that in chaps. xl.–lxvi. the idolatry of the heathen and of Israel is constantly opposed without the idols being once called אלילים, as in ii. 8, 18, 20, x. 10 f., xix. 1, 3, xxxi. 7. And it is a heavy weight in the scale, that in xlii. 6, xlix. 8, liv. 10, lv. 3, lix. 21, lxi. 8 "covenant" is a religious conception belonging to revelation, whereas in the first part it occurs only in a political sense, xxviii. 15, 18, xxxiii. 8, and that "all flesh" (xl. 5 f., xlix. 26, lxvi. 16, 23, 24) is quite foreign to the first part. The fact is hard to reconcile with the identity of the author, that God's designation of Himself: I am He, I am Jehovah and no other, I am First and I Last, running through chaps. xl.–lxvi., is without parallel in the first part; that such attributive designations of God as Maker of heaven and earth, Former of Israel, etc., are wanting in the first part; and that ברא, which occurs in the first part only once, iv. 5, in the second part is a governing word about God, the world's author. Driver pertinently remarks, that the first Isaiah celebrates the majesty of Jehovah and the second Isaiah His infinity; and it is quite correct to say that the idea of the "Servant of Jehovah" does not stand to the Messiah-figures of the first Isaiah in the relation of continuous development, but is a departure from the previous line of teaching and the striking out of a new path. The second part is not wanting also in signs of a later period of language like סגד (xliv. 15–19, xlvi. 6), סגנים (xli. 25), the diversified use of חֵפֶץ (plan, business), and the calling Jerusalem "the holy city" (xlviii. 2, lii. 1, as in the Books of Nehemiah and Daniel). It is surprising also that in Isa. lxv. 25 the יַחְדָּו of the original passage, xi. 6–9, is exchanged for כְּאֶחָד, corresponding to the Aramaic כַּחֲדָא.

The author of chaps. xl.–lxvi. is in any case a prophet of the Isaianic type, but of an Isaianic type peculiarly developed. It is scarcely conceivable, although not quite inconceivable, that in a final stage of Isaiah's life reaching into the days of Manasseh, his style of thought and speech may have undergone a modification in breadth and depth which carried it

beyond itself. And yet—we ask for this *ultro citroque* the credit of a pure love of truth, conscious of freedom from apologetic prepossession—yet the distinction between an Assyrian and a Babylonian Isaiah involves us in all sorts of difficulties, when we take into view the reciprocal relations of the Isaianic collection of prophecies with the other O. T. literature known to us. In chaps. xl.–lxvi. we find reminiscences from the Book of Job (cf. xl. 23 with Job xii. 24 and 17; xliv. 25 with Job xii. 17, 20; xliv. 24 with Job ix. 8; xl. 14 with Job xxi. 22; lix. 4 with Job xv. 35, Ps. vii. 15); in like manner the first half points back here and there to Job; the poetical words נֶ֫טַע, הִתְגַּבֵּר, צֶאֱצָאִים are found, outside Isaiah, only in the Book of Job. Once at least, lix. 7, we are reminded of Mishle (Prov. i. 16); more frequently in the first half we encounter resemblances to the Solomonic Mashal. The relation of the two halves to Micah is exactly the same, cf. lviii. 1 with Micah iii. 8; ii. 2–4 with Micah iv. 1–4; and xxvi. 21 with Micah i. 3. The two halves stand in the same relation to Nahum, cf. Nah. iii. 4 f. with chap. xlvii.; ii. 1 with lii. 7*a*, 1*b*; and also ii. 11 with xxiv. 1; iii. 13 with xix. 16. Which side has the priority is of no importance. But if in Zephaniah and Jeremiah points of contact are found not only with chaps. xl.–lxvi., but also with xiii.–xiv. 23, xxi. 1–10, xxxiv., xxxv., which preclude the possibility of accident, it is scarcely credible that these two prophets were copied by the author of chaps. xl.–lxvi., since they are distinguished above other prophets for blending words and thoughts of their predecessors with their own. Zephaniah is in touch, not merely from design, with Isa. xiii. and xxxiv., but cf. also ii. 15 with Isa. xlvii. 8, 10; iii. 10 with Isa. lxvi. 20. The former passage betrays its non-originality by this fact, that עַלִּיז in the Old Testament is an exclusively Isaianic word; the latter is not merely a compendium of Isa. lxvi. 20, but also by מֵעֵבֶר לְנַהֲרֵי־כוּשׁ points back to Isa. xviii. 1, 7. And the Jeremianic passage about the worthlessness of the gods of the nations (Jer. x. 1–16) is strongly Isaianic in tenor; cf. especially Isa. xliv. 12–15, xli. 7, xlvi. 7. Budde[1] rejects the interpolation or revision

[1] See his two essays on chaps. l. and li. of Jeremiah in *Jahrb. f. deut. Theol.* xxiii. His final conclusion is that the former prophecy

hypothesis, and regards the whole piece as Deutero-Isaianic. But not merely in vers. 6–8, 10, which Movers, Hitzig, de Wette allow to be Jeremiah's, but also in that which is erased, Jeremianic marks are found, like יָפָה, אִתָּם=אוֹתָם, הוֹבִישׁ (from בוֹשׁ=יבשׁ), נִבְעַר, תַּעְתֻּעִים, פְּקֻדָּה, judicial visitation,—Jeremianic expressions which one encounters nowhere in Isa. ii. Also the comforting message, Jer. xxx. 10 f., which is quite Deutero-Isaianic in tenor, and again xlvi. 27 f. are said somehow to have fallen out of Isa. ii. into the Book of Jeremiah. But Caspari has shown that this is impossible, because the close of the promise: "I will chastise thee according to right (covenant-right, and so as a discipline, not arbitrarily), and will only not leave thee unpunished," spoken at the end of the exile, would have no meaning, and because the Jeremianic elements, in which the promise combines with admittedly non-interpolated prophecies of Jeremiah, outweigh the Deutero-Isaianic. And yet here, where Israel is addressed as "my servant," we hear a Deutero-Isaianic tone; Jeremiah here (so it seems) as elsewhere fuses Isaianic elements with his own. Moreover, compare Jer. vi. 15 with Isa. lvi. 11, and Isa. xlviii. 6 with Jer. xxxiii. 3, where Jeremiah, according to his custom, gives a different turn to the original passage by a slight change of letters. We shall find also in parallels like Jer. iii. 16 and Isa. lxv. 17, Jer. iv. 13 and Isa. lxvi. 15, Jer. xi. 19 and Isa. liii., involuntary Isaianic reminiscences in Jeremiah, and hear the echo of Isa. li. 17–23 in the Jeremian *Kinoth*, and of Isa. lvi. 9–lvii. 11*a* in the older Jeremianic words of rebuke, not the converse. And yet one must do violence to himself and everywhere regard, not Zephaniah and Jeremiah, but Isa. ii. as the borrower. In order to strengthen myself in this position, I wrote twenty years ago: "Is it not possible that the Deutero-Isaianic conception of the 'Servant of the Lord' originated in 'my servant Jacob,' Jer. xxx. 10 f., xlvi. 27 f.? The 'my Servant' of Jer. xxx. 10 presented itself to Jeremiah spontaneously, because of 'they shall serve' in xxx. 9, whereas in Isa. xli. 8 it appears as a complete idea.

respecting Babylon in Jeremiah is a compilation composed by a post-exilian author after the overthrow of Babylon. In his opinion also the priority in the numerous parallels to the Deutero-Isaianic parts of the Book of Isaiah is on the side of Deutero-Isaiah.

And just in the Deutero-Isaianic passage, which Jeremiah must otherwise have had chiefly in view, Isa. xliii. 1–6, 'my Servant' is not found; and, on the other hand, 'The Holy One of Israel' is found, without passing over to Jeremiah, as we might expect."

I have never found anything objectionable in the view, that the Book of Isaiah, as it now exists, contains prophetic discourses of Isaiah and of other later prophets, the later ones being intermixed with his and combined designedly into one whole. The combination, I think, was no play of chance, no work of caprice. The later portions were really a continuation of Isaiah's prophecy, equal in nature and rank. The main stream of Isaianic prophecy forms branches in the others, as in branch-streams, fertilizing ages lying far apart. The later prophets are really Isaiah's second self, and might therefore be identified with him by the after-world. They belong indirectly, though not directly, to his disciples, whom he means in viii. 16 when he invokes the Lord: *obsigna doctrinam in discipulis meis.* The Book of Isaiah, so regarded, is the work of the creative spirit of Isaiah and of these disciples who are his crown; and the prophet, who as the author of chaps. xl.–lxvi. is called the evangelist of the Old Testament, is the most glorious jewel of this crown, his work the work of a disciple who at once outshines the master and yet owes all to the master. In the lectures on the Theology of the Old Testament and Messianic Prophecies, I have always treated chaps. xl.–lxvi. as a product of the period of exile. In the course of development of O. T. religious truth the exile is the right place for it, not an earlier period. Composed by Isaiah, it would be a miraculous anticipation. Perhaps Klostermann[1] is right in saying, that it is Isaiah's thought-germs belonging to the time of his contemplative retirement in the last years of Hezekiah and the first of Manasseh, from which the miracle-tree of this prophetic book has grown. Bredenkamp even thinks that the old Isaianic element can still be spelt out in the Deutero-Isaianic. This is a fruitless task; but perhaps the enigma is to be solved in the same

[1] In his essay, "Jes. cap. xl.–lxvi. Eine Bitte um Hilfe in grosser Noth," *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1876, pp. 1–6; cf. his art. "Jesaja" in Herzog's *RE.* vi. 601.

way as that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which Origen in Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* vi. 25, says, that it consists of the νοήματα of Paul, to which some one else has given shape, or even the enigma of the Pastoral Epistles, which suggest the theory that they were written by a Paulinist on a Pauline basis. In any case Isaiah has part in chaps. xl.–lxvi. If he is not the immediate author, it is the outcome of impulses springing from him.

It will always remain a mystery how the name of the great prophet of the exile, who stood far nearer to the return from exile than Ezekiel, has fallen into oblivion; and it is a question, among how many prophets the Deutero-Isaianic passages should be divided. The simplest course would be to regard the second Isaiah as the author also of chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., chaps. xxiii., xxi. 1–10, xiii. 2–xiv. 23, chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. (perhaps in this chronological order). But over this question lies a thick, impenetrable veil.

First Discourse of the First Part, Chap. XL.

The Message of Comfort and the God of Comfort.

In this first discourse the prophet justifies his calling to preach the comfort of the approaching deliverance, basing this comfort on the truth that Jehovah, who calls him to so consolatory a mission, is the incomparably lofty Creator and Ruler of the world. The first part, vers. 1–11, may be regarded as the prologue of all the twenty-seven discourses. The theme of the prophetic promise and the inevitableness of its fulfilment are here declared.

Turning to the people of the exile, whom Jehovah has not forgotten and cast off, the prophet begins, ver. 1: "*Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.*" This is the divine commission to the prophet. It is urgent, on which account נַחֲמוּ (*Piel*, properly to cause to breathe again) is repeated. Its continuance is intimated by יֹאמַר, which means here, not *dicet* (Hofmann, Stier, Klostermann), but as, *e.g.*, in 1 Sam. xxiv. 14, *dicit* (LXX, Jerome). This "saith Jehovah" is peculiarly Isaianic (in the Book of Jeremiah so parenthetically

only in li. 36); the imperfect expresses the idea of proceeding, continuing (Driver, *Tenses*, § 33, p. 44), as, for example, also יאמר, Ps. xii. 6; Prov. xx. 14, xxiii. 7; תאמר, xl. 27; Prov. i. 21. The divine commission has not gone forth once to one only, but goes forth continually to many. Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, says continually the God of the exiles, who even in the midst of wrath has not ceased to be their God, not to the priests (LXX ver. 2, *ἱερεῖς*, ye priests), but to the prophets, His messengers and spokesmen.

The summons is now repeated still more impressively, the contents of the comforting announcement being also stated, ver. 2: "*Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and call to her, that her affliction is finished, that her guilt is discharged, that she has received from the hand of Jehovah double for all her sins.*" The holy city is contemplated in union with the people belonging to it. "To speak to the heart," used of heart-winning (Gen. xxxiv. 3; Judg. xix. 3) or heart-strengthening discourse, like Joseph's to his brethren, Gen. l. 21, here just as in Hos. ii. 16, and perhaps not without influence from this prophecy of Hosea; "call to," used of prophetic announcement going forth to some one, as in Jonah iii. 2; Jer. vii. 27; Zech. i. 4. With כִּי, *ὅτι*, which introduces indirect and direct address, begins what is to be announced to Jerusalem: 1. Completed, and so come to an end is her צָבָא, warfare (Vulg. *malitia*, read *militia*); then toil and fatigue generally, Job vii. 1; here of the exile, that homeless bivouac, so to speak, of a people transported to foreign soil, enslaved, unsettled, and unsafe. 2. Her ill-doing is expiated, and the divine justice satisfied; נִרְצָה, elsewhere to find a satisfactory reception, here a satisfactory discharge, like רָצָה עָוֹן, Lev. xxvi. 41, 43, to expiate the guilt of sin by enduring its punishment. The third clause repeats the substance of the foregoing with heightened meaning and emphasis: Jerusalem has already suffered enough for her sins. In contradiction with לָקְחָה, which along with two actual perfects cannot be the perfect of certainty as to something future, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, Stier, Hahn understand כִּפְלַיִם of double grace which Jerusalem was to receive (like מִשְׁנֶה, lxi. 7 and Zech. ix. 12, perhaps borrowed from

Isaiah), instead of the double punishment which Jerusalem has endured (like מִשְׁנֶה, Jer. xvi. 18). It is not to be pressed arithmetically, in which case God would appear over-righteous, and therefore unrighteous. Jerusalem has not suffered more than it deserved; but God's compassion now regards what His justice was forced to inflict on Jerusalem as superabundant. This compassion is also expressed in בכל (with ב *pretii*): nothing is left to be punished further. The turning-point from anger to love has come. With what intensity will love, long pent up, break forth!

Here is a *sethuma* in the text. The first two verses are a small *parashah* by themselves, the prologue of the prologue. After the substance of the consolation has been stated on its negative side, the question arises, What positive salvation is to be expected? This question is answered to the prophet when, with his heart turned to God, he hears in ecstatic stillness a wondrous voice, ver. 3: "*Hark! One calling: In the wilderness prepare ye Jehovah's way, make plain in the desert a highroad for our God.*" We do not translate: A voice calls (Gesen., Umbreit, Knobel); the two words are in *st. constr.*, and form, as in xiii. 4, lii. 8, lxvi. 6 (cf. with Gen. iv. 10) an interjectional clause: Voice of one calling! Who the caller is remains a secret; his personality vanishes in the splendour of his calling, retires behind the substance of his call. The call itself sounds like the long-drawn trumpet-blast of a herald (cf. xvi. 1). The caller is like a king's forerunner, who takes care that the way the king is to travel is in good order. This king is Jehovah; to make the way ready for Him is the more necessary as it leads through a pathless desert. In view of the parallelism, and according to the accents,—for *zakeph katon* separates here more strongly than *zakeph gadhol*, as in Deut. xxvi. 14, xxviii. 8; 2 Kings i. 6; Zech. i. 7,[1]—בַּמִּדְבָּר is to be joined to פַּנּוּ; but the Targum and Jewish interpreters take קול קורא במדבר like the LXX, and after them the Gospels. One may and, as it

[1] The reason is this, that of two disjunctives of equal value, and standing together, the first has more separative force than the second; but the two *zakephs* are of equal value, for a *zakeph* which is not preceded by a conjunctive, and whose word also in itself is incapable of a *munach* or *kadhma*, must be *zakeph gadhol*.

seems, ought to conceive that the caller, entering the wilderness, calls men to make a way in it. But why does the way of Jehovah go through the wilderness? Marching through the wilderness, He redeemed Israel from the Egyptian bondage, and revealed Himself to it from Sinai, Deut. xxxiii. 2; Judg. v. 4; Ps. lxviii. 8; for this reason God, the Redeemer of His people, is called רֹכֵב בָּעֲרָבוֹת. Just as His people, when found between Egypt and Canaan, had to expect Him, so His people found in the "desert of the sea" (xxi. 1), and separated from its fatherland by *Arabia deserta*, has now to expect Him. If He went at the head of His people, He would Himself clear hindrances out of the way; but He comes through the desert to Israel, therefore Israel must take care that nothing check the speed of the Coming One, nothing cloud His favour. The situation corresponds to the reality; but the literal sense passes into spiritual in an allegorical way, as we shall often see farther on.

The summons goes on in jussives, ver. 4: "*Let every valley be exalted, and every mountain and hill be made low; and let the rugged become level ground, and rocky heights a deep valley.*" וְהָיָה, governed by the two jussives, is itself = וִיהִי. Alongside גֵּיא, Zech. xiv. 4, the form גֶּיא is found here (after Kimchi). With עָקֹב, hilly, rugged,[1] cf. Jer. xvii. 9, along with עֻפְּלָה, Hab. ii. 4. רְכָסִים (from רָכַס, to tilt over, tilt up, and thence = to join firmly, the meaning usual in the Assyrian), which is not yet rightly explained, perhaps means, not ridges = connections between two mountains (Nägelsbach), but rocky heights, where one block lies on another. The summons, which ought not to be confounded with similar calls, to prepare the way of the home-coming nation (Cheyne), permits only a spiritual sense, since it relates to the preparing of Jehovah's way. It refers to the encouraging of the downcast, the humbling of the self-righteous and secure, the change of dishonesty into simplicity, and of unapproachable pride into submission. Generally the meaning is that Israel is to yield itself to the God who is coming to deliver it, and to feel and act in a way worthy of His dignity and purpose.

The call of the caller proceeds farther, ver. 5: "*And the*

[1] In this ethical sense Essex used this word of the soul of Queen Elizabeth; see Hefele, *Ximenes*, p. 90.

glory of Jehovah shall be revealed; and all flesh sees it together, for the mouth of Jehovah has said it." The *praet. consec.* וְנִגְלָה is here *apodosis imper.* When the way is made ready for Jehovah the Coming One, the glory of the God of salvation will be revealed; His *parousia* is *ἀποκάλυψις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*, 1 Pet. iv. 13. This revelation takes place for Israel's salvation, but not in secret and exclusively; all mankind, here intentionally called "all flesh" (as in xlix. 26, lxvi. 23, and everywhere, also Joel iii. 1, in universal sense), will get to see it; man, because he is flesh, cannot behold God without dying, Ex. xxxiii. 20; but the future will abolish this gulf of separation. LXX, *καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* (cf. Luke iii. 6) *ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησε*—a different text. According even to the traditional text, the object of ראו is the glory revealed (כבודו, Ps. xcvii. 6), not what follows: *os Jovae locutum esse* (Rosenmüller), for the word of promise which is fulfilled is not one that goes forth to all flesh, or: shall see that Jehovah speaks with His own lips, *i.e.* in human form (Stier), which would require מְדַבֵּר, not דִּבֵּר; rather "for the mouth" etc., is the usual Isaianic confirmation of a preceding prophecy. Here the caller thus ratifies the certainty of what he sets forth in prospect, so far as Israel shall do what he calls upon it to do.

The prophet now hears a second voice, and a third entering into dialogue with it, vers. 6–8: "*Hark! One saying: Call! And he answers: What shall I call? 'All flesh is grass, and all its loveliness like the flower of the field. Withered is the grass, faded the flower; for the breath of Jehovah has blown on it. Truly the people is grass; the grass withers, the flower fades; but the word of our God shall stand for ever.'*" A second voice, in presence of the approaching fulfilment, commends the divine word of promise, and with the challenging "Call" (cf. Zech. i. 14), appoints one to proclaim its eternal permanence. It is not said וָאֹמַר, *et dixi* (LXX, Jerome), but וְאָמַר, as in lvii. 14: the questioner therefore is not the prophet himself immediately, but an ideal person, whom he has in visionary objectiveness before him. The theme of proclamation proposed is the perishableness of all flesh (ver. 5, *πᾶσα σάρξ*; here, *πᾶσα ἡ σάρξ*, as, besides here, in Gen. vii. 15), and on the other hand the imperishableness

of God's word. Men living in the flesh are altogether impotent, fragile, dependent; God, on the other hand (xxxi. 3), is the Almighty, Eternal, All-Controlling; and as He Himself is, so is His word, which is the setting and utterance of His will and thought. חַסְדּוֹ is here sweetness, charm, grace (syn. חֵן) of outward appearance (LXX, 1 Pet. i. 24, δόξα; Jas. i. 11, εὐπρέπεια). The comparison to grass and flowers reminds us of xxxvii. 27, Job viii. 12, but especially Ps. xc. 5 f.; Job xiv. 2. Ver. 7*a* tells how it fares with grass and flowers; the preterites, after the manner of the Greek *aoristus gnomicus* (cf. xxvi. 9), express a fact of experience based on numerous cases: *exaruit gramen, emarcuit flos,* on which account the following כִּי is not hypothetical (in case that), but explanatory: for "the breath of Jehovah has blown on it," *i.e.* the breath of God the Creator, which breathing through creation begets and preserves and destroys life, and whose best material manifestation is the wind; every gust of wind is a breath of the collective life of nature, which has God's Spirit as the active, indwelling principle of its existence. When in May the sirocco begins to blow, the spring flora acquires at a stroke an autumn look. אָכֵן should now begin a new verse. The clause אָכֵן חָצִיר הָעָם, despite LXX, (Koppe, Gesen., Hitzig), is no appended sigh of a reader,[1] for the setting is Deutero-Isaianic. אכן is not = the כן of comparison, but asseverates, as in xlv. 15, xlix. 4, liii. 4; and "the people" is mankind, as in xlii. 5, not the people of Israel, so that the simile applies to the catastrophes before the exile (Bredenkamp). The course of thought is like that of a *triolet*:—with אכן begins the explanation of the apt comparison, then in the repeated *exarescit gramen, emarcescit flos,* the men who are like the grass and the flowers are pointed out: Truly mankind is grass; such grass withers and such flowers fade, but the word of our God (Jehovah the God of His people and of sacred history), יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם, *i.e.* stands and continues for ever, fulfilling and attesting itself through all ages. This general truth refers here to the word of promise uttered by the voice in the wilderness. If God's word generally exists eternally, so especially is it with the

[1] LXX leaves untranslated not only this clause, but everything from כי רוח up to ציץ.

word of the parousia of God the Redeemer, the word in which all God's words find their Yea and Amen. But the imperishableness of this word has the perishableness of all flesh and of its beauty as its dark foil. The tyrants of Israel are mortal; perishable the loveliness by which they impose and infatuate; the word of God, on the other hand, in which Israel can comfort itself, holds the field, and secures to it a glorious issue of its history. Irrefragable, therefore, is the seal which the first caller has impressed on the promise of Jehovah's speedy coming; infallibly certain the comfort which God's prophets are now to bring to His long-enduring people.

Accordingly the prophet now takes his stand in the time when Jehovah has come, ver. 9: "*Get thee up on a high mountain, O Evangelist*[1] *Zion! Lift up thy voice with strength, O Evangelist Jerusalem! Lift it up, be not afraid; say to the cities of Judah: Behold, your God!*" Knobel, Knabenbauer *et al.*, after LXX, Targ., take Zion and Jerusalem as *accus. obj.:* preacher of salvation (*i.e.* choir of preachers of salvation) to Zion-Jerusalem; but parallels like lii. 7, lxii. 11 are here misleading; they are in apposition (Aquila, Symm., Theodotion, εὐαγγελιζομένη Σιών), Zion-Jerusalem itself is called Evangelist; the feminine personification at once makes this probable, and the cities of Judah (בְּנוֹת, daughters of Zion-Jerusalem) being those to be evangelized, puts it beyond doubt. The prophet's standpoint here is within the parousia. When Jerusalem again has its God in its midst, after so long an interruption of His abode in it, the restored mother-Church is to ascend a high mountain, and, lifting up her voice without fear, make known to her daughters the glad tidings of the appearing of their God. The verb בִּשֵּׂר (Assyr. *bussuru*, with *s*, on the other hand, *bišru*, flesh, with *š*[2]) means to bring news, especially joyous news,—the root-word of the N. T.

[1] [Feminine].

[2] Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 170. Nevertheless, Arabic lexicographers explain بَشَرَهُ or بَشَّرَهُ, *he announced to him an event which produced a change in his* بَشَرَة (skin, surface, outer side), therefore as denominative; whereas Fleischer refers בִּשֵּׂר, بشر, with בָּשָׂר, بَشَرَة, to the same radical notion, "to rub, rub smooth, polish" (=to unwrinkle).

εὐαγγελίζειν, a favourite word of the author of chaps. xl.–lxvi., that O. T. evangelist (cf. Nah. ii. 1). Hitherto, Jerusalem had been timid, depressed under the punishment of its sins, and cheerless. But now that it has Jehovah with it again, it is to lift high its voice with joyous confidence without being anxious, and in harmony with its calling and position to become a herald of salvation to all Judah.

In ver. 10 the prophet from the standpoint of fulfilment goes back to that of prophecy: "*Behold, the Lord, Jehovah,—he will come as a mighty One, his arm exercising lordship for him; behold, his reward is with him and his retribution before him.*" We do not translate: with strong = strength (LXX, Targ.); the *Beth* is *Beth essentiae* (cf. xxvi. 4): He will come in the essence, strength, and energy of a strong one, which is more exactly defined by the participial clause of circumstance, *brachio suo ipsi dominante*. לוֹ is *dat. commodi*, referring to Jehovah Himself, as in lix. 16 and the Deutero-Isaianic Ps. xcviii. 1: His arm subjecting to Him all resistance, or casting it to the ground. Still, 10*b* does not describe Him one-sidedly as a retributive judge, but a recompenser, not merely on the legal, but also on the redemptive side, of which the twofold divine name אדני ה' (as in iii. 15, xxviii. 16, xxx. 15) is, so to speak, an anagram. פְּעֻלָּה (here as in Lev. xix. 13), advancing from the meaning "work" to that of the thing effected or produced, becomes synonym of שָׂכָר. Jehovah brings with Him as well the retributive reward of the foes of His people as the gracious reward of the faithful of His people, whom He will recompense for their previous sufferings with overflowing gladness (see lxii. 11).

The prophet lingers on this salvation-giving side, putting the figure of the good shepherd beside that of the Lord Jehovah, ver. 11: "*Like a shepherd he will feed his flock, take the lambs in his arm and carry them in his bosom, gently lead those that give suck.*" The flock is His people, now scattered in foreign lands. The love with which He tends this flock is set forth by way of example by His conduct towards the טְלָאִים (=טְלָיִים from טָלֶה=טְלִי), the lambs not long born, and the עָלוֹת, those giving suck, *lactantes* (Jerome, *fetae*), not sucking, *sugentes* (from עוּל, عال, *med. vav*, to nourish, cf. on iii. 12). The former, who cannot keep pace with the flock, He takes in

His arms and bears in the bosom of his garment (חֵיק, here not breast of the body, but as in Prov. vi. 27 and often); the latter, the mothers, He does not overdrive, but יְנַהֵל, causes them to go softly, because they need forbearance, Gen. xxxiii. 13. With this lovely image the prologue, vers. 1–11, closes. It stands, like a divine inauguration of the prophet, and a summary at the head of all that which he is commanded to proclaim. Nevertheless it is also an integral part of the first discourse. For the questions which now follow cannot be the beginning of the discourse, although it is not at once clear to what extent they are a continuation of it.

The connection is this. It is further set forth didactically and by way of encouragement what kind of a God He is, the revelation of whom to redeem His people has been prophetically proclaimed in vers. 1–11. He is the incomparably Lofty One. This incomparable dignity makes plain the folly of idolaters, but ministers comfort to Israel; and such comfort Israel needs just now in the banishment in which it is so hard for it to understand God's ways. In order to bring home to his people the dignity of Jehovah, the prophet asks, ver. 12: "*Who has measured the waters with the hollow of his hand, and regulated the heavens with a span, and taken the dust of the earth in a third-measure, and weighed mountains with the steelyard and hills with balances?*" Klostermann, Bredenkamp, v. Orelli think the answer desired is "No one;" but the questions run as in Prov. xxx. 4, and, as Cheyne adds, Job xxxviii. 5 f., and are meant to teach that Jehovah and no one else gave these parts of the universe their dimensions, their precise form, and relative position in the universe. How little the palm (שֹׁעַל, hollow of the hand) of a man takes, how little the space which the span of a man can cover, how scanty a third of an ephah (שָׁלִישׁ, see on Ps. lxxx. 6), and for what insignificant measures a balance suffices, whether a פֶּלֶס, *i.e.* a steelyard, *statera*, or מֹאזְנַיִם, a retail balance (*libra*) consisting of two scales (*lances*). But what Jehovah measures with His palm (מָדַד, originally to extend, stretch, then to measure what is extended) and regulates with His span (brings to a definite measure, תִּכֵּן), is nothing less than the waters below and the heavens above; He uses a *shalish*, in which the dust, composing the earth, finds place (כָּל, the proper word for measuring

with palm, كَيل), and a balance, in which He weighs the colossus of the mountains.

A second question, vers. 13, 14: "*Who has regulated the Spirit of Jehovah, and (who) is his counsellor to instruct him? With whom took he counsel that he should make him understand and instruct him concerning the path of right, and teach him knowledge and make known to him prudent courses?*" The first question brought out Jehovah's omnipotence; this one brings out His infinite wisdom, which, having all fulness in itself, excludes instruction coming from without. "Spirit of Jehovah" is the Spirit who at the creation brooded over the waters and shaped chaos into cosmos. Who, asks the prophet, gave this Spirit a measuring-line, by which He must work? תִּכֵּן means not to test (Gesen.),—for how could the verb acquire this meaning?—but, as in ver. 12, to bring into orderly shape, and so enable to work orderly. Instead of the accentuation *mercha, tiphcha, athnach*, at the basis of which lies the explanation of the Targ. (*Quis paravit spiritum? Jahve*), with an eye to Prov. xvi. 2 (Jerome: *spirituum ponderator est Dominus*), *tiphcha, munach, athnach* (cf. Ex. xxi. 24, xxiii. 9) is more correct (see Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 140). In 13*b* the force of מִי continues, and יוֹדִיעֶנּוּ is an attributive clause;[1] LXX correctly, *καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο, ὃς συμβιβᾷ* (Rom. xi. 34, 1 Cor. ii. 16, *συμβιβάσει*) *αὐτόν*. In ver. 14 the reciprocal נוֹעַץ is joined with אֵת=עִם. The *imperf. consecutives* maintain their proper meaning: with whom took He counsel, so that the former in consequence of this gave Him understanding (הֵבִין, elsewhere to understand, here causatively). Verbs of teaching are construed partly with בְּ of the subject-matter, partly with double accusative. To the question ver. 13 f., which is essentially only one, Israel must reply, that its God is the possessor of absolute wisdom as well as of absolute power.

From His dignity as Creator the prophet now passes to His dignity as Ruler of the world, ver. 15: "*Behold, nations are*

[1] Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 200, has ascertained that such elliptical clauses (called in Arabic صِفَة) occur in chaps. xl.–lxvi. nearly sixty times; on the other hand, in the old-Isaianic parts only about six times.

esteemed as a drop on a bucket and like a sand-grain on the balance; behold, islands (are) like a speck of dust which rises up." On Jehovah, the King of the world, rests the burden of government over mankind in its national divisions; but as little as a drop (מַר)[1] hanging on the bucket (מִן, as in Cant. iv. 1, vi. 5) burdens the bearer (דְּלִי), and as little as a sand-grain (שַׁחַק from שָׁחַק, to crush, Luther: *Scherfflin, i.e.* trifling weight), found by accident in a balance, increases or lessens the weight noticeably, so little is Jehovah burdened by the government of the nations lying on Him. The islands, those fragments of continent in the sea (אִי=*iwy*, from אָוָה, اوى, to betake oneself somewhere and stay there), in which the heathen world is scattered (Gen. x.), are to Him, who sustains the universe, like the speck of dust (דַּק from דָּקַק, to crush, pulverise) which is lifted up, יִטּוֹל (borrowed *imperf. Niph.* of טוּל=נָטַל, lxiii. 9; cf. טַיֵּל, *promener*), namely by the least puff of wind. The translation: dust that is thrown (Knobel) would require עָפָר (xli. 2); nor can it be translated: He takes up islands like a speck of dust (Gesen.), or: He bears (Hitzig), an incongruous notion; יִטּוֹל is an attributive clause.

Considering this vanishing pettiness of mankind before Jehovah, everything that man can do to express his reverence is incomparably beneath Jehovah's dignity, ver. 16: "*And Lebanon is not enough for burning, and its wild beasts not enough for burnt-offerings, i.e.* enough wood for burning and enough beasts to be slain and consumed with fire; דַּי, construct דֵּי, denotes sufficiency (and then also abundance), different from τὸ δέον, what is requisite.

From this reverse side of the thought of ver. 15 the prophet turns back in ver. 17 to the thought itself, which the discourse then further expands: "*All the nations are as nothing before him; to him they are esteemed as belonging to nothingness and emptiness."* אֶפֶס is the end absolutely, where something ceases: where being ceases, thus non-being (in Isaiah I. only in ch. v. 8); תֹּהוּ (from תָּהָה akin to שָׁאָה), the dismal waste, like the chaos of creation, where there is nothing

[1] Accordingly the ancients interpreted Μαριάμ, מַרְיָם (מְרִיָּם), *stilla maris*, from which came later *stella maris.*

defined, and hence as good as nothing; מִן, "more than," in negative sense (Nägelsbach), properly *prae nihilo, i.e.* more nothing than nothing (cf. with this *prae* without previous word expressing quality, Job xi. 17; Micah vii. 4), is possible in itself, but the partitive acceptation is better, as in xli. 24 (cf. xliv. 11); Ps. lxii. 10 (Hitzig, Knobel).

The inference from ver. 17, that Jehovah is therefore the incomparable One, is shaped into a question addressed, not to idolaters, but to those in Israel who needed to be armed against the seductive power of idolatry, which the majority of mankind favoured, ver. 18: "*And to whom can ye compare God, and what sort of image place beside Him?*" The ו of וְאֶל is inferential, as in xxviii. 26, the imperf. *modi potent.*: to whom can ye bring in comparison (אֶל, as in xiv. 10) אֵל, God, the One who is the absolutely Mighty One; and what sort of (מַה of things as מִי of persons) דְּמוּת, *i.e.* (divine like Him) can ye place by His side?[1]

Least of all can an idol bear comparison with Him, ver. 19: "*The idol—when the smith has cast it, the melter overlays it with gold, and forges for it chains of silver.*" הַפֶּסֶל, properly the image hewn out, here denotes an idol-figure generally. חָרָשׁ is as broad in meaning as *faber* (see on xliv. 12). רִקַּע בְּזָהָב, the verb not having its primary (see on Job xxxvii. 18) but denominative meaning, signifies here: to overlay with a רְקַע זָהָב (*laminâ auri*). Since, according to ver. 20, we must suppose that the prophet wishes to place us in the very midst of idol-manufacture, the irregular phraseology is to be punctuated as above. The צוֹרֵף, repeated like a refrain, is not 3 *pers. Poel* (see respecting the *Poel* of strong roots on xliv. 13; Job ix. 15), but *part.* = צורף הוא, as in xxix. 8 (see there), and according to the accents also in xxxiii. 5: and he forges chains (according to the Masora: ורתֻקות) of silver, by which the image is made firm.

[1] תַּעַרְכוּ לוֹ has (after Ben-Asher) *mercha*, which has moved back to the open syllable תַּ, as in l. 8, נעמדה יחד, *munach* with נַ; Ex. xv. 8, נערמו מים, *munach* with נֶ; Lam. ii. 16, ויחרקו שׁן, *munach* with יִ; the accent, also discharging the function of the *methegh* before *sheva compositum*, is everywhere drawn back to antepenultimate, as Jekuthiel ha-Nakdan says in his דרכי הנקוד, the middle syllable is not suited to bear the by-accent.

The metal-idol arises as above, and the wooden idol, ver. 20 : "*He that is impoverished in offerings—he chooses a piece of wood that rots not, he seeks for himself a skilful workman, to set up an idol that totters not.*" He that has fallen into such poverty (מְסֻכָּן) that he can only devote to his god a slight heave-offering (תְּרוּמָה, accus. according to Ewald, § 284*c*), has an idol carved out of a piece of wood. The verb סכן as stem-word to מְסֻכָּן (cf. Deut. viii. 9) = Arab. *sakana* or *sakuna* (whence *miskîn, meskin*), and signifies, as Fleischer has shown, forced to idleness by weakness, destitution, or outward circumstances, and so not to exert oneself, or to be unable to defend oneself. יִמּוֹט, like יִמּוֹל, ver. 15, is *imperf. Niph.:* to be made to totter. A wooden image, planed smooth below and heavier than above, so as not to upset at every push, is to be a god!

After the folly of idolatry has been sketched in a few strokes, those in Israel who look wistfully at it, even if they have not been befooled by it, are asked the question, ver. 21 : "*Do ye not know? Do ye not hear? Has it not been announced to you from the beginning? Have ye not gained insight into the foundations of the earth?*" Here are four questions chiastically arranged. מוסדות הארץ is object (Vitringa); to take it as statement of time (=מִמּוסדות), with Cheyne, is not right; the four questions point to God the Creator. The ante-mundane and supra-mundane being of God is partly inferred *per ratiocinationem* (יָדַע and הֵבִין), partly learnt *per traditionem* (שָׁמַע and הֻגַּד). If Israel fails to acknowledge the supra-mundane greatness and uniqueness of Jehovah its God, it hardens itself against knowledge possible even by natural means (cf. *e.g.* Ps. xix.; Rom. i. 20), and closes its ears to the tidings of revelation and tradition sounding down from the beginning of its history. The first two questions are put in the imperfect, the two others in the perfect; there the possible is dealt with, here the actual. מֵרֹאשׁ from the beginning, as in xli. 4, 26, xlviii. 16. Has no understanding—such is the sense of the four questions—of the foundations of the earth dawned upon you, namely, how they originated?

The prophet now describes God as made known by work and word. The participles which follow are predicates of

the Being filling the religious consciousness, ver. 22: "*He that is enthroned on the canopy of the earth, (and its inhabitants are like grasshoppers); who spread the heavens like fine cloth, and stretched them out like a tent-roof to dwell in.*" He, the revealed and yet unknown One, it is who has for His throne the circle or bow (namely חוּג שָׁמַיִם, Job xxii. 14, *i.e.* the circle formed by the heaven) which goes round the earth (חוּג allied to חגג),[1] *i.e.* here (where the heavens are represented not as spheres surrounding the earth, but extended in crescent-shape over it): over-arches, and to whom from its inaccessible height men seem as minute as grasshoppers (Num. xiii. 33); He who spread out the blue sky like a thin, transparent garment (דֹּק, thin cloth, like דַּק, ver. 15, fine dust), and stretched it over the earth like a habitable tent (אֹהֶל לָשָׁבֶת) over the earth, *i.e.* so that it forms the tent-cover of the latter. The choice of the name of the grasshoppers (חֲגָבִ) may have been suggested by חוּג. The participle represents actions and states of all times; here, where it is continued in the historical tense, it is to be resolved by the perfect; elsewhere the theory of the world's preservation as *creatio continua* is implied.

There follow predicates of God as the World-Ruler, vers. 23, 24: "*He who gives up great rulers to nothingness, who makes judges of the earth like chaos. They are scarcely planted, scarcely sown, scarcely has their stock taken root in the earth, and he but blows upon them, when they wither, and a storm carries them away like stubble.*" There is nothing so high and impregnable in the world which He cannot bring to nothing in the midst of its most confident and threatening exaltation. רוֹזְנִים are men of weight, σεμνοί, possessors of the highest reputation and influence; שֹׁפְטִים, those who unite in themselves the highest judicial and administrative power. The former He gives up to destruction, the latter He makes equal with the negative state of *tohu*, from which the world emerged and to which it may again be reduced. We are reminded here of pictures like those in Job xii. 17, 24. The suddenness of the catastrophe is symbolized in ver. 24. אַף בַּל (here only,

[1] Nöldeke wrongly separates (*DMZ.* xli. 719) חגג, حج, from the secondary חגג (חִגָּא, dance, cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 16); the root meaning, which has many special modifications, is to go round, encircle.

cf. אַף אַיִן, xli. 26) with וְגַם as apodosis (cf. 2 Kings xx. 4) means: even this is not yet done, when that also takes place, therefore: *vixdum plantati sunt.* The *Niph.* נִטַּע and the *Pual* זֹרַע (both forms here only) describe the hopeful beginning, the *Poel* שֹׁרֵשׁ the hopeful progress. Shoot, seed-corn, sapling (see on Job xiv. 8), especially when these have taken root, give hopes of blossom and fruit; but it needs only a breath of Jehovah (here with stem-plants נָשַׁף, above with grass and flowers with weaker labial נָשַׁב), and they are gone. A single angry breath of Jehovah does for them, and a storm—the work of Jehovah—rises and sweeps them away like dry, light stubble (נָשָׂא, cf. on the other hand, ver. 15, נָטַל=טוּל, to abolish, keep in suspense).

The thought of ver. 18 now returns like a refrain, an inference being annexed to the premise by ו, ver. 25: "*And to whom will ye compare me, that I may be like him? saith the Holy One.*" Not הַקָּדוֹשׁ, but קָדוֹשׁ, like a proper name; cf. with Cheyne the plur. without article as a designation of the All-Holy One, Prov. ix. 10, xxx. 3; Hos. xii. 1. The Holy One so asks and can so ask, because as such He is also the supra-mundane One, Job xv. 15, xxv. 15.

After the questions of vers. 18, 25, which reason syllogistically, a third beginning is made to prove the incomparableness of Jehovah, ver. 26: "*Lift up your eyes on high and see. Who has made these things? He that leads out their host by number, he mentions them all by name, by reason of the greatness of (his) power and as a mighty one in strength; there is not one that is missing.*" In ver. 25 Jehovah spoke, now again the prophet. It is the same alternation, evincing the divine fulness of prophecy, that is witnessed from Deuteronomy onwards in all the prophetic books. With הַמּוֹצִיא begins the answer: the World-Preserver and World-Ruler, He and none else is also the World-Creator, He that leads out the army of the stars on the heavenly plain like a general on the battlefield, and indeed בְּמִסְפָּר by number, counting the countless stars,—those children of the light in weapons of light, which eyes turned upwards at night gaze upon. The finite יִקְרָא describes what takes place every night: He calls them all by name (cf. the dependent passage, Ps. cxlvii. 4); He does this by reason of the greatness and fulness of His power

(אוֹנִים, *vires, virtus*), and as a mighty one in strength, *i.e* because He is so (cf. as to syntax, Ps. lxiii. 2, *in terra arida et languidus*). This explanation is simpler than: by reason of the strong one's τὸ κρατερόν, strength, Ewald, § 293*c*. The call issued to the stars about to rise is the call of the All-Powerful and Almighty One, on which account not one fails in the countless host. אִישׁ, used of the individual, and נֶעְדָּר, as in xxxiv. 16; cf. غدر, to remain behind (*retromansit a grege ovis*). Here the second part of the discourse closes. From the infinite dignity of God he has proved the ignorance of idol-worship. The third part derives comfort from this for Israel in its despondency.

Those in Israel, to whom the ignorance of idol-worship has yet to be brought home, are not even called Israel, because they make themselves like the heathen. But at present the address applies to weak believers, yet seekers of salvation, timid ones, but still not despairing, ver. 27: "*Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel: My way is hidden from Jehovah, and my right escapes the notice of my God?*" The name "Jacob" stands first here, as in xxix. 22, as more select, and more immediately bringing to mind the nation's ancestor. They think that Jehovah in anger and disgust has utterly turned away from them; "my way" is their thorny life-way, "my right" their good right against their tyrants; this He seems not even to take into view, not to think of judicially vindicating it.

The groundlessness of such despondency is set before them in a double question, ver. 28: "*Is it known to thee, or hast thou not heard? An eternal God is Jehovah, Creator of the ends of the earth; he faints not, nor is weary; unsearchable is his understanding.*" Those who are so despondent should know, if not from their own experience, yet from information handed down, that Jehovah, who created the whole earth from one end to the other, so that even Babylon is not outside His range of vision and power, is an eternal God, *i.e.* eternally the same and never changing, who possesses and exercises to-day the power displayed in creation. Israel has already lived through a long history; and Jehovah, who has hitherto ruled over and in this history, faints not (יִעַף), like man, unless he is always renewing his life-force; He is not

weary (יִיגָע), like man when his capacity of work is exhausted by effort. Although Jehovah so far has not delivered His people, His rule is still pure "understanding," which knows the right moment to intervene with help.

So far from Jehovah growing faint, on the contrary, He gives strength to the faint, ver. 29: "*Supplying force to the weary, and to him without power he gives strength in abundance.*" The part. is a predicate of the chief subject of the discourse, cf. Ps. civ. 13 f.; Prov. xxxi. 27. לְאֵין אוֹנִים = לאשר אין אונים; אֵין is used just like *a privat.*, to form negative words of quality, *e.g.* Ps. lxxxviii. 5; Prov. xxv. 3.

In order to partake of the strength (עָצְמָה, after the form חָכְמָה), which He richly dispenses, mightily enhances, only faith is needed, vers. 30, 31: "*And youths faint and grow weary, and young men stumble. But they who wait for Jehovah gain fresh force, lift up (their) wings like eagles, run, and are not weary, go forward, and do not faint.*" Even youths, even young men in the freshness of their life's morning (בַּחוּרִים from בָּחַר, akin to בָּכַר, بكر, בָּגַר), succumb to the effects of loss of support and over-exertion (both imperfects defective, the first radical letter having fallen out), and any sort of outward obstacle makes them fall (נִכְשֹׁל, with *infin. abs. Kal*, which retains what is said for contemplation, from כשל, عثر, *offendere*). The verb precedes in 30*a*, because ver. 30 is like a concessive sentence in relation to ver. 31: although this happen, they who wait for Jehovah are different, *i.e.* they who believe in Him, for the Old Testament describes faith by a multitude of synonyms of trusting, hoping, and longing, as *fiducia*, and as hope which expects the vision and completion of what is believed. The ו *copul.* introduces the antithesis as in ver. 8. Noticeable for our passage is the traditional pointing וְקוֹיֵ, *veḳōye*; on the other hand, in Ps. xxxvii. 9, וְקֹוֵי, *veḳōve*.[1] הֶחֱלִיף, to make something follow or approach (cf. on Ps. xc. 5 f.), to change old for new, Old Latin, *recentare*. In regard to יַעֲלוּ וגו׳, the ancients (Nägelsbach at last), after LXX, Targ. Syriac, Jerome, Saadia, recall the eagle's getting new plumage, which

[1] The Masora remarks on both לית, and Parchon, Kimchi, Abenezra (on Ex. ix. 3) expressly attest the reading *veḳōye*; cf. Strack in *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1877, p. 30.

in Ps. ciii. 5 (cf. Micah i. 16) is an image of becoming young again by grace. But Hitzig rightly remarks, that הֶעֱלָה does not occur as causative of the *Kal* used in v. 6 (to make to shoot up, bud and bring forth), and would require נוֹצָה (covering feathers in distinction from flying feathers and wings), which, however, does not suit the meaning of the figure. Therefore: they cause their wings to rise up, lift high their wings (אֵבֶר, as in Ps. lv. 7), like the eagles (Luther, taking יעלו as *Kal*, אבר, accus. of manner: *they obtain new strength, so that they mount up with wings as eagles*). Their life-course, having Jehovah for its goal, is as if it were winged, they draw from Him strength upon strength (see Ps. lxxxiv. 8), running wearies them not, going on farther and farther does not make them faint. Here the first discourse in three parts (vers. 1–11, 12–26, 27–31) reaches its conclusion.

Second Discourse of the First Part, Chap. XLI.

The God of the World's History and of Prophecy.

Jehovah appears here speaking in the tone in which He began to speak in xl. 25, calls the idolatrous nations to a lawsuit, and adduces His work in raising up the conqueror from the east as proof that He is the ruler and guide of the world's history from the beginning. But what, if the counter-question is raised on the part of the nations, with what right He does this? The conqueror's acts are shown to be a work of the God who is exalted above false gods by the fact that they inflict destruction on idolatrous nations, and on the other hand bring long-expected deliverance to the people of Jehovah. In this lies the convincing force of the proof. The argument implies that Cyrus has already begun his victorious course. Future and unfulfilled things would be no proof at the time.

The summons to a lawsuit, ver. 1: "*Be silent to me, ye islands, and let the nations get fresh force! Let them draw near, then speak; let us come together to trial!*" The address is to the whole heathen world, first the dwellers in the western isles and coast-lands. הַחֲרִישׁ אֶל in pregnant sense is to turn to some one in silence, as with מִן, Job xiii. 13, to

depart from some one in silence. That they may have no excuse, if they succumb, let them obtain new strength, as, according to xl. 31, believers draw it from Jehovah's fulness. De Lagarde, Klostermann, Bredenkamp think this יחליפו כח senseless. But is Job xxxviii. 3*a* senseless? They are to draw near *receptis viribus*, then speak, *i.e.* reply after hearing the legal proof, for Jehovah will enter into the *pro et contra* of a process with them (קָרַב לַמִּשְׁפָּט, as in Mal. iii. 5, where it is used of one side, whereas here it is used of both sides). But if Jehovah is a party, who then is the presiding judge? This question is to be answered as in chap. v. 3. *Vocantur gentes in judicium*, Rosenmüller says rightly, *ad tribunal non Dei, sed rationis.* The decisive authority is reason, which must acknowledge the state of the case and the conclusions following therefrom.

Those invited are now to be thought of as present, and Jehovah begins, ver. 2: "*Who has stirred up from the sun-rising him whom righteousness meets at his foot? He gives up nations before him, and subdues kings, gives* (*them*) *like dust to his sword, and like driven stubble to his bow.*" With "at his foot" the regimen of "who" ceases; still all that follows feels the effect of the interrogative tone. Jehovah stirred up the great hero from the east, and also, according to ver. 25, from the north. Both are correct, for Cyrus was a Persian of the clan Achaemenes (*Hakhâmanis*), or Pasargadae at the head of that nation, son of Cambyses; and although Mandane, daughter of the Median king, was not his mother, yet, according to all ancient accounts, he was closely connected with the royal house of Media; and in any case, after the dethroning of Astyages, lord and head of the Medes as well as of the Persians (therefore called "mule" by the oracle, and *agitator bigae* in Jerome). Media lay north and Persia east of Babylon. His victorious course, in which, before capturing Babylon, he subjugated every country from the heights of Hinduku to the coasts of the Aegean Sea, thus had both the east and the north for its starting-point. Nägelsbach translates: Who has stirred up justice from the east? Who calls him after it? So Klostermann; but: Who calls it (justice) to his feet (as a servant)? Far finer in thought and syntax is the present punctuation: the clause צֶדֶק יִקְרָאֵהוּ לְרַגְלוֹ is

attributive clause, and as such virtual object: him whom צדק calls to follow it (צדק) at his foot, therefore before whom צדק goes as leader (Cheyne). Or, what always pleases me still more: him whom righteousness meets (קָרָא=קָרָה, Gesen. § 75. vi.) step by step, accompanying him (Gen. xxx. 30, cf. Hab. iii. 5). The idea of righteousness is defined by what follows: Jehovah gives up nations before him, and makes kings to be trampled upon (causative of רָדָה, for which Hitzig, *Psalmen*, ii. 440, acutely but needlessly: יֹרִד, "he casts down"). Accordingly righteousness is here either, in an attributive sense, the righteousness successfully executed by Cyrus by force of arms as the Lord's instrument, or, in an objective sense, the righteousness which does justice to the just cause of the warrior, crowning it with victory. The jussive יַרְדְּ, used as indicative, stands after its object with weighty emphasis; the *Kal* is יֵרְדְּ; יַרְדְּ is the *Hiphil* used as causative of *Kal.* Like וילמדהו in xl. 14, יִתֵּן is repeated here in ver. 2 with the same subject, but in a different sense. To make sword and bow the subject: his sword gives up, namely, his enemies, is uncertain in itself, and, since חֶרֶב and קֶשֶׁת are feminine, not at all advisable. Klostermann's קשתם and חרבם after LXX give a confused notion. Nägelsbach's: "his sword will make like dust, his bow like driven chaff," would lead us to expect יִתְּנֵם referring to the enemy. The כ of comparison, as frequently, leaves the working out of the figure to the reader's fancy. He (Jehovah) makes His sword as if it gave dust, His bow as if it gave hunted stubble (Böttcher) *i.e.* scattering the foe like dust, and hunting them like flying stubble. Thoughts and choice of words are not determined without reference to the alliterations ירד and ירדפם, קש and קשתו, נדף and ירדפם. Instead of כֶּעָפָר, old MSS. have כֵּעָפָר with *Tsere;* this impossible reading has the testimony of Moses, the punctuator, in its favour.

The conqueror is now further described in imperfects, ver. 3: "*He pursues them, traverses in peace a road which he trod not with his feet.*" He marches victoriously farther and farther, שָׁלוֹם, in perfect safety, or even as adjective (Job xxi. 9): quite safe, without suffering any injury, a road (accus. after Gesen. § 117. 4), which he was not wont to tread (*ingredi*) with his feet (see Gesen. § 107. 1*b*). Not: by which he

does not return with his feet, after once traversing it (Nägelsbach), which would require יָשׁוּב or (לָבֹא) יוֹסִיף.

The fact of the present, which none of the gods of the heathen can boast of having produced, is not set forth. Jehovah is its author, ver. 4: "*Who has produced and carried it out? He who calls the generations of men from the beginning: I, Jehovah, am the first, and with the last I am He.*" The synonyms פָּעַל and עָשָׂה differ like initiate (introduce) and realize (carry out); therefore: Who is the author, to whom the beginning and progress of such events go back? He it is who (מֵרֹאשׁ) from the beginning of human history has called the generations of men into existence by His word of power. But this is none else than Jehovah, who, in contrast with the heathen and their gods, who are of yesterday and to-morrow will exist no longer, can boast: I, Jehovah, am the primeval One, whose being precedes all history, and with the men of the latest future generations I am He. What Jehovah here says of Himself (cf. xliv. 6, xlviii. 12), Ps. xc. 3 says of Him. הוּא is not here a strengthening of the subject: *ego ille* = I and none else, as in xxxvii. 16 (see there), but as in xliii. 10, 13, xlvi. 4, xlviii. 12, predicate of the substantive clause: *ego sum is* (*ille*), namely, God, in which also *ego sum idem* (Hitzig) is implied (cf. Ps. cii. 28, and הוּא, Job iii. 19): He alone is God, and the same in His divine existence through all ages. It is the meaning of the divine name Jehovah which is thus unfolded, for Jehovah is God as the absolute, eternally existing, and absolutely free *ego*.

The next verse does not describe the impression made by Jehovah's argument on the heathen, but continues the argument itself, ver. 5: "*The islands beheld and shuddered; the ends of the earth quaked; they drew near and came.*" Such effects began to follow in the heathen world from the victorious career of Cyrus. The perfects describe the past, and the imperfects the contemporaneous past, as in Ps. lxxvii. 17; by pointing וַיִּרְאוּ we destroy this syntactical subtlety. The word-play רָאוּ . . . וְיִירָאוּ couples together seeing and trembling. Ἡμεῖς δέ, began the Cumaeans when consulting the oracle, *δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν.*

Ver. *5b* presents the following picture: They have drawn near (from all sides), and come to resist the threatening

danger; and how? vers. 6, 7: "*One gave assistance to his companion, and said to his brother: Be strong! The master bade the caster be strong, he that smooths with the hammer him that strikes the anvil, saying of the soldering: It is excellent; then he made it firm with nails that it totter not.*" It, *i.e.* the idol. Everything is in terror and confusion; and the gods, who are to deliver, are first manufactured, each spurring on the other to the work. The חָרָשׁ, who casts the idol-image, encourages to active labour the צֹרֵף, who has to put on it a coating of gold and chains of silver (xl. 19); he that smooths with the hammer (פַּטִּישׁ, *instrumentalis*), him that strikes the anvil. In the הוֹלֶם פָּעַם, which has a sound of the forge, the הוֹלֶם has *seghol;* whereas elsewhere (*e.g.* Ezek. xxii. 25) the tone usually moves back without change of vowel; and that the *Tsere* may not be slurred over, the orthophonic *methegh*, which detains the tone, is usually added to it. The smoother pronounces the soldering, by which the gold plates of the coating are welded together, so that the golden idol seems to be one mass, excellent; it comes at last into his hands, all that is wanting is that he forge on the anvil the nails with which he is to fasten it, that it may not topple over. So foolish and fruitless is the task undertaken by the nations who are threatened with conquest by Cyrus. Here Jehovah's proof of His Godhead closes.[1]

Instead of our now hearing whether the nations, with which He engaged in judicial conflict, have any answer to give, the discourse turns to Israel, which sees a glimpse of deliverance on the very side from which the nations are threatened with destruction, vers. 8–10: "*And thou, Israel my servant, Jacob whom I chose, the seed of Abraham my friend; thou whom I laid hold of from the ends of the earth and called from its corners, and said to thee: 'Thou art my servant, I have chosen thee and not despised thee,' Fear not, for I am with thee; be not cast down, for I am thy God; I have fixed my choice on thee; I also help thee; I also uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.* The ו of וְאַתָּה joins antitheses, which are such self-evidently. Whereas the nations, having only artificial gods for their comfort and shield, are in fear and

[1] A friend remarked to me that xli. 17 seems to have fallen out of its original place after xl. 19.

ruin, Israel—Jehovah's people—can be confident. Every word here breathes deep affection. The language moves as in gentle undulations. The crowding of the suffix ךָ, with which אֲשֶׁר forms a relative of the accus. of the second person, a form wanting in our language (Gesen. § 138, Anm. 1), gives the address an impressive, affectionate, and, so to speak, caressing tone. The reasons prefixed to the comforting assurance of ver. 10 remind of the intimate relation in which Jehovah has put Israel to Himself and Himself to Israel. Not only the exclusively Deutero-Isaianic (in the Book of Isaiah) בחר (to choose), but also the cardinal idea of "Servant of the Lord," characteristic of chaps. xl.–lxvi., meets us here for the first time, and in its primary national sense. Israel is Jehovah's servant in virtue of a divine act, an act of pure grace, which, as is intimated in "I have chosen thee, and not despised thee," has not its ground in Israel's excellences or merits; on the contrary, Israel was so insignificant that Jehovah might have despised it. But He anticipated in free, unmerited love, and imprinted on it the character of a servant of Jehovah. It has now to act as such, partly in reverential worship, partly in active obedience; עָבַד אֶת־ה' denotes both, as well the service of worship (even absolutely עָבַד, xix. 23) as the service of good works. The divine act of election and calling is dated from Abraham. From the Palestinian standpoint, Ur of Chaldea, within the old kingdom of Nimrod, and Harran, in northern Mesopotamia, appear ends (קְצוֹת)[1] of the earth and its corners (אֲצִילִים, remote places, from אָצַל, *denom.* to put aside), as in Thucydides (i. 69) Persia appears from the Greek standpoint. Israel and the land of Israel are so inseparably connected that, when Israel's beginnings are in question, the standpoint must always be placed in Palestine. From the far country of the Tigris and Euphrates Jehovah fetched Abraham, the lover of God, 2 Chron. xx. 7, who is therefore called in the Latin Book of Judith, viii. 22, *amicus Dei;* in Jas. ii. 23, *φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ*; and is still called in the East *chalîl ollah,* the friend of God. But this calling of him is the extreme *terminus a quo* of Israel's

[1] The correct writing is מִקְצוֹת without *dagesh*, as also מקצה and מקצת have everywhere ק *raphatum*.

existence as the covenant-people, for the leading forth of Abraham was in order to Israel's beginning. Israel pre-existed in him in virtue of the divine purpose. When Jehovah received Abraham as His servant, and called him "my servant," Gen. xxvi. 24, Israel received the nature and name of a servant of Jehovah. Because then, looking back upon its past, it is forced to acknowledge itself so completely a creation of divine power and grace, it ought not, as ver. 10 says, to be afraid, and ought not to look anxiously round (הִשְׁתָּעָה), having always with it Him who first gave Himself to it to be its God. The form תִּשְׁתַּע does not necessarily imply שָׁעַע (Luzzatto), it is like תִּתְרַע, Prov. xxii. 24 (cf. וַתְּעַר, Gen. xxiv. 20; Ps. cxli. 8); nevertheless Kimchi (*Michlol* 131*a*) reads תשתָע, like תִּתְגָּר, Deut. ii. 9, and Baer accepts it. In reference to אִמַּצְתִּיךָ, it is a question whether it means to strengthen, xxxv. 3, Ps. lxxxix. 22, or to take hold of, attach to oneself, to choose; the latter meaning is certified for this passage also by xliv. 14, cf. Ps. lxxx. 16, 18. The other perfects declare what Jehovah has always done and is ever doing. In בִּימִין צִדְקִי righteousness is regarded chiefly on its bright side, which is turned to Israel; but it is also regarded on the fiery side, turned to Israel's foes; it is the righteousness which helps the oppressed Church against its oppressors. The repeated אַף lays one synonym of loving action on another. Language is too narrow to compass the fulness of love.

With "behold" the eye of Israel is now turned to Jehovah's saving manifestation in the immediate future, vers. 11–13: "*Behold, they must be ashamed and confounded—all that were incensed against thee; they become as nothing, and perish—the men of thy strife. Thou shalt seek and not find them—the men of thy conflict; they shall be as nothing and nothingness—the men of thy warfare. For I, Jehovah thy God, hold thy right hand, saying to thee: Fear not, I help thee.*" First comes the comprehensive *omnes inflammati* (*Niph.* as in xlv. 24) *in te;* then the enemies are differently named each time, so as to include all classes of them. The three substantives are related to each other somewhat like *lis, rixa, bellum* (מִלְחָמָה, properly tumult = war-tumult, like epic κλόνος), therefore *adversarii, inimici, hostes,* the suffixes having the sense of objective genitives. We have translated the word according

to the reading מְצוּתֶךָ (required by the Masora: לית וכתיב כן) as plural; it forms a paronomasia to ולא תִמְצָאֵם. The three names of enemies stand with emphasis at the close of the sentences, and these are long drawn out, the indignation giving vent to itself in this way; on the other hand, in ver. 13, only brief sentences follow, in which the persecuted Church is soothed and heartened.

The comforting word "Fear not" is once more taken up, in order to add to the promise, that Israel shall not succumb to its foes, the positive promise that it shall acquire power over them, vers. 14–16: "*Fear not, thou worm Jacob, thou petty people Israel! I help thee, saith Jehovah; and thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel. Behold, I have made thee a threshing-roller, a sharp one, new, with double edge. Thou shalt thresh mountains and crush them, and thou shalt make hills like chaff. Thou shalt winnow them, and the wind carries them off, and the storm scatters them; and thou shalt exult in Jehovah, and boast thyself in the Holy One of Israel.*" Israel, now helplessly oppressed, is sympathetically called worm of Jacob (*gen. appos.*), *i.e.* Jacob like a worm, perhaps not without allusion to Ps. xxii. 6; for the picture of the Messiah is enriched in these discourses, Israel itself being regarded in a Messianic light, so that the second David does not stand beside Israel, but is Israel's own true, inmost nature. Then the nation is addressed as "people of Israel" in allusion to the phrase מְתֵי מִסְפָּר, *i.e.* countable, few people, Gen. xxxiv. 30; Deut. iv. 27 (LXX, ὀλιγοστὸς Ἰσραήλ; Luther: *ye poor crowd of Israel*); they now no longer form the compact mass of a nation, the bond of the commonwealth is broken, they are resolved into individuals scattered here and there. But it shall not remain so: "I help thee" (perfect of certainty) is Jehovah's solemn utterance, and the Redeemer (*redemtor*, Lev. xxv. 48 f.) of His now enslaved people is the Holy One of Israel, whose love again and again triumphs over wrath. But not merely will He set it free, He will endow it with power over its oppressors; שַׂמְתִּיךְ is perfect of assurance (Gesen. § 106. 3); מוֹרַג, or according to another reading מוֹרָג, means a threshing-roller (Arab. *nauréǵ*, *nôreg*), which here has חָרוּץ (xxviii. 27) along with חָדָשׁ as a by-name, and is described as furnished (בעל, cf. Eccles. x. 20, and on the same xii. 11) on

the under part of the axles, which are joined by two sledge-frames, not only with sharp, but two-edged iron (פִּיפִיּוֹת, reduplication, like סַאסְּאָה, xxvii. 8).[1] Like such a threshing-machine, Israel henceforth threshes and crushes mountains and hills; here plainly a figure of lofty, powerful foes, just as wind and storm are a figure of God's irresistible help. The enemies' might is broken to its last remnant, whereas Israel can rejoice and boast in its God, who is absolute being and absolute light.

Now, indeed, the condition of His people is helpless, but its cry for help is not in vain, vers. 17–20: "*The afflicted and the needy, who seek water and there is none, their tongue is parched with thirst,—I, Jehovah, will answer them, I, the God of Israel, will not forsake them. I open rivers on bare hills, and springs in the midst of deep valleys; I make the wilderness a pool of water, and a land of drought gushing waters. I give cedars in the wilderness, acacias, and myrtles, and oleasters; I set cypresses, plane-trees, and sherbin-trees in the desert together, that they may see and know and lay to heart and perceive together that the hand of Jehovah has performed this, and the Holy One of Israel created it.*" The wonderful change is described which will come over the now cheerless and helpless position of the exiles (Hendewerk, Umbreit *et al.*). The שְׁפָיִים (hills without woods, as if shaven, rising sheer up in the level plain, Jer. xii. 12), the בְּקָעוֹת (ravines, at whose sides steep cliffs ascend), אֶרֶץ צִיָּה (land of glowing heat or drought, cf. Ps. lxiii. 2), paint the homeless state of Israel as it wanders through a burnt, parched land, over bare heights, through waterless valleys; cf. with the description xliv. 3, lv. 1. נָשַׁתָּה is either pausal form for נָשַׁתָּה, therefore *Niph.* of שָׁתַת (to settle, grow shallow, dry), or pausal form for נָשְׁתָה, therefore *Kal* of נָשַׁת, with *dagesh affectuosum*, as *e.g.* נְתָנּוּ, Ezek. xxvii. 19; the form נָשְׁתָה, Jer. li. 30, may just as well be derived from שָׁתַת (after Gesen. § 67. Anm. 11) as from נָשַׁת. On the other hand, נִשְּׁתוּ, xix. 5, may indeed be explained as *Niph.* of שָׁתַת, after the form נִחַר, נִמַּל, but is more safely traceable to a *Kal* נָשַׁת, which also seems to be favoured by יִנָּתְשׁוּ, Jer. xviii. 4, as transposition of יִנָּשְׁתוּ. So when they are near pining away, they receive an answer to their petition; their God opens, *i.e.* causes to gush forth, rivers

[1] See Anderlind, *Landwirtschaft in Egypten* (1889), pp. 78–80.

on the bare hills, and springs amid the valleys; the wilderness is changed into a pool, and the heath of burning sand becomes fountains of waters (לְמוֹצָאֵי מָיִם, the tone receding with a virtual *makkeph*). What was already foretold in xxxv. 6 f. is here re-echoed; an image of the rich abundance of refreshing comfort and wondrous help, which opens in a moment before one apparently forsaken of God. What v. 19, 20 depict is the effect of this interposition; no mere scanty verdure springs up, but a wealth of noble, fragrant, shady trees, so that the desert, where foot and eye found no resting-place, is changed, as by a magician's wand, into a vast, well-watered, dense grove, and shines in sevenfold glory—an image of the many proofs of favour experienced by those who are now comforted. There are $4 + 3 = 7$ trees; seven is the divine in the diversity of its unfolding (*Bibl. Psych.* p. 229). אֶרֶז is the generic name of the cedar; שִׁטָּה, the acacia (*Mimosa nilotica*), the Egyptian *spina* (*ἄκανθα*), a Hebraized name from the Egyptian *schonte, schonti;* הֲדַס (also South Arabian هَدَس, elsewhere آس, אָסָא), the myrtle; עֵץ שֶׁמֶן, in distinction from זַיִת, *ἡ ἀγριέλαιος* (opposite *ἡ ἐλαία*, Rom. xi. 17); בְּרוֹשׁ, the cypress, at least this by preference, called in Arab. سَرْو, *serv*, and a common symbol of a beloved one and of love;[1] תִּדְהָר (perhaps דהר, in the sense to endure) we have translated plane, after Saadia; תְּאַשּׁוּר, sherbin (a sort of cedar), after Saadiah and Syriac; *j. Kethuboth* vii. 11, תדהר is explained by אדרא (elsewhere = כֹּפֶר and קתרום, *κέδρος*), and תאשור by פיקסינה (*πύξινα*, box-wood, box-tree); *Rosh ha-Shana* 23*a*, and *Bathra* 8*b*, תדהר, by שאנא (= Arab. *sâǵ* = *Platanus indica*), תאשור by שורבנא (*i.e. Cypressus oxycedrus*, Arab. *šerbîn* = *šcrwin*[2]). The accumulated synonyms of sensuous and spiritual perception in ver. 20*a* (יָשִׂימוּ, *sc.* לִבָּם, ver. 22) are meant to express the irresistibleness of the impression. They can only regard all this, not as the work of chance and

[1] From now, Hâfiz says once (ii. p. 46, ed. Brockhaus), my hand clings to the garment-hem of that high cypress (*i.e.* of God; cf. Hos. xiv. 9).

[2] If the form with و is the original, سرو, to tower up, seems to be the root-word; see Fleischer in Levy's *Chald. Wörterb.* ii. 580. This tree-name is also the old Assyrian *šurmênu*, mentioned beside *erinu* and *burâšu*; see *Paradies*, p. 107.

nature, but as a creation of the power and grace of their God.

There follows now the second proof in the lawsuit, vers. 21–23: "*Bring forward your suit, saith Jehovah, produce your proofs, saith the God of Jacob. Let them produce and make known what shall happen; make ye known the first things, what their nature, and we will carefully consider it and take notice of its issue, or inform us of things to come. Make known what is to come afterwards, and we will acknowledge that ye are gods; yea, do good and do evil, and we will measure ourselves and see together.*" In the first stage Jehovah appealed, in proof of His Godhead, to the fact that He called the conquerors of nations on the scene of history, in this second stage, to the fact that He alone knows and predicts the future; there the challenge was to the idol worshippers, here to the idols themselves; in both cases the two latter stand on one side, Jehovah with His people on the other. Jehovah is intentionally called "King of Jacob," as the tutelary God of Israel, in opposition to the tutelary gods of the heathen. The appeal to the latter to establish their godhead is first expressed directly in ver. 21; then, Jehovah uniting Himself with His people as the opposing party, indirectly in ver. 22*a*; yet in ver. 22*b* He returns to direct address. עֲצֻמוֹת (not עַצמות, a wrong reading) are demonstrations (properly *robora*, cf. ὀχυρώματα, 2 Cor. x. 4;[1] cf. Mishnic נִתְעַצֵּם, to strive together), here of their knowledge of the future. Jehovah, on His part, manifests such knowledge, because, while threatening the heathen with destruction at the hands of Cyrus, He has announced to His people the comfort of redemption, vers. 8–20. Now it is the turn of the gods: *afferant et nuntient nobis quae eventura sint.* This idea of *eventura* is the cardinal one. Within this idea the choice is given them to prove their foreknowledge of events either by announcing "first things" or "coming things." These two ideas, therefore, are species within the domain of *eventura*. Consequently "first things" cannot signify former predictions, *prius praedicta* (Hitzig, Knobel *et al.*), nor the roots of events lying back in the past (Nägelsbach). Both, first and future, lie in the line of the future as the immediate and

[1] Cf. Suidas: ὀστᾶ οἱ λογισμοί, demonstrations as that which sustains the assertion, that on which it rests, as the body on its bony framework.

remoter future, or, as the term alternating with "coming things" says, הָאֹתִיּוֹת לְאָחוֹר, *eventura* (differentiated plur. of אֹתָה, in distinction from אֹתוֹת) *in posterum* (as in xlii. 23). It is left to them either to declare "the first things," *i.e.* what is to be realized first or next, מָה הֵנָּה, *quae et qualia sint*, what is their nature, so that now, when their אַחֲרִית (*i.e.* the issue of what is held out) occurs, the prophetic utterance about them is verified to careful observation, or "the coming things" (האתיות לאחור), what is to be realized in the further future, the foretelling of which, because without basis in the present, is far more difficult. Let them choose what they please (אוֹ from אָוָה, like *vel* from *velle*), yea, do good and do evil, *i.e.* (according to the meaning of this proverbial phrase; cf. Zeph. i. 12; Jer. x. 5) declare yourselves somehow, act one way or another, then "we will behold one another (הִשְׁתָּעָה like הִתְרָאָה, 2 Kings xiv. 8, 11, with cohortative *ah*, which is rare with verbs ל״ה, and *penult.* with tone, the *ah* being attached without tone to the voluntative נִשְׁתָּע, ver. 10, Ewald, § 228*c*) and see (וְנִרְאֶה, *Chethîb*, voluntative וְנֵרֶא) together," namely, what the issue of the conflict is. Jehovah has now finished what He has to say. He has contrasted Himself as the God of the world's history and of prophecy with the heathen and their gods.

We now wait to see whether the idols will begin to speak in proof of their godhead; but there is not a word, they are not merely silent, but they cannot so much as speak. Therefore He breaks out in words of wrath and scorn, ver. 24: "*Behold, ye are of nothing, and your doing is of nothingness; an abomination is he that chooses you.* The two מִן are partitive, as in xl. 17, and מֵאָפַע is not a copyist's error for מֵאֶפֶס (Gesen., Hitzig, Meier, Knobel), but אֶפַע from אָפַע=פָּה (whence פֶּה), פָּעָה, xlii. 14 (whence אֶפְעֶה, lix. 5), *hiare*, to breathe with gaping mouth, presents itself as synon. to אָוֶן, הֶבֶל, רוּחַ.[1] The attributive clause יִבְחַר בָּכֶם (supply הוּא אֲשֶׁר) is virtual subject (Ewald, § 333*b*): you and your doing are equal to cipher, and whoever takes you as protectors and makes you an object of worship is a being morally worthless.

Jehovah holds the field with the more incontestable and

[1] In Karaite Hebrew אֶפַע (plur. אֲפָעִים) means accident, in opposition to substance, therefore what is dependent and in itself unsubstantial; see Gottlober's *Critical Hist. of the Karaites* (in Hebrew), Wilna 1864, p. 214.

conclusive right as controller of history and declarer of the future, and therefore God above all gods, ver. 25: "*I have stirred* (*one*) *up from the north, and he came, from the sun-rising* (*one*) *who calls on my name; and he treads on satraps as on mud, and as a potter who kneads clay.*" The object of הֵעִירוֹתִי is the one who came near on the summons of Jehovah from the north and the east, *i.e.* Media and Persia (וַיֵּאתְ=וַיֵּאת instead of וַיֵּאַת, without helping *pathach*), and, as the second clause says, calls or will call on the name of Jehovah; in any case, *qui invocabit* is the sense of *qui invocat:* he will call by the name or by means of the name of Jehovah (see on xii. 4), which may mean both: to call on this name (Zeph. iii. 9; Jer. x. 35), and to proclaim it (cf. Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5, with the same, xxxv. 30). As to the ancestral religion of Cyrus we know nothing certain; we first find acknowledgment of Ormuzd (Ahuramazda) in the inscriptions of Darius. On the other hand, in the Assyrian Cyrus-inscriptions brought to light by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. T. G. Pinches, the conqueror of Babylon appears as restorer of the Babylonian worship neglected by Nabonid, the last Babylonian king, and as a worshipper of Merodach, the chief Babylonian deity. Cheyne (ii. 274–280) discusses at length the contradiction implied in this to the calling on "my name." The prophet has in view Cyrus, who releases the exiles, and provides for the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2). This prophecy was fulfilled; and this attitude of Cyrus to Israel and its God, even apart from the wording of the edict in the Chronicler, was an act of homage done to the God of Israel and the prophet. Moreover, we may assume that the prophet, who saw so deeply into the future, saw more deeply into the heart of Cyrus than the inscriptions make known. The following יָבֹא (cf. ver. 2) describes him further as a conqueror of nations; בּוֹא with accus. frequently has the sense of hostile attack, but the comparison *tanquam lutum* makes the old conjecture יָבֻס (lxiii. 6, xiv. 25) plausible. סגן, occurring in Ezekiel thrice and here in Isaiah ii. once, is not the Persian ζωγάνης in Athenaeus and modern Persian شحنه, *sihne*, viceroy (see Gesen. *Thesaurus*), but the Babylonian and Assyrian *šaknu* (from *šakânu*, to set, make), which means deputy, here satrap (see on x. 8); in סֹכֵן, xxii. 5,

the Hebrews possessed already a word that is akin in meaning and derivation.

As ver. 25 goes back to the first proof against the heathen and their gods (vers. 2–7), so now vers. 26–28 go back to the second. As in the raising up of Cyrus Jehovah shows Himself all-ruling, so also He shows Himself all-knowing, vers. 26–28: "*Who has made known from the beginning, and we will acknowledge it,—and from aforetime, and we will say: He is in the right? Yea, there was none that made known; yea, none that declared; yea, none that heard your words. As the first I said to Zion: Behold, behold, there it is! And to Jerusalem I appointed a messenger of good tidings. And I look, and there is none,—and among them, and there is no counsellor whom I might ask, and who would give me an answer.*" If one of the heathen gods announced beforehand this appearance of Cyrus in the beginning of the history that has now reached its end (מֵרֹאשׁ, as in xlviii. 16, in relative sense; on the other hand, in absolute sense, xli. 4, xl. 21), then will Jehovah with His people, taught by experience, acknowledge his godhead; צַדִּיק (supply הוּא), he is just, *i.e.* in the right (Kautzsch), scarcely neuter: it is just = true, for צדיקים only occurs once (Deut. iv. 8), in the sense of Ps. xix. 10, as an attribute of the divine ordinances and rules. But there was none that announced it or even uttered a sound about himself, none who had heard aught of the kind from them; אֵין receives here, through the context, a retrospective meaning, and the participles, this being remembered, may also be resolved as imperfects; the three אַף (as in xl. 24), going beyond what was granted as possible, affirm the opposite reality. What Jehovah denies to the idols He claims for Himself. Logically, ראשׁון goes along with the ego in אֶתֵּן; but we need not suppose a hyperbaton (as in Zech. vii. 13, according to Hitzig): *primus ego dabo Sioni et Hierosolymis laete annunciantem: ecce ecce illa* (de Dieu, Rosenmüller, Meier *et al.*). It would be better with v. Orelli to take הנה הנם as an interpolation and an exclamation of the speaker. But it is still better to supply אָמַרְתִּי in thought as absorbed by the hurried הנה הנם. Jehovah claims for Himself the initiative in pointing out the events foretold by Himself and no one else; ראשׁון is not used as object of some one hasting beforehand with the good tidings

(Cheyne); for after it has been said that what is now on foot was known to and declared by none of the heathen gods, ראשׁון applies, in keeping with the antithesis, to Jehovah, who, when all are silent, is the first and only one who points Zion to events declared and come to pass, and gives Jerusalem messengers of good. Although the return home of the children of Zion and Jerusalem is a portion of the glad tidings, this is not so prominent in what has preceded that הִנֵּה הִנָּם should be taken with Cheyne as a pointing with the finger to the home-comers. The suffix of הנם is neuter in meaning (cf. xlviii. 3, xxxviii. 16, xlv. 8). And the אֶתֵּן emphatically concluding the sentence is still perhaps not a retrospective *dabam* (governed by the אמרתי to be supplied in thought), but expresses what is now going on, as וְאֵרֶא, 28*a*, also is meant of what is taking place at present. Behold, I look round me (voluntative in hypothetical protasis, Gesen. § 159. 2; also Driver on the *Hebrew Tenses*, chap. xi.), and there is no one (who announced like things); and of these (the idols) there is no counsellor (in regard to the future, Num. xxiv. 14) whom I could consult, and who would speak to me (the questioner). Therefore, as the raising up of Cyrus evinces the unique power of Jehovah, so His announcement of the deliverance of Zion and Jerusalem, which is now being effected by Cyrus, evinces His unique knowledge.

Like the judicial transaction in ver. 24, so this confession of Jehovah concludes with words of wrath and scorn, ver. 29: "*Behold! they are all vanity; nothingness are their works: wind and barrenness their molten images.*" מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם are not the works of the idols, but, as the parallelism shows, the works (plural, as in Ezek. vi. 6; Jer. i. 16) of the idol-worshippers, parallelism נִסְכֵּיהֶם (from נָסַךְ, as in xlviii. 5 = מַסֵּכָה, xlii. 17). אָוֶן אֶפֶס is an impressive asyndeton. The return to the idol-worshippers, from whom it set out, rounds off the discourse beautifully. The first part, vers. 1–24, contained the trial-at-law; the second part, ver. 25 ff., recapitulates evidence and judgment.

Third Discourse of the First Part, XLII. 1–XLIII. 13.

The Mediator of Israel and the Saviour of the Heathen.

The "Behold" of xli. 29 is followed here by a second one. With the former Jehovah passed judgment on idol-worshippers and idols; with the latter He introduces His servant. So Israel is called in xli. 8 as the people chosen to be Jehovah's servant. On this account Reuss thinks that in what follows *l'activité prophétique d'Israel* (*i.e.* the true Israel's) is depicted. So, too, the LXX, whose translation of xlii. 1–4 is set aside in Matt. xii. 18–21 as useless, and a better one substituted. Ver. 1 runs in the LXX: *Ἰακὼβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου.* But the Servant of Jehovah here set before us has too pronounced individual characteristics to allow it to be taken as a personified collective. Nor can it be the author of these prophecies; for what is said of this Servant of Jehovah goes far beyond all within the range of a prophet's call or man's power. It is therefore an ideal picture of the future—the future Christ; the Targum opens the translation of this discourse with הָא עַבְדִּי מְשִׁיחָא. But yet a connection must exist between the national sense in which "Servant of Jehovah" was used in xli. 8 and the personal one here. The future Saviour is not described as the Son of David, as in chaps. vii.–xii. and elsewhere, but appears as the embodied idea of Israel, *i.e.* as its truth and reality in person. The idea of Servant of Jehovah, to speak figuratively, is a pyramid. The lowermost basis is the whole of Israel; the middle section, Israel not merely after the flesh, but after the Spirit; the summit is the person of the Mediator of salvation arising out of Israel. This Mediator is the centre (1) in the circle of the kingdom of promise—the second David; (2) in the circle of the people of salvation—the true Israel; (3) in the circle of humanity—the second Adam. In these discourses, chaps. xl.–lxvi., the doctrine of salvation reaches its second stage. Israel's character as God's Servant, rooted in Jehovah's choice and call, and exhibited in bearing and action which harmonize with that call, is concentrated in Him, in Him alone, as its ripest fruit. God's gracious purpose in reference to humanity,

which was the governing force in Israel's election, is carried by Him to full accomplishment.[1]

Whereas the conquerors of the nations bring judgments on the heathen, which reveal the worthlessness of idolatry, the Servant of Jehovah by peaceful means brings them the highest of all blessings, ver. 1: "*Behold my Servant, whom I uphold; mine elect One, in whom my soul takes delight. I have put my Spirit upon him; he will bring forth right to the heathen.*" We must not translate "by whom I hold;" תָּמַךְ בְּ means to lay hold of and so keep firm and upright (*sustinere*). רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי (supply בּוֹ, which immediately precedes) is attributive clause. The complex subject-idea reaches to נַפְשִׁי (an intensive *ego*); then follows the predicate: I have endowed Him with my Spirit; in virtue of this Spirit He will bring forth מִשְׁפָּט (absolute and therefore divine right) to the heathen, far beyond the circle in which He moves. So the true religion is here called, viewed on its practical side as a norm and standard for life in all its relations, religion as a law of life, νόμος.

How the Servant of Jehovah will act in extending right in the non-Israelitish world is now described, ver. 2: "*He will not cry, nor lift up, nor make his voice heard in the street.*" If יִשָּׂא could be taken, after Hos. xiii. 1, as carrying its object in itself, the three predicates would form an antithesis to vehemence, self-exaltation, and quackery. But between predicates describing mode of utterance ישא scarcely has a different object from יַשְׁמִיעַ, whether קוֹלוֹ belongs to both, or is to be supplied in thought to ישא, as in iii. 7, xlii. 11; Num. xiv. 1; Job xxi. 12.[2] Although He is certain of His divine calling, and brings the best and highest gifts to the nations, His bearing is calm, gentle, and meek, the precise opposite of those lying teachers who seek to obtain repute by noise and puffing. He seeks not Himself, and therefore empties Himself; what He brings is its own evidence, and needs no beating of drums.

[1] [On this subject see Urwick, *Servant of Jehovah* (Clark); Forbes, *Servant of the Lord* (Clark); Von Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, p. 376 (Clark); Driver, *Isaiah: His Life and Times*, p. 149 (Nisbet); A. B. Davidson, articles in *Expositor*, 2nd series, vol. viii. 1884; C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, chap. xi. (Clark).]

[2] Reifmann, *Historisch-kritische Abhandlungen*, Heft 1 (Vienna 1866, p. 53), conjectures ישאג, which Cheyne approves; שאג seems to me too strong a term, and unsuitable here.

Beneficent mildness is united with this unpretentious bearing, ver. 3: "*A cracked reed he breaks not, nor does he quench a glimmering wick; he brings out right in accordance with truth.*" רָצוּץ means what is cracked (xxxvi. 6), and therefore already half-broken; כֵּהָה (a form indicating defect, like עִוֵּר), what burns dimly and is near going out. The so-called tow was used for wicks (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xix. 3: *quod proxumum cortici fuit, stuppa appellatur, deterioris lini, lucernarum fere luminibus aptior*); but כֵּהָה can neither describe an attribute of the flax-stalk as moistened with water, nor of the tow as not pure white, but dark in colour; the predicate יְכַבֶּנָּה requires an attribute relating to the mode of burning. Those are meant whose inner and outer life hangs only by a slight thread and is all but entirely gone out. His not utterly breaking and quenching is a *litotes;* the life on the point of expiring He will not only not destroy, but save. His aim is not ἀπολλύναι but σώζειν. What follows has been explained: He will bring forth right unto truth, *i.e.* to full realization and abiding existence (Hengstenberg, Hendewerk *et al.*), LXX εἰς ἀλήθειαν (for which Matt. xii. 20 has εἰς νῖκος, as if it said לָנֶצַח, Hab. i. 4, on which Anger remarks: *ad victoriam enim κρίσιν perducit qui ad veritatem perducit*). In this form the connection between 3*a* and 3*b* is but loose; it becomes stricter if ל be taken as indicating the norm, as in xi. 3, xxxii. 1, in accordance with truth. But truth is here regarded on its subjective, practical side as the knowledge and acknowledgment of the true state of things in the manifold conditions of human life, a knowledge leading to moderation and mildness.

The figures in 3*a* suggest the thought that God's Servant Himself will not fade and break, ver. 4: "*He will not burn dim or give way (crack) until he establish right upon the earth, and the isles wait for his Torah.*" As יִכְהֶה leans on פשתה כהה, so does יָרוּץ on קנה רצוץ; it is therefore not to be derived from רוץ (to run): he will not be rash, but manage his calling with wise prudence (Hengstenberg), but as in Eccles. xii. 6, from יָרֹץ=יֵרָצֵץ (Ges. § 67, Rem. 3), in the neuter sense *infringetur* (=יֵרוֹץ, as in Cod. Babyl. from the first hand, cf. Ezek. xxix. 7). His zeal will not decline, nor His strength be broken until He has given right a firm position upon earth

(יָשִׂים, *ponet, fut. exactum* in sense). עַד of the end, up to the reaching of which something continues, the antithesis in view being the ceasing before, not after. It is a question whether that which follows is subordinated to the עַד: *et donec doctrinae ejus crediderint insulae* (Hitz.), or whether it forms an independent sentence (LXX, Matt. xii. 21) with the variant לְשְׁמוֹ גּוֹיִם for לְתוֹרָתוֹ אִיִּים. We prefer the latter. The chief parallel is li. 5. יִחֵל לְ always denotes waiting for something in the present, that it may be experienced (*e.g.* God and His grace, Ps. xxxi. 24, xxxiii. 18), or something in the future, that it may be witnessed (*e.g.* God's judgments or proofs of His just rule, Ps. cxix. 43). The latter is the meaning of יחל לתורתו; it can signify nothing else than longingly (cf. the parallel פָּעַר פִּי, Job xxix. 23; כלה, Ps. cxix. 81) to wait for His (the Servant of Jehovah's) teaching (the Torah from Zion, ii. 3). The messenger to the heathen world will find already a sense of need in that world. There, in the heathen world, as supposed in these discourses as well as in St. John's Gospel, which has so much in common with these discourses, is a *gratia praeparans;* and it is matter of fact that a cry for redemption goes up from the whole of humanity, a longing whose goal, although unconsciously, is the Servant of Jehovah and His gospel.

The divine address now turns to His Servant Himself. The latter has not merely a lofty calling, measured by the infinite greatness of the caller; He can also, through the infinite power of the caller, be certain that He will not lack strength for carrying out His calling, vers. 5–7: "*Thus saith God, Jehovah, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread forth the earth and the things growing out of it, who gave breath to the people upon it and spirit to them that walk on it: I, Jehovah, I have called thee in righteousness, and taken hold of thy hand, and guarded thee, and made thee a covenant of the people, a light of the heathen, to open blind eyes, to lead forth captives from the prison, them that sit in darkness from the house of confinement.*" The explanation of the perfect אָמַר is, that God's speaking always stands in prior relation to its human announcement. "God" is in prefixed apposition to "Jehovah." We have resolved the attributive participles by perfects, because the first three at least affirm creative acts

done once for all. נוֹטֵיהֶם is either to be taken as plural, after liv. 5, Job xxxv. 10 (*Michlol* 14*a*), or perhaps more correctly, בּוֹרֵא having preceded, as singular with original quiescent י, according to chap. v. 12, xxii. 11, xxvi. 12 (cf. also on עָלֶיהָ, i. 30). With רֹקַע (construct of רֹקֵעַ) cf. xl. 19, xliv. 24, also Lev. xi. 7 (שֹׁסַע), Ps. xc. 4 (נֹטַע); the word means to stamp, to make broad, thin, compact; and so to stretch, see Job xxxvii. 18. The meaning στερεοῦν (LXX), which it has in the Syriac, is not the original one (Wellh. *Proleg.* p. 406), but derived from that of condensing. The ו of וְצֶאֱצָאֶיהָ (a word common to the Book of Job and the Book of Isaiah in all its parts), in a loosely subordinate (zeugmatic) way, joins on to the body of the earth the vegetable world springing out of it (cf. a similar ו in Gen. iv. 20; Judg. vi. 5; 2 Chron. ii. 3). נְשָׁמָה and רוּחַ are designations of the divine creaturely life-principle of all corporeal, or, what is the same, animated beings. Still, נשמה is mainly a designation of the person-forming, self-conscious spirit of man (*Bibl. Psych.* p. 94, etc.); רוּחַ, on the other hand, denotes both this and the animal spirit. Accordingly עָם is the human race, as in xl. 7. What then does Jehovah, the author of all being and life, the creator of the heaven and the earth, say to His Servant? I have called Thee in righteousness (בְצֶדֶק), cf. xlv. 13. Coming from צָדַק, to be tight, straight, צֶדֶק[1] signifies the keeping of a fixed norm. God's righteousness is the strictness with which He acts according to His holy will. This holy will, in reference to mankind, is a will of loving purpose, which changes into an angry will only against the despisers of offered grace. Accordingly, righteousness is God's attitude as directed by His gracious purpose and plan of salvation. It means the same as what we call in N. T. language God's holy love, which, because it is holy, has wrath against those who despise it for its obverse side, but for the rest deals with men not by the law of works but the law of grace. This evangelical meaning belongs to "in righteousness" here, where Jehovah says of the Mediator of His loving purpose, that He called Him in strict adherence to His loving will, which

[1] See Ortloph's essay on the idea of צֶדֶק and the allied words in the second part of Isaiah, *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1860, p. 401 ff.

would have grace take the place of justice, but will display justice of double severity against those who scornfully reject the offered grace. The *consecutio temporum* is just as doubtful here, in xlii. 6, as in xlix. 8. Both times a perfect precedes, and it is therefore most natural to understand the following imperfects of the contemporary past (cf. on xii. 1), which, in addition, is natural here because of the following וְאַחְזֵק (for which also we might read the pointing וָאַחְזִק; cf. *e.g.* Ps. lxxxi. 8): I called Thee, and took Thee by the hand. We translate further: and I guarded Thee (from נצר), not, I formed Thee, for יצר in this sense is never so found alone without more precise statement (cf. xlix. 5; Jer. i. 5; Isa. xliv. 21), and made Thee "a covenant of the people, a light of the heathen." These words prove decisively that the idea of the "Servant of Jehovah" has risen in xlii. 1 ff. in comparison with xli. 8 from its national basis to a personal culmination. All three imperfects look back from the present, when the Servant of God stands on the threshold of performing His calling, to the time of preparation. To hold to the national sense necessitates here artificial expedients which refute themselves, such as that ברית עם means covenant-people (Hitzig), mediatory nation (Ewald), which would have required the converse עם ברית, or: national covenant (Knobel), for which appeal is made without force to Dan. xi. 28, where בְּרִית קֹדֶשׁ means not a covenant of patriots among themselves, but the covenant-religion with its sign of circumcision, or even that עם is collective = עמים (Rosenmüller), whereas עם and גוים, placed side by side, can only signify Israel and the Gentiles, which is placed beyond all doubt for the present passage by xlix. 8, cf. ver. 6. The Servant of Jehovah is here described as He in whom and through whom Jehovah makes a new covenant with His people in place of the old one that has been broken, namely, the one promised in liv. 10, lxi. 8; Jer. xxxi. 31–34; Ezek. xvi. 60 ff., xxxvii. 26. The mediator of this covenant with Israel cannot be Israel itself, nor (where is anything of the kind to be read?) the true Israel in relation to the mass, or, as Reuss thinks, to the human race; on the contrary, the remnant left after the mass is destroyed is the object of this covenant; nor yet the body of prophets, or a collective of any sort, which is disproved by

the strongly personal language and the more than prophetic work to be done. For the Servant of Jehovah is Himself the covenant of the peoples and light of the heathen; His person is the bond of a new communion between Israel and Jehovah, His person becomes the light enlightening the dark heathen world. Thus is He the one, who is the goal and summit, to which Israel's history tends from the first; the one who has realized not only all which the prophethood of Israel, but all which its priesthood and kingdom had prepared for; the one who, rising out of Israel, represents Israel and all mankind, and whose relation not only to the wide circle of the entire nation, but also to the inner circle of its best and noblest, is that of the heart which animates and the head which governs the body. What Cyrus does is nothing more than to put the idolatrous nations in terror and set free the exiles. But the Servant of Jehovah opens blind eyes (namely, of the spirit, as in xxix. 18), brings captives out of the prison, dwellers in darkness out of the prison-house (בית הַכְּלִיא=בֵּית כֶּלֶא, *Kerî* הַכְּלוּא, Jer. xxxvii. 4, lii. 31). He brings out of darkness into light, which according to 6*b* is meant to refer not only to Israel (xlix. 8 f.), but also to the heathen. He is the Redeemer of all who need redemption and long for salvation.

Jehovah pledges His name and honour that this work of Jehovah's Servant will find accomplishment, ver. 8: "*I am Jehovah; this is my name, and my honour I give not to another, nor my glory to idols.*" This is His name, declaring the uniqueness of His being and recalling the displays of His love, power, and grace from of old (cf. Ex. iii. 13); He who bears this name cannot permanently endure that the glory due to Himself should be transferred to sham gods.

First the overthrow of idolatry, next the restoring of Israel and conversion of the heathen,—this is the double work of Jehovah's zeal already in course of being done, ver. 9: "*The first things, behold, they have come to pass, and new things I am announcing; before they shoot forth, I tell you of them.*" The "first things" are the appearance of Cyrus, and the national commotions occurring therewith,—events which in these discourses, not merely form the starting-point of prophecy, but also themselves appear as exactly foreknown and foretold by Jehovah. The "new things" which Jehovah

now foretells before their visible development (xliii. 19), are the appearance of the Servant of Jehovah, the restoring of Israel, for which the defeat of their oppressors clears the way, and the conversion of the heathen, to which God's glorifying of Himself in His people gives the impulse.

The prophecy of these "new things" now following looks away from human mediation. They appear as Jehovah's own work, and first the overthrow of His enemies who held captive His people, vers. 10–13: "*Sing ye to Jehovah a new song, his praise from the end of the earth; ye traversers of the seas and its fulness; ye islands and their inhabitants. Let the wilderness and its cities break into song, the hamlets which Kedar inhabits; let the inhabitants of the rock-city exult, cry out from the top of the hills. Let men give glory to Jehovah and proclaim his praise in the islands. Jehovah will go forth like a hero, like a man of war kindle (his) zeal; he will break out into a battle-cry, a piercing battle-cry, show himself valiant on his foes.*" The "new things" become the impulse and matter of "a new song," such as was never yet heard in the heathen world. This entire group of verses is like a variant of xxiv. 14 f. The glance sweeps away to the utmost circumference of the earth, and thence moves backwards, where he encounters the יוֹרְדֵי הַיָּם, *i.e.* those who traverse the surface of the sea lying below the continent. These are to sing; and everything living and moving in the sea (וּמְלֹאוֹ, Ps. xcvi. 11) is to join in the song of the voyagers. The lands, too, washed by the sea, along with their inhabitants, are to sing. Having drawn these into the net of thanksgiving, the call moves towards the interior of the land: let the wilderness and its cities, the hamlets inhabited by Kedar lift up (קוֹלָם, their voice). What cities are meant is shown by way of example by the mention of סֶלַע, the rock-city of Edomite Nabataea, *Wâdi Mûsā*, famous still for its splendid ruins (cf. xvi. 1); its inhabitants are to climb the steep hills by which the city is surrounded, and raise a shout of joy (יִצְוָחוּ, to raise a piercing cry, cf. xxiv. 11). Along with the cities the settled Arabs are summoned, who are still called *Hadariya*, in distinction from the *Wabariya*, the nomad Arabs; *ḥaḏar*, חָצֵר, is a fixed dwelling in opposition to *bedû* of the desert, where the tents are pitched for a time, now here

now there. In ver. 12 the summons is made universal; the subject is the heathen altogether and everywhere; they are to give glory to Jehovah (Ps. lxvi. 1), and proclaim His praise in the islands, *i.e.* to the utmost parts of the heathen world. Ver. 13 gives the reason of the summons, and the theme of the new song in praise of the God of Israel: His victory over His foes, the foes of His people. The picture is brilliant and bold. Jehovah marches forth like a hero to the fight, and like "a man of war," who has already fought many battles, and is therefore practised in war. He stirs up "zeal" (see on ix. 6). His zeal has slept, so to speak, a long time, as though buried under ashes; now He wakes it up and kindles it into a clear flame, *ἀναζωπυρεῖ*. Marching to the attack, He breaks out into a cry (יָרִיעַ), yea, raises a piercing shout, אַף־יַצְרִיחַ (transitive *Hiph.* of צָרַח, Zeph. i. 14, to cry in shrill tones). In עַל־אֹיְבָיו יִתְגַּבָּר we see Him engaged in fight and showing Himself a strong hero (הִתְגַּבֵּר, only again in the Book of Job). The defeat which Jehovah here inflicts on heathendom is the final and decisive one. The deliverance of Israel, now nearing its accomplishment, is deliverance both from the punishment of exile and all the misery of sin. The post-exilian and the N. T. period flow into one.

The punishment has now endured long enough; it is time for Jehovah to bring forth the salvation of His people, ver. 14: "*I have kept silence exceedingly long, was still, restrained myself; now like a travailing woman I breathe again, pant and gasp at once.*" The standpoint of these discourses has the exile in great part behind it. It has indeed only lasted some decades of years, but to Jehovah's love for His people this time of forbearance to its oppressors is already eternity (עוֹלָם), see lvii. 11, lviii. 12, lxi. 4, lxiii. 18 f., lxiv. 4, cf. 10 f.). He has been silent, was still, did violence to Himself, like Joseph, Gen. xliii. 31, that He might not fall into tears. Love urged Him to deliver His people, but justice was compelled to go on punishing. In place of the imperfects governed by הֶחֱשֵׁיתִי, next appear imperfects with future meaning. They are not to be understood of the fierce breathing and panting of a warrior inflamed with wrath and eager for conflict (Knobel), and אֶשֹּׁם is not to be derived from שָׁמֵם, with erroneous comparison of Ezek. xxxvi. 3

(Hitzig, Hendewerk), which means not to lay waste, but to be waste (see Hitzig on Ezek. xxxvi. 3), but from נָשַׁם, akin to נָשַׁב, נָשַׁף, נָפַשׁ. To the figure of the hero, that of the travailing woman is added. פָּעָה is short breathing (with closed glottis); נָשַׁם, the panting of violent inspiration and expiration; שָׁאַף, the longing for relief pressing on the burden of the womb. יַחַד expresses the intermingling of all these struggles of labour-pains: something great, with which Jehovah was long pregnant, is to be born.

The birth takes place, the world of nature at the same time undergoing a transformation which subserves the work of the future, ver. 15: "*I lay waste mountains and hills, and all their herbage I dry up; and I turn rivers into islands, and lakes I dry up.*" Jehovah's panting in labour is His almighty, burning wrath, which turns mountains and hills as it were into ruinous heaps, burns up the grass, condenses rivers into islands, and makes lagoons dry, *i.e.* turns into a desert the land of foreigners, in which Israel has been kept captive, but at the same time removes the hindrances to His people's return, thus converting the present form of the world into an utterly opposite one, which reveals His righteousness in wrath and love. As צִי denotes a ship as a dry point on the waters, so אִי (cf. xl. 15) denotes an island as habitable land amid or on the waters; the Targum word for איים is נְגָוָן (Assyrian *nagê*), tract of land, especially in or on waters (see Cheyne on xl. 15).

The great event which takes effect by means of such catastrophes is His people's deliverance, ver. 16: "*And I lead the blind by a way which they know not; in steep paths which they know not I make them walk, and turn dark places into light before them, and rugged places into plain. These are the things which I perform and neglect not.*" The blind are they whom transgression and wickedness have robbed of power of spiritual sight. The unknown ways in which Jehovah leads them (הוֹלִיךְ) are the ways of redemption known to Him alone, and now revealed in the fulness of times. מַחְשָׁךְ (Baer without reason: מַחֲשָׁךְ) is the present state of hopeless misery, and מַעֲקַשִּׁים the hindrances and dangers met with everywhere in strange lands. The grace of Jehovah helps the blind, scatters the darkness,

removes all hindrances and obstacles. "These are the things" points back to the several incidents referred to of Jehovah's twofold revelation in judgment and grace. The perfects of the attributive sentence are perfects of certainty.

Following these up, ver. 17 says what effect this twofold revelation will produce among the heathen: "*They go back, are deeply put to shame—they who trust in carved images, they who say to the molten image: Thou art our God.*" בֹּשֶׁת takes the place of an *infin. intens.*; cf. Hab. iii. 9. Jehovah's glorious deeds of judgment and deliverance unmask the mock gods to the deep confusion of their worshippers. False worships thus falling, Israel's redemption becomes the redemption of the heathen. With this the first half of the third discourse closes.

The thought uniting the second half with the first lies in ver. 16, "And I lead the blind by a way." It is the blind whom Jehovah will bring into the light of freedom, the blind who draw down on themselves not merely His sympathy but also His displeasure, for it is their own fault that they do not see. To them the summons goes forth to free themselves from the ban lying upon them, ver. 18: "*Hear, ye deaf; and ye blind, look up in order to see!*" הַחֵרְשִׁים and הַעִוְרִים (such is the pointing here and in 2 Sam. v. 6, 8, according to the Masora[1]) are vocatives with article, Gesen. § 126. 2, *e.* הִבִּיט and רָאָה are related to each other as aim and accomplishment, lxiii. 15; Job xxxv. 5; 2 Kings iii. 14, and often, and interchange with פָּקַח עֵינָיו and רָאָה, which are related to each other as design and effect.

Who these self-chosen deaf and blind are, and how necessary this waking up, ver. 19 says: "*Who is blind except my servant, and deaf like my messenger whom I send? Who is blind like God's trusted one, and blind like the servant of Jehovah?*" The first double question says that Jehovah's servant and messenger is blind and deaf beyond comparison. The question is repeated, content with the one predicate

[1] This expressly says: כל סמיין רפיין ופתחין, *omnes caeci raphati et patachati*, or סמייא פתחין עברייא קמצין (*i.e.* העורים, and on the other hand הָעִבְרִים); cf. Frensdorff, *Masora magna*, p. 134*b*.

"blind," which involves everything, and with "Servant of Jehovah," returning to the beginning. מְשֻׁלָּם means neither the perfect one (Vitringa, after Symmachus) nor one paid for, *i.e.* purchased (Rosenm.), but one befriended or trusted (cf. the *Hoph.*, Job v. 23); the Arabic *muslim*, one devoted to God, after which Cheyne translates "the surrendered one," is allied to Aramaic אִשְׁלֵם, *tradere.*[1] It is impossible not to be reminded by "my servant whom I send" of xlii. 1 ff., where the Servant of Jehovah is set forth as a messenger to the heathen. The Servant of Jehovah is everywhere Israel. But because Israel is viewed now in regard to the mass which ignores its calling, now in regard to the kernel which is faithful to it, now in regard to the One in whom Israel reaches the summit of its destiny, the most diverse things may be affirmed of the one homonymous subject. Here the idea returns from its culmination to its lowermost base, and the Servant of Jehovah is reproved and rebuked because of the glaring contradiction between his conduct and calling, his reality and idea. Farther on, again, we shall find the idea of the Servant of Jehovah involved in this systole and diastole. It consists of two concentric circles with a common centre. The connecting link between Israel in the broadest and in the personal sense is the inner circle of Israel after the spirit.

The reproach, affecting Israel *à potiori*, now goes farther, vers. 20–22: "*Thou hast seen much and yet preservest (it) not; opening the ears, he yet hears not. Jehovah was well pleased for his righteousness' sake: he gave a Torah great and glorious. And yet it is a people robbed and plundered, snared in holes all together, and in houses of confinement they are hidden; they are become a prey, and there is none to rescue; a booty, and there is none to say, Give back again!*" In ver. 20 "thou" and "he" alternate, like "they" and "you" in i. 29, "I" and "he" in xiv. 30. The רָאִיתָ, pointing back to the past, is to be retained; the *Keri* reads רָאוֹת (*infin. abs.*, like שָׁתוֹת, xxii. 13; עָרוֹת, Hab. iii. 13), thus making the two halves of the verse uniform. Israel has seen many and great things without preserving them, and the admonitions they conveyed; opening the ears, namely, to

[1] See Joh. Delitzsch, *De Inspiratione* (1872), p. 7 s.

urgent preaching, it yet hears not, *i.e.* it hears and yet hears not, *i.e.* it hears only outwardly without receiving inwardly. What is principally thought of in ver. 20 is shown in ver. 21. חָפֵץ is here followed by the imperf. instead of by לְ with infin., like the perfect in liii. 10; Gesen. § 120. 1*b*. Jehovah was pleased for His righteousness' sake, which is here regarded as a dispensing of grace according to purpose, to make great and glorious the תּוֹרָה, the instruction, teaching, revelation which He gave His people. The Sinaitic law is first of all and chiefly meant, and the verbs relate, not to the solemnity of the promulgation, but to the wealth and loftiness of the contents. But how glaring the contradiction in which Israel's present condition stands to these gracious acts and purposes of its God! The mediate thought expressed in Hos. viii. 12*b*, that this condition is the penalty of unfaithfulness, is easily supplied. The *infin. abs.* הָפֵחַ is that of vivid description, as in xxii. 13; Hahn, Nägelsbach, Bredenkamp: they all pant (*Hiph.* of פּוּחַ) in holes; כֻּלָּם with *infin. abs.* might certainly be also subject, but הָפֵחַ is perhaps *infin. abs.* of a denominative *Hiphil* הֵפֵחַ, "to snare" (from פַּח, snare, trap, and *Hiph. denom.*, to put in snares = bonds; cf. Assyr. *piḫû*, to shut up). בַּחוּרִים is plur. of חוּר, hole, xi. 8 (= خُرّ from خَرّ, cf. خار, to pierce through), parallel with the double plur. בָּתֵּי כְלָאִים, houses of detention, sing. בֵּית כֶּלֶא, Assyr. *bît kîli*. The entire nation in all its members is as it were put in bonds, and shut up in prisons of every kind,—an allegorical picture of the homelessness and bondage of the exile,—and no one remembers to demand it back (הָשַׁב = הָשֵׁב, as in Ezek. xxi. 35, here pausal form).

If they ceased to be deaf to this crying contradiction, they would see therein with penitence a well-deserved punishment from God, vers. 23–25: "*Who among you will give heed to this, attend and hearken hereafter? Who gave up Jacob to plundering, and Israel to the spoilers? Was it not Jehovah, against whom we sinned? And they would not walk in his ways, nor hearken to his Torah. Then he poured upon them his flaming wrath and violence of furious war; and this set him on fire round about, and he perceived not; it set him ablaze, and he laid it not to heart.*" The question of ver. 23 has not

the force of a negative sentence: none does this (Hahn), but of a wish: Would that yet, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, xv. 4; Gesen. § 151. 1. מִי בָכֶם = *quis vestrum;* מִי, מָה in Semitic, just like אֲשֶׁר, does not admit a governed genitive. If they had an inner ear for the contradiction, in which Israel's condition stands to its calling and former experiences of grace, and renounced for the future their previous deafness, this must needs lead to the insight and confession expressed in ver. 24. For משוסה (מְשׁוּסָּה like מְשׁוּכָּה, chap. v. 5; מְעוּזּ, xvii. 9) the *Keri* reads מְשִׁסָּה, as in ver. 22. The national names Jacob and Israel follow each other here as in xxix. 23, xl. 27 (cf. xli. 8, where this reversal was unsuitable). זוּ goes with לוֹ in the meaning *cui;* the *athnach* stands before זוּ (he against whom), as in Jer. xli. 2 before אֲשֶׁר (Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 32). In "we sinned" the prophet joins himself with the exiles. The following objective statement applies to former generations, which sinned without restraint until the measure was full. הָלוֹךְ takes the position of object to אָבוּ (see i. 17), like the *infin. abs.* in i. 16 f.; cf. Prov. xv. 12; Job ix. 18, xiii. 3; the more usual phrase would be לָלֶכֶת or לֶכֶת; the inverted order of the words makes the statement more energetic. In ver. 25 the genitive combination חֲמַת אַפּוֹ is avoided, perhaps to secure the alliteration חֵמָה, מִלְחָמָה; either חֵמָה is accus. of object, and אַפּוֹ an appended statement of that of which the flame consisted, or accus. of more precise definition = בְּחֵמָה, lxvi. 15. The pouring out is also joined in the way of zeugma with the "violence of war." The מלחמה next becomes subject. The war-fury raged to no purpose; Israel was not brought to reflection.

With "and now" the tone of the discourse suddenly changes. The leap from rebuke to comfort is significant. It intimates that no merit of works intervenes between what Israel is and is to be; it is God's free grace which comes to meet it, xliii. 1, 2: "*And now thus saith Jehovah thy Creator, O Jacob, and thy Maker, O Israel: Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by name; thou art mine. When thou walkest through waters, I am with thee, and through rivers, they shall not drown thee; when thou walkest in the fire, thou shalt not be scorched, and the flame shall not burn thee.*" The infliction of punishment has lasted long enough. Now again,

as intimated in "and now," the love hitherto hidden behind wrath recovers its prerogative. He who created and formed Israel, giving to Abraham the son of promise, and causing the seventy of the family of Jacob in Egypt to grow into a nation, will also guard and preserve it; He bids it be of good cheer, for their previous history gives them security for this. The perfects after כִּי, 1*b*, differ from the encouraging futures of ver. 2 in being retrospective. גְּאַלְתִּיךָ looks back to Israel's redemption from Egypt; קָרָאתִי בְשִׁמְךָ, to its calling to be Jehovah's peculiar people, who therefore calls it מְקֹרָאִי, xlviii. 12. The assistance of its God also arms Israel hereafter against the destructive power of the most hostile elements, and carries it safely through dangers apparently beyond remedy (cf. Ps. lxvi. 12; Dan. iii. 17, 27; and respecting בְּמוֹ=בְּמָה, Philippi, *Ueber den Status constr.* p. 7).

With "for" this promise is justified, vers. 3, 4: "*For I, Jehovah, am thy God; (I) the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour; I give up Egypt as ransom for thee, Ethiopia and Seba in thy stead. Because thou art dear in my eyes, honourable, and I love thee, I give up men in thy stead and nations for thy life.*" Like "Jehovah," so "Holy One of Israel" also is in apposition to "I," whose force continues. The preterite נָתַתִּי, as וְאֶתֵּן, 4*b*, shows, only affirms a fact completed as regards decree. כֹּפֶר, *λύτρον*, is properly covering, then a gift covering (guarding) from an evil afflicting or threatening one, especially the expiation- or ransom-money paid to obtain release from guilt contracted, *λύτρον*. מִצְרַיִם, כּוּשׁ and סְבָא (xlv. 14), are the Egyptian, Nubian, and Ethiopic population of north-eastern Africa in the bed of the lower and upper Nile. The fact that Cambyses conquered Egypt, and not Cyrus, who had this in view (Her. i. 153), and to whom only one story referred it (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 6. 20: *λέγεται καταστρέψασθαι Αἴγυπτον*), does not destroy the truth of the promise. Enough that Egypt and the neighbouring territories were subdued by the new Persian empire, and served as a substitutionary ransom for Israel in so far as the latter recovered its lost freedom through that empire. Jehovah's dealing with Israel in this way, according to the principle expressed in Prov. xi. 8, xxi. 18, rests on His free love as its motive. מֵאֲשֶׁר signifies here, not *ex quo tempore*, but = מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר, Ex. xix. 18;

Jer. xliv. 23; for if it indicated the *term. a quo*, a more definite statement of the fact of election would follow. The personal pronoun וַאֲנִי is introduced because of the change of persons. וְאֶתֵּן is better than וְנָתַתִּי, because נתתי came before in a somewhat different sense. תַּחַת has here throughout a proper substitutionary meaning.

The encouraging "Fear not" is now resumed, to justify it by new reasons, vers. 5–7: "*Fear not, for I am with thee; I bring thy seed from the east, and I will gather thee from the west; I will say to the north: Give up, and to the south: Keep not back! Bring my sons from far and my daughters from the end of the earth, all which I called by my name and created for my glory, which I formed, yea, completed.*" That Jehovah is with Israel will be shown by His bringing about its complete restoration from every quarter of heaven; cf. the diaspora-lands in every direction already named by Isaiah, xi. 11 f. Jehovah's word of command goes forth to north and south to give up, and not keep back, their unrighteous possession, and to restore His sons and daughters (cf. the similar change of gender, xi. 12). The help rendered to the exiles, and guidance of them, on the part of the heathen are here intimated, xiv. 2. The names of the four quarters of the heaven, as designations of the winds (Cant. iv. 16) and parts of the earth, are feminine. In ver. 7 the object is more precisely defined from the standpoint of sacred history. The three synonyms emphasize the power, freeness, and wealth of the grace with which Jehovah called Israel into existence, in order to glorify Himself in it and to be glorified by it. They form a climax, for בָּרָא means to produce anew; יָצַר, to give shape to what is produced; עָשָׂה, to perfect it; thus *creavi, formavi, perfeci.*

There follows now the third turn of the second half of this discourse. It strikes back to the beginning of the first turn ("Hear, ye deaf; and ye blind, look up in order to see"), the summons going forth for some one to bring forth the Israel that has eyes and ears, and yet sees not and hears not; and, on the other hand, the peoples are all to assemble, this time for the purpose, not of convincing the peoples, but Israel, vers. 8–10: "*Bring forth a blind people having eyes, and deaf and yet having ears! All ye heathen, assemble yourselves*"

together, and let the peoples be gathered! Who among them can announce such things? And former things let them declare; let them produce their witnesses and be justified; let them hear and say: True! Ye are my witnesses, saith Jehovah, and my servant whom I have chosen, that ye may know and believe me and understand, that I am he; before me no God was formed, and after me shall be none." הוֹצִיא signifies here, not to bring out of the exile, as in Ezek. xx. 34, 41, xxxiv. 13 (Hitzig *et al.*),—the names by which Israel is here called do not suggest bringing out in this sense,—but to bring to the place of judicial trial (Gesen., Meyer, Knobel). It is *imper.* instead of הוֹצֵא or הַיְצֵא, like הַאֲזִין, Ps. lxxvii. 2; הוֹפִיעַ, xciv. 1. On the other hand, all the heathen are to be present in mass; נִקְבְּצוּ is here, as in Joel iii. 11, cf. Jer. l. 5, imperative form for הִקָּבְצוּ, an anomaly explained away by Driver, § 20; Ed. König, § 22. 4, etc., and also doubted by Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 51, Anm. 3; Green, § 91*d;* but, as Cheyne also acknowledges, undeniably attested.[1] With 9*b* begins the proof by Jehovah of His divine right: who among the gods can announce this = such things as the restoration of Israel, which I announce. To prove that they can, let them declare former things, former actual events foretold by them; let them produce witnesses of such former prophecies, and so prove themselves gods, namely, by these witnesses hearing their statement and attesting its truth. The subject to "let them hear" is the witnesses (Hitzig, Knobel); let them hear the point in question, and if they can, confirm the prophetic powers of the gods. In the connection "and let one" would also suit (Luther, Gesen., Nägelsb. *et al.*), but the indefinite "one" in the midst of verbs with definite subject is unnatural. Whereas now the gods, because dumb and dead, cannot call witnesses for themselves, and none among the assembled multitudes can come forward as a witness in their favour, Jehovah can appeal to His people, who have proofs in abundance that He has infallible knowledge of the future. It is generally supposed that "and my Servant" is a second subject: you and especially my Servant whom I have chosen; "my Servant" = the kernel of

[1] The case is similar to the quite incredibly anomalous *inf. constr. Hiph.* הִקְטִיל for הַקְטִיל, Num. xxi. 35; Deut. vii. 24; Jer. l. 34.

the people, in the mass but not of it. Nevertheless the following sentence of purpose favours the unity of the subject-idea, and why should not "and my Servant" be a second predicate? The apostrophe "you" applies to the people capable of seeing and hearing, and yet blind and deaf, which is led out to the forum, ver. 8. You, says Jehovah, are my witnesses and are my servant whom I chose; I can appeal to you as to what I have enabled you to see and hear, and to the relation in which I have graciously placed you to myself, that (לְמַעַן) you may come to reflect how great the difference between what you have in your God and what the heathen have in their idols. He is "He" (original passage, Deut. xxxii. 39), *i.e.* absolutely and exclusively God, and, what this testimony to Himself implies, in a personal way. In other words, He is the sole realization of the idea of God inherent in human consciousness, and He is this eternally (cf. on xli. 4), His being has no beginning and no end, so that no other being with divine claims and character could precede or follow Him. The gods of the heathen are fictions of fancy.

The discourse now closes, setting forth once more the object and the security of faith, vers. 11–13: "*I, I am Jehovah, and beside me there is no Saviour. I, I have announced and brought salvation, and made known, and there was no strange God among you. And ye are my witnesses, saith Jehovah, and I am God. Also from to-day on I am he, and none can deliver out of my hand; I act, and who can reverse it?*" The proper name "Jehovah" is used in ver. 13 as a designation of essence: I and no other am He who prove my existence by acts and by redeeming acts. Jehovah's manifestations of Himself in former history give security for the approaching deliverance; the two synonyms הִגַּדְתִּי and הִשְׁמַעְתִּי have הוֹשַׁעְתִּי between them: He announced salvation, brought salvation, and in new affliction ever proclaimed new salvation. If we erase והושעתי as mistakenly written after והשמעתי, and then not struck out (Cheyne), the object is wanting which והושעתי yields on both sides. If it were said further וְלֹא־הָיִיתִי בָּכֶם זָר, the meaning would be, that the God who so attests Himself as living was no stranger among them; but it runs וְאֵין בָּכֶם זָר, there was no strange

second god among them (Deut. xxxii. 16, cf. above, xvii. 10) who had revealed himself in similar manner or given any sign of life. They themselves must confess this, and consequently (ו as to meaning *ergo*, as in xl. 18, 25) He, and He exclusively, is God. Also from now He is so, *i.e.* He and only He exhibits the divine essence and life. מִיּוֹם is not = מֵהְיוֹת יוֹם, *inde a quo dies h. e. tempus existit* (LXX, Jerome, Hitzig *et al.*); both "also" and the imperfect אֶפְעַל (I act) require the meaning certified by Ezek. xlviii. 35: from the day, from now (synon. לִפְנֵי־יוֹם, xlviii. 7). The final words intimate that the salvation foretold comes in the way of judgment. Jehovah will effectually intervene; and when He does this, who can turn it back, so that it shall not be done? The discourse dies away like the burden of Babylon with its epilogue in xiv. 27.

Fourth Discourse of the First Part, XLIII. 14–XLIV. 5.

Vengeance, Deliverance, and the Outpouring of the Spirit.

Closely following up the previous discourse, the present one begins with the dissolution of the Chaldean empire, vers. 14, 15: "*Thus saith Jehovah your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: For your sakes I have sent to Babylon, and will hurl them all down in flight, and the Chaldeans into the ships of their rejoicing. I, Jehovah, am your Holy One; (I), Israel's Creator, your King.*" Hitzig reads בַּאֲנִיּוֹת, and translates: "And I sank the exulting of the Chaldeans in groaning;" Ewald also corrects 14*a*: "And I turn their guitars into groans, and the Chaldeans' rejoicing into sighs." We have no taste for such un-Hebraic bombast. Just as little is בָּרִיחִים (LXX φεύγοντας) to be changed into בְּרִיחִים (Jerome, *vectes*), as, *e.g.*, Umbreit: "And I make all their bars" (which would require כָּל־בְּרִיחֶיהָ) "fall down, and the Chaldeans who rejoice in their ships" (*bāŏnniyyoth*). All these changes give no help. For your sakes, Jehovah says,—*i.e.* to release you from bondage,—I have sent to Babylon, namely, the instruments for executing my judgments (xiii. 3),[1] and will hurl (וְהוֹרַדְתִּי, *perf.*

[1] In the Talmud (as also in several MSS.) we have the pointing שֻׁלַּחְתִּי, after which Aben Ezra, and at last Abravanel, also interprets; and this

consec., stating the end of the means already set in motion) them all down as fugitives (בָּרִיחִים, with unchangeable *Kamctz=barrîḥîm*), thus in hurried flight, namely, the πάμμικτος ὄχλος of this imperial mart (see xiii. 14, xlvii. 15); and the Chaldeans, including them also, settlers there from ancient days, into the ships (*boŏniyyoth*, as in Prov. xxxi. 14) of their rejoicing, *i.e.* which had hitherto been the object of their exultant pride and joy. It would be possible also to render "ships of their wailing," רִנָּתָם, as in Jer. xiv. 12; Ps. cvi. 44 (Weir, Cheyne), *i.e.* which are then filled with wailing; but the genitive combination is against this acceptation. Herodotus (i. 194) describes the freight-ships discharging in Babylon; and we know elsewhere also that the Chaldeans navigated not only the Euphrates, but also the Persian Gulf, and also used Phoenician-built ships for purposes of war. הוֹרִיד might indeed of itself mean "to hurl to the ground" (Ps. lvi. 8, lix. 12), but the mention of the ships shows that הוריד ב (cf. lxiii. 14) is to be joined together, and that a general driving down to the southern coast by land and water is meant. In thus sweeping strangers and home-born from Babylon into the sea, Jehovah proves what, according to ver. 15, He is in Himself and in His relation to Israel; אֲנִי is to be repeated here in 15*b* by way of supplement, as in 3*a*. The Church which calls on Him as the Holy One, the people which lets Him rule as King over them, cannot long remain despised and enslaved.

There follows a second part of the picture of deliverance, the phrase "for your sakes" being expanded, vers. 16–21: "*Thus saith Jehovah, who makes a road through the sea and a path through the rushing waters; who brings forth chariot and steed, army and heroes,—they lie down together, they never arise; they have flickered away, are quenched like a wick;—Remember not ancient things, nor bring to mind things of former times! Behold, I work out a new thing, even now it shoots up; will you not witness it! Yea, I make a road through the desert, rivers through wastes. The beasts of the field shall praise me, wild dogs and ostriches; for I give waters in the desert, rivers in wastes, to give drink to my people, my elect. The people, which*

passage is quoted among the proof-texts for the position: בכל מקום שגלו ישראל גלתה השכינה עמהם. So *Megilla* 29*a*, *jer. Taanith* i. Hal. 1, g. E.

I formed for myself, they shall recount my praise." What Jehovah says begins with ver. 18. Meanwhile He is described as the Deliverer from Egypt, for the deliverance from Egypt is the type and pledge of the expected deliverance from Babylon. The participles must not be rendered *qui dedit . . . eduxit ;* from Jehovah's mighty acts of old general attributes are deduced : He who, as He once proved, makes a road in the sea. The sea with the " rushing waters " was the Red Sea, Neh. ix. 11. The עִזּוּז rhyming with וְסוּס is a concrete, as in Ps. xxiv. 8 (secondary form of גִּבּוֹר) : army, and heroes at its head. " Who brings forth " does not go on in the form : " and who suddenly destroys them ;" we are transported into the midst of the scene of destruction. In " they lie down " we see them entering the sleep of death, in which they remain without hope (xxvi. 14) ; the cadence כַּפִּשְׁתָּה כָבוּ is iambic, as in Judg. v. 27. The admonition of ver. 18 does not refer to entire forgetfulness and non-attention (see, on the other hand, xlvi. 9), but they are to look more forwards than backwards ; the new thing, which Jehovah is working out, outshines the old, and is worthy of undivided, most eager observation. Of this new thing it is said : now it shoots up. Whereas in xlii. 9, in the domain of the future itself, " the first things " and " the new things " were distinguished, and it might be said of the latter that it has not yet sprung up, here the entire divine work of the new age is called " a new thing," and opposed to " the first things," events of old ; so that, since the first of these new things has already happened (בָּאוּ, xlii. 9), and only the last one yet remains, it may be said of the latter that it is shooting up just now (עתה, as in xlviii. 7). In close connection with this, הֲלוֹא תֵדָעוּהָ (the same verbal form with suff. as in Jer. xiii. 7) signifies, not : will you not then observe it (Rückert, Ewald), but : will you not = truly will you not have experience of it ? With " yea," 19*b*, the substance of the " new thing " is unfolded : it is the last of a rich series of miracles. אַף affirms that, among other things, Jehovah will especially do what follows. He transforms the pathless, waterless desert, that His elect one, the people of God, may pass through safely and without suffering ; at the same time this miraculous act of grace will be for the good of the animal world (see respecting names of animals on xiii. 21 f., and

Köhler on Mal. i. 3); their rejoicing cries are unconscious praise of Jehovah. The prophet has not only a sympathizing heart for the sorrows of the human world, but also (as in Joel i. 20) an open ear for the groans of creation.

In ver. 21 the promise concludes in a generalized form: the people which (זוּ, personal and relative,[1] Gesen. § 34) I formed for myself, these will abundantly relate in what respects and how I have glorified myself in them,—His glory, not the merit of their own works, for there is absolutely nothing that could give them a claim to reward, not even ceremonial acts of worship; on the contrary, nothing but the guilt of heavy transgressions, vers. 22–24: "*And thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob, that thou shouldst have wearied thyself for me, O Israel! Thou hast not brought me sheep of thy burnt-offerings, nor honoured me with thy sacrifices; I have not burdened thee with meat-offerings, nor harassed thee with incense. Thou hast not bought me sweet cane for silver, and with fat of thy sacrifices thou hast not sated me; nay, thou hast wearied me with thy sins, harassed me with thy misdeeds.* It is not the entire previous worship of Israel which is here treated as if non-existent, because heartless and hypocritical (Stier); the words apply to the people of the exile. The reproach begins with prayer, to which worship was reduced, the law not permitting sacrifice outside the Holy Land (חוצה לארץ); the personal pronoun אֹתִי stands first with emphasis instead of the suffix, as if it were said: Israel may have applied itself to call on other gods, but not on Jehovah. The following כִּי= *ut*, xxix. 16, Hos. i. 6, or עַד־כִּי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 10: *adeo ut laborasses me colendo.* They are next reminded that they have brought no sacrifices, because in a foreign land this duty fell away of itself, with the self-denial it involved. The form הֵבֵיאתָ (as in Num. xiv. 31) has in view the pronunciation הֵבִיאתָ (cf. the pronunciation standing between the two in 2 Kings xix. 25). First come the burnt-offerings, expressing adoration, with the sheep, suggestive of the morning and evening sacrifice. There follow the sacrifices, expressing the ratifica-

[1] The pointing joins together עַם־זוּ by *Makkeph* (as in Ps x. 2, xii. 8, by means of a conjunctive accent), explained therefore here as elsewhere: "the people then I have formed for myself;" in our view, עַם should be accented with *Yethîb*, זוּ with *Munach*.

tion of friendly relations (שׁלום) with God: וּבִזְבחיך=זְבָחֶיךָ, as בְּחמה=חֵמָה, xlii. 25. "Fat," ver. 24, alludes to the pieces of fat which came to the altar from the peace-offerings. Then come the meat-offerings, expressing desire for Jehovah's blessing, of which a fragment, along with all the incense, the so-called memorial part (אַזְכָּרָה from זָכַר, in the sense of הִזְכִּיר, like אַחְוָה, Job xiii. 17, from חוה, in the sense of חִוָּה), fell to the altar. Lastly, sweet cane (קָנֶה), according to the usual meaning calmus, named after its stalk, points to the sacred anointing oil (Ex. xxx. 23), or even, if meant of spices generally, to the incense, although sweet cane is not mentioned among its ingredients, Ex. xxx. 34.[1] The nation, which Jehovah now redeems out of purest grace, was not burdened with costly services of this kind (see Jer. vi. 20); on the contrary, only (אַךְ) Jehovah was the burdened and harassed one. The הֶעֱבִיר (to make one a slave, lay on him a slave's work) He denies to Israel as a sufferer, and ascribes to Himself. Israel's sins lay on Him like a burden on a slave. His love took on itself the burden of Israel's guilt, His own holy and righteous wrath aggravating its weight; but it was a heavy task to bear and remove this heavy burden. When God creates, He utters His fiat, and what He wills is done. But He does not abolish sin without harmonizing His love and righteousness; and this harmonizing is not effected without struggle and triumph.

But the helping force of divine love is greater than the burdening force of divine wrath, ver. 25: *"I, I alone blot out thy transgressions for my own sake, and I remember not thy sins."* Jehovah Himself here proclaims the *sola gratia* and *sola fide.* We have translated "I alone," for the triple repetition of the subject: "I, I am He that blots out thy offences," means that this forgiveness, so far from being deserved by Israel, is a sovereign act of His absolute freedom, and "for my own sake," that it has its ground in God only, namely, in His absolutely free grace, that movement of His love which is a counterpoise to His wrath. For the guilt stands in God's

[1] But in the Assyrian account of the Flood, Kanû appears as an ingredient of the incense-offering; see Paul Haupt in Schrader's *Inscr.*, pp. 59, 63, and Friedr. Delitzsch's *Assyr. Wörterb.* under *Adagur* (vessel for incense-offering).

book; righteousness has inserted it, only love erases it (מָחָה, ἐξαλείφει, as in xliv. 22; Ps. li. 3, 11, cix. 14).

Jehovah now calls on Israel, if this be not so, to remind Him of any merit on which it can rely, ver. 26: "*Call to my remembrance; we will contend together; recount now, that thou mayest appear righteous.*" Justification is a forensic act (see i. 18). Righteousness accuses, grace acquits. Or, has Israel any merit that righteousness ought to pronounce it just? The object of "call to remembrance" and "recount" is Israel's supposed meritorious works.

It has none; on the contrary, its history from the first is a tissue of sins, ver. 27: "*Thy first father sinned, and thy mediators have fallen away from me.*" By the first father, Hitzig, Knobel *et al.* understand Adam; but Adam is the progenitor of mankind, not of Israel specially, and Adam's guilt is mankind's guilt, not Israel's. Either Abraham is meant (Hofmann, Stier, Hahn *et al.*), or Jacob-Israel (Ewald, Cheyne, v. Orelli), who has more to do with the sinful nature of the nation springing from him than Abraham (cf. Deut. xxvi. 5). The מְלִיצִים interpreters and mediators generally (2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Job xxxiii. 23) are the prophets and priests, standing between Jehovah and Israel, and mediating the intercourse of both in word and act; even these for the most part have proved unfaithful to God, falling a prey to ungodly magic and false worship. Thus, Israel's sin was as ancient as its origin; and the apostasy has broken out even among those who, by reason of their offices, should be the best and holiest.

Thus the All-holy One was compelled to do what had taken place, ver. 28: "*Then I profaned holy princes, and gave up Jacob to the ban, and Israel to revilings.*" וְאחלל might be imperf., like וְאֹכַל, I ate, xliv. 19; וְאַבִּיט, I looked, lxiii. 5; but וְאֶתְּנָה alongside shows, that the pointing springs from the future interpretation of the Targum, so that, since the latter interpretation cannot be justified (Nägelsbach), and since וְאֶתְּנָה cannot perhaps mean retrospectively "I gave up" (although the cohortative, in accordance with the *consec. temporum*, occasionally acquires a retrospective sense, *e.g.* 2 Sam. xxii. 38; Prov. vii. 7), we must read וָאחלל, וָאֶתְּנָה (LXX, Syr.). "Holy princes" are the hierarchs

(1 Chron. xxiv. 5), the highest spiritual authorities in distinction from the secular. Their profanation consisted in their being ruthlessly dragged into a foreign land, where their official work ceased of necessity. So the heads of religion fared; and the whole nation, bearing the honourable names of Jacob and Israel, fell victim to the cursing (חֵרֶם) and revilings (גִּדּוּפִים) of heathen nations.

The prophet is unable to dwell longer on this dark picture of the state of punishment; the light of promise again breaks through, and in this third part of the fourth discourse becomes all the more intense, xliv. 1–4: "*And now hear, Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen. Thus saith Jehovah thy Creator and thy Maker from the womb, who helps thee: Fear not, my servant Jacob, and Jeshurun, whom I have chosen! For I will pour waters upon the thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground; I will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring; and they shoot up among the grass, like willows by flowing waters.*" In contrast with the "ban," *i.e.* being elected to destruction, appears the promise of the outpouring of the Spirit and blessing, with "revilings," ver. 5, the promise of universal eagerness to do honour to Israel and its God. The self-designations of Jehovah and the designations of Israel, ver. 1 f., make the loving exhortation more forcible. The accentuation, which joins together וְיֹצֶרְךָ מִבֶּטֶן, so that יַעְזְרֶךָּ is an independent attributive clause like בָּחַרְתִּי בוֹ, is confirmed by ver. 21, xlix. 5: the nation of Israel and all its members, as the called servant of Jehovah (xlix. 1), are Jehovah's creation from the earliest point of existence. ישׂראל, ver. 2*b*, is replaced by יְשֻׁרוּן, which, written also with שֻׁ, occurs thrice again, Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26. *Gr. Ven.* translates Ἰσραελίσκος, therefore = יִשְׂרְאֵלוּן (Ewald), which is objectionable because of the שׂ instead of שׁ. The שׁ points back to ישׁר, to be straight, even, after which Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion εὐθύς (otherwise εὐθύτατος), Jerome *rectissimus* (Deut. xxxii. 15, however, after LXX *dilectus*), upright nation (as according to Cheyne in the title of the book ספר הַיָּשָׁר). It is a secondary form of יָשָׁר = יְשֻׁר, Ps. xxv. 21, like זְבֻלוּן, יְדֻתוּן, from זְבֻל יְדֻת, scarcely a diminutive of affection (like Syriac *gabrunå*, little man; *ṭalyunå*, little

youth, etc.), after which Gesen. Nägelsb. Bredenkamp: dear, good little one, which corresponds little to the language of divine love. In "for," ver. 3, the summons to be of good cheer is justified from that which is to be expected. In 3*a* water is promised in drought, and 3*b*, God's Spirit and blessing; just as in Joel the promise of rain is first opposed to drought, and then the outpouring of the Spirit in surpassing antitype. צָמֵא are the inhabitants of the land thirsting for rain, and יַבָּשָׁה the parched-up land itself; and further, the abundance of water in the land, and the prosperous growth of the nation planted on water-brooks (Ps. i. 3), are expressly distinguished. We must not therefore regard 3*a* as figure and 3*b* as interpretation, or even turn 3*a* into a comparative protasis (Targ. Ewald); the promise transcends itself, the "waters" and "streams" rising to the "Spirit and blessing of Jehovah," as in Joel. When these two kinds of waters stream down on the nation again in its own land, then they spring up like willows or poplars[1] by the brooks; בְּבֵין (according to the oldest witnesses בְּבֵן) is like בְּעוֹד and post-Biblical בְּעַל in composition, but LXX and Targ. read כְּבֵין. The willows are the people, hitherto like pining plants on dry soil, but now revived by God's Spirit and blessing; the grass the land like a flourishing green meadow; and the brooks the abundance of living water giving prosperity to the land and its inhabitants.

When Jehovah in this way again acknowledges His people, the heathen, to whose reproaches (גדופים) Israel had been hitherto abandoned, will reckon it a great honour to belong to Jehovah and His people, ver. 5: "*One shall say:*

[1] Branches of the *garab* (غَرَب), which R. Kiepert brought with him, according to Wetzstein's indication of the place, and which O. Kersten, the secretary of the Imperial German Consulate, sent to the Royal Herbarium at Berlin, show that the *garab* is the Oriental poplar *populus Euphratica* (Olivier), whose undergrowth may easily on superficial observation be confounded with willow bushes; but it is distinguished from the willow by its leaves, which, although small, are almost quite smooth-edged, and not, like the צפצפה, saw-like. The Mishnah, *Succa* iii. 3, declares the צפצפה unsuitable for the bunches of the Feast of Tabernacles, which require ערבי נחל; these are admissible, even if they grow on שדה בעל, *i.e.* the open field, which is left without stream and irrigation to the rain of heaven.

I belong to Jehovah, and a second solemnly name the name of Jacob, and a third inscribe himself to Jehovah, and surname himself with the name of Israel." The triple זֶה applies to the heathen, as in Ps. lxxxvii. 4 f. The one shall vow himself to Jehovah, the second call with the name of Jacob, *i.e.* (after the analogy of the phrase קרא בשם ה') make it the means and object of solemn exclamation, a third will write with his hand, *i.e.* with his own hand (יָדוֹ, accus. of more precise definition, like חמה, xlii. 25; זבחיך, xliii. 23), to Jehovah (thereby declaring that he wishes to belong to Jehovah, and to Him only). On the other hand, Nägelsbach: he will inscribe his hand to Jehovah; but along with the act of writing, the hand is certainly meant as writing, not as the object of writing; he will write upon his hand "to Jehovah," *i.e.* cut the name of Jehovah thereon (Hitzig, Knobel, after LXX), is still more objectionable. כתב with accus. of the writing matter is unheard of, and, apart from this strange tattooing, must have been expressed by בְּיָדוֹ (as Klostermann, Cheyne correct), or rather (since כתב בספר is dissimilar) עַל־יָדוֹ. קרא בשם is then replaced by כִּנָּה בשם, to surname with a name which covers the proper name, for the root כן (cf. on Ps. lxxx. 16) has the meaning to cover. Thus *Adonai*, in Talmudic phraseology, is the covering name (כִּנּוּי) for Jehovah, and in Arabic "Father of David," the covering name (*kunya*) for Jesse. Israel will be called "people of Jehovah," "people of Abraham," and other honourable titles. So concludes the fourth discourse unfolded in three parts. With "and now," xliv. 1, it turned to a close, as the third discourse did in xliii. 1,—a well-rounded whole, lacking nothing necessary to completeness.

Fifth Discourse of the First Part, Chap. XLIV. 6–23.

A new pledge is given of deliverance, and a new exhortation to trust in Jehovah, the wretchedness of idols and their worshippers being exposed in contrast with Jehovah, the only God who speaks and acts, ver. 6: "*Thus saith Jehovah, Israel's King and its Redeemer, Jehovah of hosts: I am First and I Last, and beside me there is no God.*" He is ראשׁן,

First, whose being precedes all being (Ibn-Gabirol, beautifully: ראשון ואין ראשית לראשיתו).

This unique and supra-temporal character of His divine being, which governs history as well as the natural world, He proves by this, that He alone acts as God, and that prophetically, ver. 7: "*And who proclaims as I—then let him declare and expound it to me—since I founded the people of the primeval world? And future things, and what is coming, let them declare.*" Jehovah has shown Himself a God of prophecy (יִקְרָא, used of prophetic preaching going on continually), since He founded עַם־עוֹלָם. So in Ezek. xxvi. 20 the people of the dead are called, who sleep the long sleep of the grave; here not Israel (Knobel, Hahn, Nägelsbach, Bredenkamp), which is not a "primeval" people. It might indeed be called an "eternal" people, for the promise assures it of imperishableness, Jer. xxxiii. 25, and often; but neither here nor elsewhere does it bear this proud name; עולם here points backward, as in Job xxii. 15 f., where it is the age of the antediluvian ἀρχαῖος κόσμος. עם עולם is humankind existing from the beginning (xl. 7, xlii. 5), primeval humanity. The foreannouncements of the God of sacred history reach back even to Paradisaic history. The mandate: let him declare and lay it before me (וְיַעְרְכֶהָ, according to another reading וְיַעַרְכֶהָ), is like the apodosis of a hypothetical protasis: if any one thinks he can stand beside me. The challenge refers to former prophecies; with וְאֹתִיּוֹת it turns to future things, אתיות signifying, according to xli. 23, the absolutely future, and אֲשֶׁר תָּבֹאנָה, that which is realized next; לָמוֹ is ethical dative.

It is self-evident that the heathen gods can in no sense respond to the challenge. So much the more confident may Israel be, which has quite another God, ver. 8: "*Despair not and tremble not. Have I not long since caused thee to hear it and made it known, and ye are my witnesses,—is there a God beside me? And nowhere is there a rock, I know none.*" The Jewish lexicographers derive תִּרְהוּ from רָהָה √ רה; on the other hand, moderns partly prefer תִּרְהוּ from יָרָה (Gesen. Meier, Knobel), partly תִּירְאוּ from יָרֵא (Ewald); but the possibility of a verb רָהָה, to tremble, fear, is not to be doubted in view of יָרֵא, יָרַע, ورع. That of which they are not to be

afraid is not the heathen gods, as in Jer. x. 5, but the great national catastrophe, of which Cyrus is the instrument. During this catastrophe, when one nation is overthrown after another, and its guardian deities are proved useless, Israel need fear nothing; for its God, who is no dumb God, has told it all this beforehand, and that מֵאָז, cf. מֵרֹאשׁ, xli. 26, as they themselves are compelled to testify. On the ground of such patent self-manifestations Jehovah can ask and assert, Is there a God beside me? There is no rock, *i.e.* ground of trust (xxvi. 4, xvii. 10), I know none (except and beside me). This is the only time that the divine name אֱלוֹהַּ occurs in the Book of Isaiah, and that as an echo of Ps. xviii. 32 (see Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 1888, p. 297).

For the heathen gods are so little a ground of confidence, that, on the contrary, all who trust in them will discover their self-deception with terror, vers. 9–11: "*The idol-makers, they are all chaos, and their favourites of no use; and they who testify to them see not and know not, in order that they may be ashamed. Who has made a god and cast an idol to no profit? Behold, all its adherents are put to shame, and the artificers are men: let them all assemble, draw near, be terrified, put to shame together.*" The חֲמוּדִים, favourites of the idol-makers, are the false gods, whose favour they eagerly seek. If we retain הֵמָּה, which has a mark over it as critically suspicious, and therefore is not accented, it refers to the idol-makers: they are witnesses to their idols, to their nothingness. The sense remains the same as if המה were struck out, for in any case יֵבֹשׁוּ applies to the idol-makers, and the suffix of עֵדֵיהֶם to the idols (LXX, *καὶ μάρτυρες αὐτῶν εἰσίν*): they, the witnesses to their own work (whereas Israel is a witness to Jehovah, whose creative work it is), see not and are without knowledge, that they may come to shame. As "not seeing" means here to be blind, so "not knowing," as an idea complete in itself, means to be irrational, as in xlv. 20, lvi. 10. "In order that" implies the notion, that the consent of the sinner to sin has also destruction for its aim; and this is not added to sin, but evolved from it. The question in ver. 10 calls up the idol-maker in order to announce to him his fate, and already in the words, "to no profit," carries this announcement in itself; ver. 11 expands this "to no profit." יָצַר and נָסַךְ, ver.

14 (cf. כָּרַע, xlvi. 1), both *Milra*, are among the exceptions enumerated by Kimchi, *Michlol* 5*b*, to the law of the falling back of the tone; here also (cf. on v. 2, xi. 2) the tone on the ultimate syllable secures ר and ע against being slurred over. חֲבֵרָיו are not the fellow-workmen of the idol-maker, who would then get away scot free in regard to the threat, but the companions (adherents) of the idols (Hos. iv. 17; 1 Cor. x. 20). It is a baneful work which these get done for them. And what of the idol-makers themselves? They are counted among men. Thus, they who should know that they are made by God make gods! What absurdity! Let them—the whole body of idol-makers—assemble together, come near, to defend their handiwork, and their eyes will be opened with terror.

The prophet then takes us into the workshop, vers. 12, 13: "*The smith has a chisel and works in the heat; and he shapes it with hammers, and works it with his strong arm; then he is hungry and strength fails; if he drinks no water, he is faint. The carpenter draws the line, marks it out with pencil, works at it with planes, and makes an outline thereof with the compass, and finishes it like a man's figure, like the beauty of man, to dwell in the house.*" That חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל go together in the sense *faber ferrarius* is evident from חָרַשׁ עֵצִים, *faber tignarius* (not *lignarius*, this being the name of the joiner, not the carpenter). חָרַשׁ, as in Ex. xxviii. 11, is construct of חָרָשׁ (=*ḥarrāsh*); the second *Kametz* of this substantive form is treated as merely long by tone, as in פָּרַשׁ, דַּכָּאֵי; but cf. חָרָשֵׁי, xlv. 16 and often. Accordingly ver. 12 describes how the smith makes an iron god, ver. 13 how the carpenter makes a wooden one. But the first clause is unintelligible, חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל מַעֲצָד. In any case מַעֲצָד is some kind of smith's tool (from עָצַד, akin to חָצַד), and unquestionably a word has fallen out; LXX, which translates ὅτι ὤξυνεν τέκτων σίδηρον σκεπάρνῳ εἰργάσατο κ.τ.λ. (cf. also Syriac), shows that חִדֵּד, or even (which Cheyne prefers, in accordance with Prov. xxvii. 17*b*) הֵחַד, has fallen out. Perhaps יָחַד, ver. 11*b*, has arisen from mistaking the verb belonging to חרש וגו׳, which may have been יַחַד, in accordance with Prov. xxvii. 17, or even *Hiphil* יָחֵד (יַחֵד); there is no objection to the sequence of tenses (Driver, *Tenses*, § 123, p. 179). Thus: the smith has sharpened or sharpens the מעצד,

perhaps a chisel to cut the iron on the anvil, and works at the fire, heating in the fire-blaze the iron which is to be cut. The piece of iron cut off is the god that is to be, which he shapes (יְצֻרֵהוּ, imperf. of יָצַר, like *Kerî* in Jer. i. 5) with hammers, etc. And what of the carpenter? He stretches the measuring-line on the block of wood to mark off the length and breadth of the idol, he traces it on the wood with the tracing or sketching pencil (for שֶׂרֶד means παραγραφίς, *stilus*, as Aquila translates, and is no name of colouring matter, like שָׁשַׁר, Jer. xxii. 14), and works it with planes (מַקְצֻעוֹת, plur. to מַקְצוֹעַ from קָצַע, to cut off, pare off, plane; cf. Arab. *miktâʿ*, scalpel, and the like), and with a compass (מְחוּגָה, instrument, לָחוּג, for making a circle) he sketches it, namely, to define the several limbs in proportion, and so fashions it that it takes the form of a man, the graceful form of a man, that it may be set up like a human inhabitant in a temple or private house. The *Piel* תֵּאֵר (תִּאֵר), whence *yᵉthāărehu*, is replaced here (in Isaiah's style; cf. *e.g.* xxix. 7, xxvi. 5) by the *Poel* תֹּאֵר (whence *yethoŏrehu* for *yethoărehu*), which is to be understood of the more exact shaping (respecting the *Poel*, which is rare in the strong verb, see on Ps. cix. 10; Job xx. 26; cf. Gesen. § 55. 1). But the view of Kimchi (*Michlol* 20*b*) is still better, that a *Piel*-form with ֳ instead of ֱ should be read like אֲלַקֳּטָה, Ruth ii. 2, 7, and therefore *yethāŏrehu*. The preterites describe what smith and carpenter have prepared for, the imperfects what they are engaged in.

The prophet now traces the origin of the idol farther and farther up; its being or not being depends on whether it rains or not, vers. 14–17: "*One sets himself to fell cedars, and takes an ilex and oak and chooses for himself among the trees of the wood; he has planted a fig-tree, and the rain makes it grow. And it serves man for fuel; he takes of it and warms himself; he also heats and bakes bread; he even works it into a god, and falls down, makes an idol of it, and worships it. The half thereof he has burnt in the fire; with the half of it he eats flesh, roasts a roast, and is satisfied; he also warms himself, and says: Hurrah, I am getting warm, I feel the heat! And the remainder thereof he makes into a god, his idol, falls down before it, and prostrates himself, and prays to it, and says: Save me, for thou art my god!*" According to the present

text, לִכְרָת, since it cannot be joined to the previous verse (Klostermann, Bredenkamp), which would give an inverted order of thought, expresses the *fut. periphrasticum:* he is in the mind to fell, goes to it, *caesurus est*, see on Hab. i. 17; Prov. xviii. 24, xix. 8; cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 204, Obs. 1. But why such subtlety? The prophet perhaps wrote יִכְרֹת (according to Cheyne, וְכָרַת, which, however, would be less suitable, because the narrative here starts afresh): he (some one) fells. אֲרָזִים is generic plural; the trees named appear in the Talmud and Midrash as מיני ארזים. Nevertheless תִּרְזָה (from תָּרַז, ترز, to be hard, firm) does not seem to be a conifer; the conjunction with אַלּוֹן, oak, favours the rendering ἀγριοβάλανος (LXX, Aquila, Theod.), *ilex* (Jerome). As to אִמֵּץ, to select, see xli. 10. אֹרֶן (with *Nun minusculum*, which, according to the *Masora*, occurs thrice, here and Jer. xxxix. 13, Prov. xvi. 28, and in the present passage is confounded by Luther with ז), plur. אֲרוֹנִים, *Rosh ha-Shana* 23*a*, or אֲרָנִים, *Para* iii. 8, the Talmud explains by עָרֵי, sing. עָרָא, *i.e.* according to Aruch and Rashi, *laurier*, whose berries, *baies*, after LXX, Jerome, we have translated "figs." The Assyrian *erinu* is rendered "cedar," *irzu* occurring more rarely as its name, and is in any case (see *Flood-Account*, ii. 48) a tree with scented wood. The description is genealogical, and therefore moves backward from the felling to the planting. וְהָיָה, 15*a*, applies to the felled and planted tree, primarily the fig-tree; מֵהֶם (of the like) is neuter, as in xxx. 6; still the prophet has in view there the עֵצִים (the wood as product and material). The repeated אַף points out with emphasis that the most different things are made of the self-same wood. It is used just as much for warming and preparing food as for making a god to worship. סגד in the Old Testament is a word which occurs only again in the Book of Daniel outside II. Isaiah, always of heathen worship only. לָמוֹ is not to be taken as plur. (=לָהֶם, as in xliii. 8, xliv. 7): *talia*, he worships (Stier); it is here the mimated לוֹ (*i.e.* ל, with the addition of labial as final syllable), as in liii. 8; cf. Job xx. 23, xxii. 2, Ps. xi. 7, certainly a strange anomaly (Stade, § 345*c*). In keeping with the twofold use of the wood the first half of the wood and the remainder are distinguished, ver. 16 f.; the repeated חֶצְיוֹ, ver. 16, is meant of the first half, which yields both fuel

to burn and shavings and lumps for roasting and baking. Since the cooking-fire warms as well as the room-fire, the description lingers on this service rendered by the wood of the idol. As to the tone on the ultimate in חַמּוֹתִי, see on Job xix. 17; on רָאָה as a comprehensive description of combined spiritual and bodily feeling and sensation, see *Bibl. Psych.* p. 277. Diagoras of Melos, a scholar of Democritus, cast a wooden statue of Hercules into the fire, and said mockingly: "Come, Hercules, perform thy thirteenth labour, and help me to cook these turnips."

So irrational is idol-worship; but through hardening themselves they have fallen victims to a doom of hardness (vi. 9 f., xix. 3, xxix. 10), and been given over to a reprobate mind (Rom. i. 28), vers. 18, 19: "*They know not, nor understand, for their eyes are smeared over, so that they see not, and their hearts, so that they comprehend not. And one does not take it to heart; (there is) no knowledge nor understanding to say: The half thereof I have burnt in the fire, and also baked bread on its coals, roasted flesh, and eaten; and the remainder thereof shall I make an abomination to fall down before the product of a tree?*" Instead of טָח, Lev. xiv. 42 (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 4), the 3rd sing. runs here טַח (as if from טָחַח; cf. בַּז, Zech. iv. 10; שַׁתּוּ, Ps. lxix. 15, alongside שָׁתוּ, iii. 7) in neuter sense: they are as if smeared over with whitewash—their eyes; before plural of things the predicate regularly stands in the singular. In the transitive sense Jehovah would be subject, but He would be named. הֵשִׁיב אֶל־לֵב or עַל־לֵב (xlvi. 8) usual along with שִׂים עַל־לֵב (xlii. 25), corresponds exactly to the idea of reflection, here respecting the difference between a piece of wood and the divine nature. The second and third, לֹא, ver. 19 = וְאֵין. לֵאמֹר is used as in ix. 8; knowledge and insight shown in their saying. As to בּוּל, see Job xl. 20; the meaning "block" cannot be established; the Talmudic בּוּל, clump, piece, which Ewald compares with it, is the Greek βῶλος.

This exposure of the folly of idolatry concludes with an epiphonem in gnomic form (cf. xxvi. 7, 10), ver. 20: "*He that strives after ashes, a foolish heart has led him astray; and he saves not his own soul, nor thinks: Is there not a lie in my right hand?*" He who makes ashes (אֵפֶר), *i.e.* broken, perishable, worthless things (cf. Job xiii. 12; רוּחַ, Hos. xii. 2), the

end of his effort (רָאָה, رعى, to pasture, guard, apply oneself to, think of something, whence רְעוּת and רַעְיוֹן), is led astray from the path of truth and safety by a heart which folly has overpowered. What הִטְעָהוּ would affirm (de Lagarde after Ezek. xiii. 10) is implied in הוּתַל (attributive clause, like יעזרך, xliv. 2) from תָּלַל, from whose *Hiphil* הֵתֵל the secondary הָתַל (הֵתֵל), with the derivates הֲתֻלִּים and מַהֲתַלּוֹת, xxx. 10, is formed: *ludere, ludificare.*

Ver. 21 begins the second half of the discourse. It begins in a hortatory strain, ver. 21: "*Remember this, O Jacob, and Israel, for thou art my servant; I have formed thee, thou art my servant; Israel, thou art not forgotten of me!*" That to which the former are blind, namely, that idolatry is an empty lie, Jacob is to impress firmly on itself. "For" begins an explanatory clause, not object (Nägelsbach); the object for both clauses is contained in "this." The appended "and Israel" (cf. the vocative after ו, Prov. viii. 5; Joel ii. 23) is brief for "and remember this, O Israel." In the explanation the stress lies on the "my" in עַבְדִּי, on which account עֶבֶד־לִי takes its place. Israel is Jehovah's servant, and as such His work; it owes Him reverence, yea, owes itself wholly and unreservedly. The following לא תנשני (from נשה, to slacken, forget) is translated by LXX, Targ., Syriac, Jerome, Luther as if it ran לֹא תִנְשֵׁנִי; v. Orelli, with Hitzig, thinks this rendering possible even with the reading תִּנָּשֵׁנִי, since the *Niph.* נִשָּׁה has the middle sense of ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, *oblivisci;* but neither has نسى a vii. form of this meaning, nor is נִזְכַּר capable of proof in the analogous meaning, μιμνήσκεσθαι, *recordari;* the *Niphal,* which no doubt was originally reflexive, in Hebrew always only denotes the suffering of something which proceeds from the subject of the action itself, or even which the subject permits to be done to him, so that נִשָּׁה must mean "to be forgotten," or "to let oneself be forgotten." It is true, as regards the Aramaic אִתְנְשִׁי, the transition of the meaning "to be forgotten" into "to be forgetful," and then "to forget," must be admitted to be possible; and the connection with obj. subj. has a support in וַיִּלָּחֲמוּנִי, Ps. cix. 3; but this is still =וילחמו אִתִּי, and may with equal right be quoted for the other interpretation, according to which תִּנָּשֵׁנִי=תנשה לִי (Gesen. Ewald, Knobel, Nägelsb., Cheyne *et al.*) cf. קְדַשְׁתִּיךָ, lxv. 5,

עֲשִׂיתִנִי, Ezek. xxix. 3. Moreover, this "thou shalt be unforgotten of me," in which לֹא is requisite, fits the context just as well as: "O forget me not" (where, on the contrary, we should expect אַל), since in the next verse the promise (cf. xlix. 15, and the complaint of Israel, xl. 27) grows at once into an announcement of the act of love, in which what was promised is gloriously attested.

Ver. 22: *"I have blotted out thy transgressions as a mist, and thy sins as a cloud. Turn again to me, for I have redeemed thee."* The idea of obscurity, opaqueness, denseness, lying most obviously in עָב, has almost disappeared from the language (see xxv. 5). עָב קַל is here meant (xix. 1), for the point of comparison is not the dark, heavy multitude of sins, but the ease and rapidity of their removal. Elsewhere the idea of stain is joined with מָחִיתִי (Ps. li. 3, 11), or as in xliii. 25 of guilt recorded in a book, Col. ii. 14 (cf. מחה, Ex. xxxii. 32 f.). Here Jehovah sweeps away sin as when His wind clears away fog (so ܡܚܐ is used of the wind), and brings back the heavenly blue (שִׁפְרָה, Job xxvi. 13). How evangelical in strain the preaching of the O. T. evangelist! God's mercy anticipates Israel—the unforgotten one—in opposition to the merit of its works; and Israel has only to respond to it by repentance and new obedience. The perfects describe what has virtually taken place.

Jehovah has blotted out Israel's sin by no longer imputing it, and has thus redeemed Israel; there only remains the outward display of this redemption, which exists already in God's counsel. There is therefore already good reason for exuberant joy, and the reply of the Church to the words of divine comfort runs, ver. 23: *"Exult, ye heavens, for Jehovah has accomplished it; shout, ye depths of the earth; break out into singing, ye mountains, thou forest and every tree therein; for Jehovah has redeemed Jacob, and shows himself glorious in Israel."* That Jehovah has performed what He purposed (see respecting this absolute use of עָשָׂה on Ps. xxii. 32), that He has redeemed His people, and henceforth shows Himself glorious in it (*gloriosum se exhibet*),—in this every creature is to rejoice, the heavens above and the depths (τὰ κατώτατα or κατώτερα, Eph. iv. 9, LXX, τὰ θεμέλια) of the earth, *i.e.* not: the earth as the lower world (opposite מִמַּעַל, xlv. 8), but the depths of

the earth in relation to its surface (cf. Ps. cxxxix. 15), here not Hades (Cheyne), for such a summons would not agree with Ps. vi. 5 (cf. lxxxviii. 12), but the interior of the earth with its caves, hollows, pits (see Ps. cxxxix. 15); this and the mountains and forests towering heavenward from the earth —all are to join in the song of the redeemed (רָנּוּ, *Milra*, Ges. § 67, Anm. 12), for the effects of the redemption carried out among mankind extend in every direction, to the farthest circumference of the entire world of nature.

This rejoicing finale is a fixed boundary-stone to the fifth discourse. It began with "Thus saith the Lord." The sixth begins in the same way.

Sixth Discourse of the First Part, XLIV. 24–XLV.

Cyrus, Jehovah's Anointed One, Israel's Deliverer.

The promise takes a new flight, becoming more and more special and definite. It is introduced as the word of Jehovah, who, as He gave Israel existence, has not allowed it to perish, vers. 24–28: "*Thus saith Jehovah, thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb: I, Jehovah, am he that accomplishes everything, who stretched out the heavens alone, spread the earth by himself; who brings to nought the signs of the lying prophets and makes the soothsayers mad, who drives the wise back and turns their science into folly; who performs the word of his servant, and fulfils the prediction of his messengers; who says to Jerusalem, It shall be inhabited! and to the cities of Judah: They shall be built, and their ruins I will set up again; who says to the whirlpool: Be dry and thy streams I dry up! who says to Cyrus: My shepherd, and he that will perform all my will, and will say to Jerusalem: It shall be built, and the temple founded!*" Jehovah, עֹשֶׂה כֹּל, *perficiens omnia*, so that there is nothing which does not rest upon His power and wisdom as its ultimate cause; He it is who alone, without co-operation of a second being, stretched out the heavens, who made the earth a broad surface by Himself, *i.e.* so that it proceeded exclusively from Him; מֵאִתִּי, as in Josh. xi. 20; cf. מִפִּי, xxx. 1; מִמֶּנִּי, Hos. viii. 4; *Chethîb:* מִי אִתִּי, who was with me? or: who is beside me? The Targ. translates after the *Kerî* (בִּגְבוּרְתִּי),

LXX after the *Chet.*, joining מי אתי to the next words: *τίς ἕτερος διασκεδάσει.* Ver. 25 passes from God as revealed in creation to God as revealed in history, with obvious references to the Chaldean diviners and wise men (xlvii. 9 f.), who held out to proud Babylon the most splendid and auspicious prognostics: He who brings to nought (מֵפֵר, opposite to מֵקִים) the signs, *i.e.* miraculous proofs effected by deception and magical arts, of the lying prophets in favour of their divine mission. The LXX translates בַּדִּים, *ἐγγαστριμύθων*, Targ. בִּידִין (elsewhere = אוֹב, Lev. xv. 27; אֹבֹת, *ibid.* xix. 31, therefore = *πύθων, πύθωνες*); but the word is used here in a personal sense, as in Jer. l. 36, synonymously with the Mishnic בַּדָּאִין from בדה = בדד, to invent, feign, lie (see Mühlau-Volk), as in a material sense (see on x. 6) it is synonymous with the Mishnic בִּדּוּיִם. As to קֹסְמִים, see iii. 2; as to יְהוֹלֵל, Job xii. 17; יְסַכֵּל is denom. *Piel:* He makes (stamps) their wisdom סִכְלוּת, *μωρία.* Over against the heathen diviners and wise men, ver. 26 places the Servant, the messengers of Jehovah, whose word, whose עֵצָה, *i.e.* statement, discovery of future things (cf. יֹעֵץ, xli. 28), He realizes and perfectly fulfils. "His Servant," according to xlii. 19, is Israel as bearer of the prophetic word, and "His messengers" are the prophets of Israel; this juxtaposition makes it improbable that II. Isa. by "My Servant" means himself (Nägelsbach, Cheyne). With הָאֹמֵר, 26*b*, the predicates become specific prophecies, on which account they are defined even in outward respects. Since תּוּשָׁב is said, not תּוּשַׁבִי, we must translate *habitetur, aedificentur*, with which *et vastata ejus crigam* also agrees; for after God's *oratio directa* has come first, it is more natural that in the last clauses, vers. 26, 27, God's words should continue, than that the הָאֹמֵר introducing them should continue. From the restoration of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, the prophecy goes back in ver. 27 to the conquest of Babylon. The phraseology recalls the drying up of the Red Sea, li. 10, xliii. 16; but the reference here, according to xlii. 15, l. 2, is to future things, and indeed to the drying up of the Euphrates, which Cyrus diverted into the enlarged reservoir of Sepharvaim, so that the water fell to a foot in depth, and one "could go over on foot" (Herod. i. 189). This made it possible both for the conquerors to cross and the exiles to issue forth from the prison

of the imperial city, girt as it was with both natural and artificial lines of water, xi. 15. צוּלָה applies to the Euphrates, as מְצוּלָה, Job xli. 23, Zech. x. 11 (see Köhler), does to the Nile. With ver. 28 the specializing of the promise reaches its highest point. The deliverer of Israel is mentioned as such by name, and it is stated particularly what he will do for the now homeless nation, impelled by the God of Israel, "who says to Cyrus: My shepherd (*i.e.* *ποιμὴν λαῶν*, appointed by me), and he who fulfils all my will," and indeed he (Cyrus) says to (of) Jerusalem: "It shall be built (תִּבָּנֶה, not 2nd pers. תִּבָּנִי), and the temple founded" (הֵיכָל, elsewhere masc., here femin.), or even: "and to the temple (cf. xxviii. 6, משׁבי = למשׁיבי): it shall be founded." Kuenen would have רֵעִי instead of רֹעִי, but Jehovah is not as intimate with Cyrus as with the one addressed in Zech. xiii. 7. This is the passage which, according to Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 1. 2, is said to have moved Cyrus to dismiss the Jews to their native land: *ταῦτ' οὖν ἀναγνόντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὸ θεῖον ὁρμή τις ἔλαβε καὶ φιλοτιμία ποιῆσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα.* The name Cyrus, according to Ktesias *et al.*, means the sun. But the sun is called in modern Persian خور, *chăr*, or خورشيد (sunshine, and also directly sun, *DMZ.* xxxvi. 58), Zendic *hvarĕ* (*ḳarĕ*), and their names (*e.g.* *chăršîd*) are used as proper names; but Cyrus is called on the monuments in Persian *Kuruš*, Babylonian *Kuraš* (*Κῦρος*), and from this כּוֹרֶשׁ is Hebraized in the manner of a segholate. There is, *e.g.*, a marble block in the Murghâb Valley, in the neighbourhood of the Cyrus mausoleum, which contained the golden coffin with the corpse of the king (see Strabo, xv. 3), which bears the inscription occurring also elsewhere in that place: *Adam. K'ur'ush. khshâyathiya. Hakhâmanishiya*, *i.e.* I am Kuru, the king of the Achaemenides; in Babylonian: *Anâku Kuraš šarru Aḫamannišši.*[1] This name is identical with the name of the river *Kur* (of which Strabo says, xv. 3. 6: There is also a river Kyros, which runs through the so-called hollow Persia near Pasargadae, from which the king took his name, changing it from Agradates to

[1] See the picture of the tomb of Cyrus, now called the grave of Solomon's mother, in Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 345; cf. Bezold, *Die Achaemenidenschriften* (1882), p. 33 f.

Cyrus), and is also perhaps not unconnected with the name of the Indian prince *Kuru.*[1]

After the first paragraph of this sixth discourse (xliv. 24 ff.) has said that, in accordance with prophecy, it is Cyrus through whom Jerusalem, the cities of Judah, and the temple will be built again, a second one says that it is he in whose resistless conquering march the heathen will see the power of Jehovah. The mention of the great Shepherd of the nations, and the address to him, continue in xlv. 1–3 : "*Thus saith Jehovah to his anointed, to Cyrus, whom I grasped by his right hand to cast down nations before him ; and the loins of kings I ungird, to open doors before him, and gates remain not shut. I will go before thee and level towering things ; I will break in pieces doors of brass, and smite to the ground bolts of iron. And I will give thee treasures of darkness and precious things of hidden places, that thou mayest know that I, Jehovah, am he that proclaimed thy name, the God of Israel.*" Jehovah's words to Cyrus begin first in ver. 2 ; but promises applying to him force themselves into the introduction to the words, evoked by the mention of his name. He is the only king of the heathen whom Jehovah calls מְשִׁיחוֹ (LXX τῷ χριστῷ μου κύρῳ, which gave rise to the ancient Christian *quid pro quo* κυρίῳ). The kings of Eran call themselves "Kings of this earth," and therefore universal monarchs : and the main idea of the policy of the world-empire was all-absorbing selfishness. But the policy of Cyrus was animated by nobler motives, a fact entitling him to eternal honour. What is said of him in the *Persae* of Aeschylus, ver. 735, by the spirit of Darius, father of Xerxes, which is conjured up : θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὔφρων ἔφυ (for he was not hateful to God, being of good disposition), is said of him also by the spirit of revelation. Jehovah took him by the right hand in order so to support him and accomplish great things through him. The infin. רַד for רֹד, from רָדַד, to tread down, is formed like שַׁךְ, to stoop, Jer. v. 26. The dual דְּלָתַיִם has also the force of a plural : double doors (*fores*) in plenty, namely, of palaces. After the two infinitives, finite verbs come in : loins of kings I ungird, *discingo* (פִּתַּח, used of unloosing a fastened garment = disabling). Gates, namely, of

[1] Ibykos in the Fragment Οὐδὲ Κυάρης ὁ Μήδων στρατηγός, means perhaps Κυαξάρης, not Κῦρος.

cities which he storms, will not remain closed, *i.e.* for ever, they must needs open to him. Instead of אוֹשֵׁר (אוֹשִׁר?), ver. 2, the *Keri* reads אֲיַשֵּׁר, as in Ps. v. 9, הַיְשַׁר, instead of הוֹשַׁר; a *Hiphil* הוֹשִׁיר is really not capable of proof, and the abbreviated imperfect form אוֹשֵׁר is here without ground and aim. הֲדוּרִים, *tumida* (like נְעִימִים, *amoena*, and the like), is meant of the difficulties towering up in the conqueror's way. The *januae aeris* (נְחוּשָׁה, of brass, poetic for נְחֹשֶׁת, brass, as also in the dependent passage, Ps. cvii. 16), and *vectes ferri*, especially recall Babylon with its hundred brazen gates, whose pillars and lintels were also of brass (Herod. i. 179). The treasures laid up in deep darkness and the guarded jewels (מַטְמֻנֵי, modified from מַטְמֹן) of hidden places, recall the riches of Babylon (Jer. l. 37, li. 13), and especially of the Lydian Sardis conquered previously, the "richest city of Asia after Babylon," *Cyrop.* vii. 2. 11. Of the treasures taken by Cyrus, Pliny speaks, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 2; cf. Aeschylus, *Persae*, ver. 327: "O Persian land, and haven of many riches thou!" Such success Jehovah bestows on him that he may know that it is Jehovah, the God of Israel, who called him by his name = proclaimed his name, *i.e.* made him what he is and what he shows himself to be.

A second and third "for the sake of" intimates a second and third end, vers. 4–7: "*For the sake of Jacob my servant and Israel my chosen, I summoned thee by name, surnamed thee when thou knewest me not. I, Jehovah, and there is none else, beside me there is no God; I equipped thee when thou knewest me not, that they may know from the rising of the sun and its going down that there is absolutely none without me; I, Jehovah, and there is none else, the former of the light and creator of darkness, author of peace and creator of evil; I, Jehovah, am he that does all this.*" The וָאֶקְרָא, following the second statement of purpose like a refrain, is construed in two parts: I called to thee, mentioning thee by name. The parallel אֲכַנְּךָ refers to titles of honour such as "my shepherd," and "my anointed," given him by Jehovah. The calling, setting apart, and girding, *i.e.* equipping of Cyrus by Jehovah, took place, thus making known His sole Godhead, at a time when Cyrus knew nothing of Jehovah, *i.e.* not: when he still served false gods, but, as the refrain-like iteration of "when thou knewest me

not" strongly emphasizes, before he existed and could know anything of Jehovah. We must explain in accordance with Jer. i. 5, *priusquam te formarem in utero cognovi te* (see *Bibl. Psych.* p. 45). The third final aim of this predicted and realized career of the conqueror of the nations and deliverer of Israel is that the acknowledgment of Jehovah may spread from the rising and the setting sun, and therefore from and to all sides, over the heathen world. The *ah* of וּמִמַּעֲרָבָה is not a feminine ending (LXX, Targ. Jerome), but fem. suff. with *He raphatum pro mappic* (Kimchi); cf. xxiii. 17 f., xxxiv. 17 (but not נִצָּה, xviii. 5; מוּסָדָה, xxx. 32); שֶׁמֶשׁ is fem. here as in Gen. xv. 17; Nah. iii. 17; Mal. iii. 20, and always in Arabic, for the west is everywhere called מַעֲרָב (Arab. *maġrib*); also 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, where the *ah* of direction has the tone only in appearance. In ver. 7 וּבוֹרֵא has the accent drawn back to the penultima. The context leads us to apply the darkness and evil to the penal judgments through which light and peace or salvation dawns on the people of God and the nations. But as the prophecy respecting Cyrus closes with this self-designation of Jehovah, it seems to stand in antagonism to the dualistic system of Parsism, which put other gods under the supreme God (*baga vazraka*), and put Ahriman as the principle of evil by his side. Nevertheless it cannot be proved that the religion of Cyrus was Zarathustrian.[1] The utterance is so bold that Marcion appealed to the passage as proof that the God of the Old Testament is different from the God of the New, not the *Deus solius bonitatis.* The Valentinians also, and other Gnostics, regarded the sayings: Beside me there is no God, etc., as deceptive words of the Demiurgus. The ancient Church replied to them with Tertullian: *de his Creator profitetur malis quae congruunt judici*, and made use of this self-revelation of God as a weapon against Manichaeism. We do not exhaust the truth if we stop at saying that רַע, evil (חֹשֶׁךְ), means *malum poenae*, not *malum culpae.* Certainly evil as an act is not God's immediate work, but the possibility

[1] The Median kings, says the Midrash (*Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 40*b*), were well-meaning (תמימים), and the All-Holy One had only this against them, that they held fast by the idolatrous religion received from their fathers.

of evil is, its self-punishment, and therefore the sense of guilt and the evil of punishment in the broadest sense.

In view of the mission of Cyrus having for its aim the deliverance of Israel and the conversion of the heathen, heaven and earth are now summoned to bring forth and pour down spiritual blessings in heavenly gifts according to the will and in the strength of Jehovah, whose purpose is a new spiritual creation, ver. 8: "*Pour down, ye heavens, from above, and let the sky rain righteousness; let the earth open, and let salvation blossom; and let the earth cause righteousness to spring up together; I, Jehovah, have created it.*" What the heavens are to pour down follows as the object of "rain." And what is to blossom when the earth opens (פָּתַח, as in Ps. cvi. 17; cf. *aprilis* and the modern Greek, ἄνοιξις, spring) is salvation and righteousness. But righteousness becomes at once the object of a new verb, so that "salvation and righteousness," which are combined in thought, as "together" proves, are separated in expression. Nägelsbach makes heaven and earth, as the active and passive principles of fertility, the subject to יפרו; but heaven and earth are divided between 8*a* and 8*b*. Knobel explains the plural thus,—that salvation is regarded as a collective and, like אִמְרָה, Ps. cxix. 103, חֶמְדָּה, Hagg. ii. 7, joined with the plural; but יַחַד (together) tells for the other explanation. The suff. of בְּרָאתִיו applies in the neuter sense (cf. xli. 27) to this wealth of righteousness and salvation. It is a creation of Jehovah. Heaven and earth, in co-operating to this end, receive power from Him, and obey His creative fiat as at first. This *rorate coeli desuper et nubes pluant justum* is rightly an old Advent-cry.

Before the promise proceeds farther, it clears the way, as in xxix. 15–21, by reproving the faint-heartedness (xl. 27, cf. li. 13, xlix. 24, lviii. 3) which goes so far as to find fault with Jehovah's dealings, vers. 9, 10: "*Woe to him that disputes with his Maker—a pot among earthy pots! Can the clay, forsooth, say to its maker: What makest thou? and thy (own) work: he has no hands? Woe to him that says to his father: Why begettest thou? and to the woman: Why travailest thou?*" The comparison of man as God's work to the work of the potter is the more in point, since יֹצֵר not merely denotes God as Creator, but also a potter (*figulus*). חֶרֶשׂ denotes both

potsherd (xxx. 14) and earthen pot (Jer. xix. 1; Prov. xxvi. 23) =כְּלִי חֶרֶשׂ, and so also here, where the point of comparison is not fragmentariness but the earthy material, אֲדָמָה: the man who contends with God is a vessel of clay, and, moreover, a vanishing one among many of the same kind. How insane such strife! Is it for the clay to raise objections against him who works it, that he makes it this or that, in one form or another? (LXX, τί ποιεῖς, cf. τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως, Rom. ix. 20). To "and thy work" we must supply *num dicet* (*dixerit*); פֹּעַל, a piece of work, as in i. 31. The address is to the worker. Can the thing made by thee, O man, say scornfully: He has no hands, *i.e.* is unable to act? (cf. Arab. *lâ yadai lahu*, is it not in his power?)—a supposition which at once refutes itself, and yet is a fit image of one who disputes with God. In ver. 10 woe is denounced against those who resemble one saying to his father, Why begettest thou children? and to a wife: Why bringest thou forth? (תְּחִילִין, emphatic close of verse, like תַּעֲשִׂין, Ruth iii. 4). It would be the rudest and most revolting attack on a relation of inviolable delicacy and mystery; and yet Israel is guilty of this, in making the hidden providential government of its God the subject of expostulation.

After this twofold woe, couched in general terms, the words of Jehovah address the presumptuous critics directly, ver. 11: "*Thus saith Jehovah, Israel's Holy One and its Maker: Ask me about future things, let my sons and the work of my hands be committed to me!*" The names by which He calls Himself express His absolute blamelessness and absolute supremacy over Israel. שְׁאָלוּנִי is *imper.* like שְׁמָעוּנִי, Gen. xxiii. 8, not *3rd pret.* as Hitzig: Do they demand future things from me; do they prescribe to me respecting my children and the work of my hands? The twofold question would at least lead us to expect וְעַל־בָּנַי, and the *3rd pret.* would run שְׁאֵלוּנִי. If, such is the meaning, you would be informed and satisfied about future things (הָאֹתִיּוֹת, xli. 23, xliv. 7), of which you have no knowledge, and over which you have no power of your own, ask me. צִוָּה with accus. of the person and עַל of the thing, means to commend something to one's care, 1 Chron. xxii. 12.

The critics in Israel are to leave His ποίημα (Eph. ii. 10), *i.e.* the people whose Father and Maker Jehovah is (alluding

to vers. 9, 10), to Him who created all things, and on whom all things depend, ver. 12: "*I, I have made the earth and created the men upon it; I, my hands have stretched out the heavens, and all their host I have called forth.*" "I, my hands" = my hands and no others; order of words as in Gen. xxiv. 27; 2 Chron. xxviii. 10; Eccles. ii. 15. Wrongly Hitzig *et al.:* all their host I command; rightly Ewald: I appointed; for צִוָּה, *seq. acc. pers.*, means: to give one a definite order, here: to become fact, therefore *esse jussi* (Gesen.)—a mode of describing creation (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9) which in regard to "their host" applies more naturally to the stars than to angels (Baudissin).

He who created all and called all into existence has also raised up this Cyrus, whose victorious course increases the anxiety of the exiles instead of leading them to lift up their heads, as their redemption draws near, ver. 13: "*I, I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will make all his ways level; he shall build my city and release my banished ones, not for price and not for gifts, saith Jehovah of hosts.*" All the anxiety of the exiles is calmed by this "in righteousness," which traces back the revolution effected by Cyrus to Jehovah's righteousness, *i.e.* His dealings as directed by absolute love, and aiming simply at His people's, and in reality the heathen's, welfare. And the anxiety is perfectly calmed by the promise which now finds the most direct and most unmistakable expression, that Cyrus will again build up Jerusalem, and let the exiles (גָּלוּת, as in xx. 4) go free, and that not for מְחִיר (purchase money) nor שֹׁחַד (gift to bribe or win favour generally), cf. lii. 3, in proof that Jehovah had not only stirred up Cyrus himself, but his spirit, *i.e.* had put this resolve within him.

The second half of the discourse is spoken in the prospect that the judgment which goes forth upon the nations through Cyrus will prepare the way for the overthrow of heathenism and the universal acknowledgment of the God of Israel, ver. 14: "*Thus saith Jehovah: The labour of Egypt and the earnings of Ethiopia, and the Sabaeans, men of tall stature, shall come over to thee and belong to thee; they shall come after thee, come over in chains and bow down to thee; they shall pray to thee: Verily in thee is God, and no other, no Godhead at all.*"

Egypt, Ethiopia, Saba are the nations mentioned along with Tyre wherever the *hereditas gentium* is promised to the Church, Ps. lxviii. 31, lxxii. 10; cf. above, xviii. 16 ff., xxiii. 18. Whereas in Egypt the labour is mentioned, and in Ethiopia gain by trade (סַחַר or וּסְחַר from סְחַר, after the form נֶטַע, זֶרַע, not from סָחָר, as the inflection סַחְרָהּ, xxiii. 18, shows), in Saba prophecy takes into view the tall, handsome tribe itself, to which Agatharcides also ascribes *σώματα ἀξιολογώτερα*: it will place itself with its power of endurance at the service of the Church. The chains here are not, as in Ps. cxlix. 8, imposed by force, but willingly assumed (Hitzig, Cheyne); they give themselves up to the Church henceforth as bondsmen. The willingness is expressed both in the coming over and in the confession accompanying it. Elsewhere הִתְפַּלֵּל אֶל is used only of prayer to God and gods; here it is the Church which is prayed to. In the prophet's view Jehovah and His Church form an inseparable unity, as in Jer. xxxiii. 16, 1 Cor. xii. 12; cf. *προσκυνήσωσιν*, Rev. iii. 9, a passage thoroughly Isaianic in tone. אַךְ has here its primary affirmative meaning. Paul has this passage of Isaiah in mind in 1 Cor. xiv. 24 f. אֶפֶס does not mean *praeter* (as synonym of זוּלָתִי, בִּלְעֲדֵי) either here or elsewhere; it is a substantive used with verbal force, which is related to אַיִן, as "there is not at all" to "there is not;" cf. v. 8, xlv. 6, xlvi. 9, and in the same way Deut. xxxii. 36 (dependent passage, 2 Kings xiv. 26); Amos vi. 10; 2 Sam. ix. 3; see below on xlvii. 8.

What follows is no longer the language of the heathen (Hitzig, Ewald), but the response of the Church, ver. 15: "*Verily thou art a mysterious God, thou God of Israel, thou Saviour!*" Properly a God who hides Himself (מִסְתַּתֵּר, only by accident echoing *μυστηρ-ιώδης*, with ē, which remains in the partic. even in pause), *i.e.* who rules wondrously in the history of the nations, and by hidden ways, and ways hopelessly intricate to the eyes of men, brings everything to a glorious issue. Similar is the exclamation, *O the depth of the riches*, Rom. xi. 33. According to Prov. xxv. 2 it is God's glory to puzzle men, and thus make them aware of the limitation of their knowledge.

How this God, who hides Himself, will at last be revealed as the God of salvation, is told in vers. 16, 17: "*They are*

ashamed, and also confounded—all of them; together they go into confusion — the forgers of idols. Israel is redeemed by Jehovah with an eternal redemption; ye shall not be ashamed, nor confounded, to all eternity" (in ewige Ewigkeiten, *to eternal eternities*). The perfects express what is past in idea. Jehovah shows Himself a Saviour in His secret dealings in this way, — that whereas the makers of idols (Targum, according to a reading in Cod. Reuchlin, צלמין מציירין, *i.e.* artificial images) perish, Israel is redeemed with an eternal redemption (*acc. obj.* as in xiv. 6, xxii. 17; Gesen. § 138. 1, Anm. 1), *i.e.* so that its redemption is one that endures unto aeons (*αἰωνία λύτρωσις*, Heb. ix. 12). When it is further said: ye shall not be ashamed, the redemption is conceived not merely as outward and bodily, but also as inward and spiritual, and indeed (in keeping with the view which combines the end of the exile with the end absolutely) as final. Israel will not again by apostasy incur such a judgment as the exile; therefore its sin will cease with its punishment, and that עַד־עוֹלְמֵי עַד, *i.e.* (עַד having no plural) *εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.*

The promise cannot remain unfulfilled, vers. 18, 19: "*For thus saith Jehovah, the Creator of the heavens (he is the Godhead), the Maker of the earth and its finisher (he has established it, he has not created it a chaos, he formed it to be inhabited): I am Jehovah, and there is none else! Not in secret have I spoken, in a place of a land of darkness; I said not to the seed of Jacob: Seek me as chaos! I am Jehovah who speak righteousness, who announce upright things.*" The *athnach* halves ver. 18 correctly; 18*a* describes the speaker, 18*b* first begins what is said. The first authoritative sentence says that Jehovah is God in the full and exclusive sense; the second, that He created the earth for man's sake, not תֹהוּ as a chaos (LXX, Targ. Jerome less exactly: *non in vanum*), *i.e.* that it may be and remain such; on the contrary, to be inhabited. Chaos is not directly described, even in Gen. i. 2, as God's creation, because God's creative activity merely took it as a starting-point, and because it was not willed by God for its own sake. Jehovah's words then begin with the statement that Jehovah is the one Absolute. From this two thoughts

branch off. 1. Prophecy proceeding from Him is a thing of the light, no black art, essentially different from heathen divination. "A place of the land of darkness" is to be understood here as in Ps. cxxxix. 15 of the interior of the earth, and as in Job x. 21 of Hades in opposition to the heathen cave-oracles, and the spirit-voices of necromancers apparently sounding from the depths of the earth (see lxv. 4, viii. 19, xxix. 4). Further, 2. The same love of Jehovah, which is revealed already in creation, is also shown in His relation to Israel; He did not point Israel to Himself as chaos (תהו), even as He did not create the earth a chaos. Meier, Knobel erroneously understood בַּקְּשׁוּנִי of seeking disclosures about the future, which would have required דִּרְשׁוּנִי, viii. 19. He did not say: Seek me (as in Zeph. ii. 3) as chaos, *i.e.* without hope of favourable response. On the contrary, He annexed promises to the seeking of Himself which cannot remain unfulfilled, for He is "one that speaks righteousness, and announces upright things," *i.e.* in giving promises He follows the norm of His purpose and plan of salvation, and the motive of sincere benevolence and faithful love. The present message of prophecy points to the fulfilment of these promises.

The salvation of Israel, foretold and accomplished by Jehovah, is also the salvation of the heathen world, vers. 20, 21: "*Assemble yourselves and come, draw near together, ye escaped ones of the heathen! Without understanding are they who burden themselves with the wood of their idol, and pray to a god that saves not. Make known and bring near; yea, let them take counsel together. Who has announced this from the foretime, declared it long ago? Have not I, Jehovah? And there is no Godhead beside me. A God just, and bringing salvation; there is none without me.*" The fulness of the heathen entering into God's kingdom is a remnant of the mass of the heathen; for salvation comes through judgment. The work of missioning the heathen, which appears in these discourses, on one hand as a mission of Cyrus, and on the other of the Servant of Jehovah, is accomplished amid grievous tribulations. Therefore the call to hear the words of the God of revelation goes forth to the escaped of the heathen, who are not as such already converted, but are

susceptible to salvation, and therefore spared. The prophet's standpoint is not after this or that victory of Cyrus, but after all his victories. These close the series of catastrophes, which a remnant of the heathen survives. The conversion of this remnant to Jehovah perfects the glory of God's restored people. Everywhere in these discourses we see this eschatological background close behind the historical foreground. The heathen who remain alive are to assemble and learn from the fact, that Jehovah alone foretold the events now taking place, that He is the only God. The *Hithpael* הִתְנַגְּשׁוּ occurs nowhere but here. Respecting the absolute לֹא יָדְעוּ, see on xliv. 9. To הַגִּישׁוּ we must supply in thought עֲצֻמוֹתֵיכֶם (your proofs), as in xli. 22, according to ver. 21 there. "This" refers to Babylon's fall and Israel's redemption — the salvation dawning through judgment. With מֵאָז, from old time, cf. xliv. 8. "Just and bringing salvation" is God as He who acts in strict accordance with the demands of His holiness, and, wherever His wrath is not provoked by transgression, sets in action His loving will, which seeks men's salvation.

In accordance with this loving will the call goes forth, ver. 22: "*Turn ye to me, and be saved, all ye ends of the earth! For I am God, and there is none else.*" The first imper. exhorts, the second promises (cf. xxxvi. 16, viii. 9). Jehovah desires two things, all men's turning to Him, and their blessedness by so doing.

And this gracious will of His, referring to all humanity, will not rest until it has found full accomplishment, ver. 23: "*By myself I have sworn; a word has gone forth from a mouth of righteousness and shall not return, that to me every knee shall bow, every tongue swear.*" Swearing by Himself (see Gen. xxii. 16), God pledges what is sworn to with His life (cf. *ζῶ ἐγώ*, Rom. xiv. 11, instead of *κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ*, LXX). The sentence יָצָא מִפִּי צְדָקָה דָּבָר וְלֹא יָשׁוּב is parallel to בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי. Rosenmüller joins together צדקה דבר as if with a hyphen: a truth-word (Jerome, *justitiae verbum*), which is impossible with the present order of words. Better Hitzig, Knobel *et al.*: "truth (LXX, *δικαιοσύνη*), a word which turns not back;" but then לא must have stood instead of ולא, and צדקה is never called "truth," in Arabic also not *ṣadaḳa*, but

ṣidḳ, ṣadḳ; therefore rather with Kautzsch: righteousness, *i.e.* promise or assurance of such. On the other hand, צדקה might be=בצדקה (cf. xlii. 25, בְּחמה=חֵמָה), Targum, if it were not far more natural to join מפי צדקה together as a genitive (*Darga, Tebhir*), but not in the sense in which, in post-Biblical language, the phrase מפי הגבורה means "from the mouth of God" (Hahn), but so that the divine mouth is attributively described, because דֹּבֵר צֶדֶק, 19*b*. From this mouth of righteousness a word has gone forth, and, having once gone forth, returns not back with its purpose unaccomplished, lv. 11. What follows next is a prediction of promise, and definite declaration of purpose at the same time; the conversion of the heathen world brings Israel freedom and glory, and therein is realized God's unchangeable plan. "To me," whose force continues, is to be supplied to "shall swear," xix. 18, cf. xliv. 5 (so Rom. xiv. 11: ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ, like LXX, Aquila).

This knee-bowing, this confession and oath of homage, will not be forced, ver. 24: "*Only in Jehovah, men say of me, is abundant righteousness and strength; to him men come, and all who are incensed against him shall be ashamed.*" The insertion of לִי אָמַר (לְ, "in regard to," as in xli. 7, xliv. 26, 28) is, as in lvii. 19; Ps. cxix. 57 (perhaps also אֶקְרָא, Ps. xviii. 4); if, with Luzzatto, Cheyne, יֹאמַר is read instead of לי אמר, it becomes unrecognisable. אַךְ has here the restrictive meaning (Ps. xxxix. 7, lxxiii. 1) which springs out of the affirmative one. צְדָקוֹת is περισσεύουσα (ὑπερεκπερισσεύουσα) δικαιοσύνη, Rom. v. 15 ff. עֹז is strength to sanctify and conquer the world. Instead of יבוא, here as in Ezek. xx. 38, יבאו (LXX, Syr. Jerome) may have been the original. But the Masora punctuates יָבוֹא as the traditional reading. The subject of it is whoever knows what one has in Jehovah, and makes such confession; such an one will not rest until he has come altogether to Jehovah (עַד, as in xix. 22); on the other hand, —the ordinary order of accents is wrong, see Wickes, p. 136, —all His foes shall be ashamed.

They isolate themselves beyond remedy from those who serve Him, and whose restoration is His direct will, and the goal of sacred history, ver. 25: "*In Jehovah shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.*" Ruetschi rightly

observes here, that God's Israel out of all mankind is meant, the Church of the believers of Israel, enlarged by the accession of the heathen, which is now just, *i.e.* forgiven and regenerated by Jehovah, and glories in Him, for by grace it is what it is.

So ends the sixth discourse. Its five sections begin with "Thus saith the Lord;" but the fifth has two woes before this formula, which serve as its basis.

Seventh Discourse of the First Part, Chap. XLVI.

Overthrow of the Gods of Babylon.

There follows now a trilogy of discourses referring to Babylon. After the prophet has shown what Israel has to expect from Cyrus, he turns to what awaits Babylon from Cyrus, vers. 1, 2: "*Bel sinks down, Nebo crouches; their images come to the beast of burden and draught cattle; your portable images are loaded, a burden for the panting. They crouched, they sank down all at once, and were not able to rescue the burden, and their very self has gone into captivity.*" The reference to Babylon comes out at once in the names of the gods. Bel (*i.e.* lord absolutely) is identical with Merodach; Bel-Merodach is the city-god of Babylon, as Nebo (*Nabû* or *Na-bî-um*, yet perhaps allied to נביא) is the city-god of Borsippa; the site of the temple of Nebo is marked by the ruin Birs Nimrod. Herodotus, i. 181, confounds Nebo and Bel, describing the great temple-tower as the temple of Bel. Merodach is invoked in a hymn thus: "O Bel, Babylon is thy dwelling, Borsippa (*Barsîpa*) thy crown."[1] Nebo is the son of Merodach, and consort of *Tašmêt*, goddess of "hearing," as he himself also is called "he that receives prayer." Both gods, Merodach and Nebo, were carried through Babylon on the great national feast of the New Year in solemn procession.[2] Against these gods Jehovah's judgment goes forth. Bel suddenly falls down (כָּרַע), Nebo stoops (קֹרֵס from קָרַס=כָּרַשׁ, whence כְּרֵשׂ,

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch, art. "Bel" in Calwer, *Bibellexikon*, 1885.

[2] *Ibid.* art. "Nebo."

cf. נָחוֹן, from נָחַן), until he *procumbit.*[1] Their works of art (עָצָב or עֹצֶב, xlviii. 5, *πλάσμα*, from עָצַב, to work carefully) come to (become the portion of) the חַיָּה, *i.e.* elephants or other beasts tamed and made beasts of burden, and בְּהֵמָה, *i.e.* camels (xxx. 6), asses, and other domestic animals; your pompous נְשֻׂאֹת, *gestamina*, cries the prophet to the Babylonians, are already loaded, a load for the weary, *i.e.* for the cattle weary of carrying them. In ver. 1, as the two participial clauses show, the prophet is standing in the midst of the catastrophe; in ver. 2, on the other hand, it lies behind him as a completed fact. In ver. 2*a*, as in ver. 1, entering into the folly of the heathen, he continues to distinguish *numina* and *simulacra;* in 2*b* he upsets this folly. Babylon's gods go into captivity (Hos. x. 5; Jer. xlviii. 7, xlix. 3), and indeed נַפְשָׁם, for the self or personality of the beingless beings consists in nothing but the wood and metal of their images.

From this approaching reduction of the gods of Babylon to their original nothingness exhortations are now deduced. The first exhortation is addressed to all Israel, vers. 3–5: "*Hearken to me, O house of Jacob and all the remnant of the house of Israel, ye (who were) carried from the womb, ye (who were) borne from the mother's lap! And unto old age I am he, and unto grey hairs I will carry on the shoulder; I have done it, and I will hear, and I will carry on the shoulder and rescue. To whom can ye compare me and make me equal and rival me, that we may be like?*" Most expositors refer both vocatives to the people of the Babylonian exile, including those left behind in the holy land. But the *parall. synonymus* would only permit this identity, if a והאזיני corresponded to שמעו. The house of Jacob is Judah, as in ii. 5 f., Obad. ver. 18, Nah. ii. 3, and the house of Israel the same as the house of Joseph in Obadiah; on the other hand, in Amos iii. 13, vi. 8, vii. 2, Jacob denotes Israel in distinction from Judah. The Assyrian exile has already deprived the greater part of

[1] In *Mechilta* 95*a* (ed. Friedmann), "to worship בל קורס נבו" = to serve idols; in the Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 63*b*, קלנבו is a name of place; at the same time one sees there the reason why in naming heathen gods one is limited to the names permitted to be mentioned by Biblical precedent.

the exiles in a heathen land of their national character, so that there is only a remnant susceptible to the prophetic message.[1] What the exiles of both houses are to hear is the question of ver. 5, which brings before them the incomparableness of their God as attested in fact. Babylon carried its gods, they are borne away without being able to save themselves; Jehovah, on the other hand, carries His people and saves them. Luther after Vulgate: *ye who are borne by me in the belly and lie as in my womb.* But "from the womb" and "from the lap" point back to the time when the nation, whose existence began with Abraham, marching from Egypt, was born so to speak to the light of the world; from that time it has lain like a willingly assumed burden on Jehovah, who carries it as a nurse the babe, Num. xi. 12; as a man his son, Deut. i. 32; as an eagle its young, Deut. xxxii. 11. The *senectus* and *canities* in ver. 4 are self-evidently the nation's, but not as if this were at present in a senile state (Hitzig, who appeals mistakenly to xlvii. 6), but the yet future and latest days of its history. Up to that moment Jehovah is He, *i.e.* the Absolute One, and always the same (see xli. 4). As He has done hitherto, He will act in the future: bearing and saving. Klostermann conjectures שָׁמַסְתִּי instead of עָשִׂיתִי, which is more probable, according to Ps. lxviii. 20, than Cheyne's view of עשיתי in the pregnant sense of xliv. 2, li. 13, so that it involves the motive of fatherly love. Apart from this uncertain עשיתי, the ground-thought is that, whereas the idols are carried by their worshippers, Jehovah carries His people through all ages and all their perils. Thus He can ask: whom can ye at all put beside me, that we may be like (ו, consec. as in xl. 25)? The suff. of תְדַמְּיוּנִי holds good also for וְתַשְׁווּ, cf. Ps. cvii. 20, cxxxix. 1.

One of the heathen gods? Vers. 6, 7: "*They who pour out gold from the bag, and weigh silver with the balance, hire a goldsmith to make it into a god, that they may fall down, yea, prostrate themselves. They lift it up, carry it away on the shoulder, and put it in a place; there it stands, it stirs not*

[1] This is the only passage in which, of the four designations of the remnant (p. 129), שארית occurs, but without the Isaianic reference of this "remnant according to the election of grace" to the renewing of Israel [in I. Isa. xxxvii. 32].

from its place; one even cries to it, but it answers not, saves no one from distress." We need not suppose that הַזָּלִים stands instead of the finite verb (Hitzig) = הֵם זָלִים (Rosenm. Gesen.), but everything up to יִשְׂכְּרוּ is subject; יִשְׁקֹלוּ therefore is the transition to finite verbs, Gesen. § 116, Anm. 7. The point in הזלים is not the lavish expenditure (Ewald), but the common origin of the god, which begins with the pouring of gold from a bag (זוּל=זָלַל). קָנֶה is the beam of the balance, *κανών*. The metal when weighed is given to the goldsmith, who covers the idol with the gold, and makes ornaments for it of the silver. When it is ready one takes it up (יִשָּׂאֻהוּ, with disjunctive *Great Telîsha*), carries it home on his shoulder, and sets it down in the place it is to have under it (תַּחְתָּיו); there it stands firm, immovable, even deaf and dumb, hearing and answering no one, helping no one. The subject to יִצְעַק is some word like צֹעֵק, cf. viii. 4, ix. 5.

The second exhortation is addressed to imitators of the heathen, vers. 8–11: "*Remember this, and take courage, lay it to heart, ye rebellious ones! Remember the beginning from of old, that I am God, and there is none else, Godhead, and there is none like me, making known the result from the first and from of old what has not yet happened, saying: My purpose shall come to pass, and all my good-pleasure I carry out; calling an eagle from the east, from a far land the man of my purpose. Not only have I spoken, I also bring it to pass; if I have designed, I also carry it out.*" That to which the "this" refers is the worthlessness of the idols and idolatry. Those addressed are the פּוֹשְׁעִים, but as הִתְאֹשָׁשׁוּ shows, those who are not definitively committed to apostasy, but fluctuate between Jehovaism and heathenism, inclining to the latter. A denom. *Hithpal.* from אִישׁ (play the man) התאוששו is not. The verb אָשַׁשׁ (אֵשָׁה, or אוש, whence prop. name יְהוֹאָשׁ, the root-word to אִישׁ) means to be firm, strong, thick, *Piel*, Arab. *assasa*, to strengthen; *Pual*, rabbinical, to be well-founded; *Nithpael*, to be strengthened, confirmed; *Hithpoel* here: show yourselves firm (Targ.: *fundamini, ne rursum subitus idololatriae vos turbo subvertat*). Cheyne reads with de Lagarde התבוששו, *be ashamed;* but התאששו is confirmed by Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. 13; and it would at least be strange if the התבושש used in Gen. ii. 25 with a reciprocal tinge were repeated but once here. That

they may be strengthened in faith and fidelity, they are referred to the history of their nation. They are to cause to pass before their mind רִאשֹׁנוֹת, former events, and indeed מֵעוֹלָם, from the grey foretime; זִכְרוּ is joined to the accus. of the object of remembrance, and כִּי of its result. Earnest study of history will show them that Jehovah alone is אֵל, the absolutely Mighty One, and אֱלֹהִים, the one who unites in Himself all reverence-inspiring divine majesty. The participles, ver. 10 f., join on to the "I" of כָּמוֹנִי. Jehovah is the incomparable One, who now as ever from the beginning of the new historical epoch, announces the issue it will have, and מִקֶּדֶם long before announces what has not yet taken place and lies outside the range of human combination (cf. xli. 26, xlv. 21). The east is Susiana (Elam), xli. 2, and the far land is the more northerly Media, as in xiii. 5. Cyrus is called an eagle or bird of prey, עַיִט (not related to ἀετός), as Nebuchadnezzar a נֶשֶׁר in Jer. xlix. 22; Ezek. xvii. 3; according to Cyrop. vii. 1. 4, the sign of Cyrus was ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. Instead of אִישׁ עֲצָתוֹ, the *Kerî* reads unnecessarily, but more plainly, אִישׁ עֲצָתִי (see *e.g.* xliv. 26). The correlative אַף, 11*b*, affirms that Jehovah not merely does the one, but does the other; He turns His word into fact, His idea into reality; יָצַר is used of the ideal preformation of the future in the divine understanding, as in xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26. The fem. suffixes apply in the neuter to the theme of this discourse, the overthrow of Babylon. So far the *nota bene* for those inclined to apostasy.

A third exhortation applies to the indifferent, vers. 12, 13: "*Hearken to me, ye strong-hearted ones, who are far from righteousness! I have brought near my salvation; it is not far off; and my salvation lingers not. And I give salvation in Zion, my glory to Israel.*" "Everything called νοῦς, λόγος, συνείδησις, θυμός in Hellenic and Hellenistic Greek is blended together in καρδία; and everything by which בשׂר and נפשׁ is affected comes in לב into the light of consciousness" (*Bibl. Psych.* p. 296). In keeping with this idea of Biblical psychology, אַבִּירֵי לֵב means just as well the courageous, Ps. lxxvi. 5, as the strong-minded, as here, *i.e.*, those who are selfishly indifferent to God's word and work, and are self-contained, wishing to know nothing of the righteousness, *i.e.*

the inflexible severity, with which God carries through His plan of salvation (as synon. of חִזְקֵי לֵב, Ezek. ii. 4, and קְשֵׁי לֵב, Ezek. iii. 7). Then, let them hear, perhaps not without impression, that this righteousness is about to be revealed, salvation about to be accomplished. Jehovah has given, *i.e.* is just giving, salvation in Zion, so that it will become again the centre of a restored nation, and His glory to that nation itself, so that it will shine in the splendour conferred on it by God. Here also it is the side of light and love, which the two-faced righteousness, as parallel word to salvation, turns to us. With this exhortation to the hardened ones the discourse concludes—a pastoral sermon in three parts, beginning with Hearken, Remember, Hearken!

Eighth Discourse of the First Part, Chap. XLVII.

Overthrow of Babylon, the Imperial Capital.

After the gods of Babylon the turn comes to proclaim judgment to Babylon itself, vers. 1–4: "*Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit down on the ground without a throne, daughter of the Chaldeans! For thou shalt no longer be called delicate and luxurious. Take the mill and grind meal, throw back thy veil, lift up the train, uncover the thigh, wade through rivers. Let thy nakedness be uncovered, even thy shame be seen; I will take vengeance and not spare men. Our Redeemer, Jehovah of hosts is His name, the Holy One of Israel.*" As ver. 3*b* shows, what precedes is Jehovah's sentence of punishment. Both בַּת in relation to בְּתוּלַת (xxiii. 12, xxxvii. 22), and בָּבֶל and כַּשְׂדִּים in relation to בַּת, are appositional genitives; Babylon and Chaldea (כשׂדים, as in xlviii. 20) are viewed as a woman, not yet violently dishonoured. The unconquered queen is threatened with degradation from her proud eminence to shameful humiliation; sitting on the ground is meant, as in iii. 26. She was hitherto called with envious admiration רַכָּה וַעֲנֻגָּה (from Deut. xxviii. 56), *mollis et delicata.* As such everything unpleasant kept itself far from her, and life passed in vain indulgence (cf. עֹנֶג, xiii. 22). Feasting with its revelry and riot (xiv. 11, xxv. 5), and the service of

Mylitta,[1] with its sanctioned prostitution (Herod. i. 199), were in full course; but now this has an end. יִקְרְאוּ־לָךְ, after לֹא תוסיפי = לְהִקָּרֵא (xxiii. 12, li. 22). Both in the three classes of ver. 1, which sound like long trumpet-blasts (cf. xl. 9, xvi. 1), and in the short, sharp, angry clauses which follow, the artistic style of Isaiah is observable. The queen becomes a maid, and must then do the common work of maids, who, as Homer says, *Od.* vii. 104, *ἀλετρεύουσι μύλης ἔπι μήλοπα καρπόν*, grind at the mill the quince-coloured grain (cf. on Job xxxi. 10).[2] As a captive she must leave her dwelling-place, and, putting aside female modesty, wade through the streams she meets with. צַמָּה is the veil, from צָמַם, صَمَّ, *constringere.* חֶשְׂפִּי, after the pointing of the Tiberias school, has *ĕ* instead of *ĭ*, and *p* instead of *ph*, as in other places where a sibilant precedes a mute. שֹׁבֶל means the train, from שׁבל, سبل, to trail, especially below (cf. חָשַׂפְתִּי שׁוּלַיִךְ, Jer. xiii. 26, from שׁוּל). The nakedness of Babylon is her shameful deeds, now seen to be such, when a stronger one comes who overpowers and dishonours her. This stronger one, apart from the instrument employed, is Jehovah: *vindictam sumam, non parcam homini.* Stier differently: I will run against no man, namely, that I should need to give way to him; Ruetschi: I will not intervene as a man; Hahn: I shall not meet a man, so depopulated will Babylon be; Cheyne: I shall encounter no one who can resist me. Nearer to the correct view is Gesen. Rosenm. Meier: *non pangam* (*paciscar*) *cum homine;* but this must have at least required אֶת־אָדָם, if פָּגַע really had the meaning *pangere* (*foedus*). It means to encounter, meet, hit upon one, not only in a hostile, but also, as here and lxiv. 4, in a friendly sense, so: I will befriend no one, pardon no one (Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, v. Orelli *et al.*). According to an old mode of writing, there is a break here. But ver. 4 still belongs to what precedes. Since Jehovah speaks in ver. 5, and Israel in ver. 4, the latter is to be regarded as an antiphon to vers. 1–3 (cf. xlv. 15). Our Redeemer, exclaims

[1] Μύλιττα is not מולדת, but *Bîlit* (*Bêlit*), queen; see Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 164 f.

[2] In Old German also, grinding corn and kissing the maid at the mill are signs of servile work and spirit (Brothers Grimm, *Edda*, Bd. i. p. 72).

the Church in joyous elevation of feeling, is called Jehovah of hosts, Israel's Holy One.

Now Jehovah's sentence of punishment continues, vers. 5–7: "*Sit silent and creep into the darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for men will no longer call thee lady of kingdoms. I was wroth with my people, profaned my inheritance, and gave them into thy hand. Thou hast shown them no mercy; on the aged thou laidst thy yoke very heavily, and saidst: I shall be lady for ever, so that thou didst not take this to heart, nor consider its issue.*" Babylon is to sit דּוּמָם, in dull, brooding sorrow, and betake herself into darkness, as those who have fallen into deep shame withdraw from human sight. She is contemplated as an empress (xiii. 19), who has come down to be a slave, and will not let herself be seen for shame (the king of Babylon called himself "King of Kings," Ezek. xxvi. 7). So she fares, because when Jehovah used her as an instrument of punishment against His people, she transgressed the limits of her authority (see Köhler on Zech. i. 15), and showed no pity. According to Koppe, Gesen. Meier, Hitzig, Israel is here called "aged" as a worn-out nation, an object of sympathy; but the words are really meant as in Lam. iv. 16, v. 12: Babylon put an exceedingly heavy yoke of captivity even on the necks of the aged. Despite this inhumanity, she flattered herself with the promise of eternal existence. Hitzig joins עַד to the foregoing, as in 1 Sam. ii. 5: I shall be to all the future, lady for ever; this is possible; but עַד אֲשֶׁר=עַד, in the sense "until that" (*adeo ut*), is confirmed by 1 Sam. ii. 5, xx. 41, Job xiv. 6; and גְּבֶרֶת, as fem. of גְּבֶר=גָּבִיר, may just as well be absolute as construct. Thus Babylon's confidence in the eternal continuance of her dominion went so far, that "these things," *i.e.* punishments such as those now befalling her in accordance with prophecy, did not even come into her mind, so far that she did not regard the evil issue of this, *i.e.* of her tyranny and arrogance, as even possible.

With "and now" the announcement of punishment begins anew on the ground of what has been censured, vers. 8–11: "*And now hear this, thou voluptuous one, she who sits so securely, who says in her heart: I am, and there is none else; I shall not sit as widow, and not experience loss of children. And both these shall come upon thee in a moment on one day: loss of*

children and widowhood; in fullest measure they come upon thee despite the multitude of thy enchantments, despite the vast number of thy spells. Thou trustedst in thy wickedness, thou saidst: None sees me; thy wisdom and thy knowledge, these have led thee astray, that thou saidst in thine heart: I am and none else. And there comes upon thee calamity which thou canst not charm away; and there shall fall on thee mischief which thou canst not atone for; and there shall suddenly come upon thee destruction which thou suspectest not." In the surnames given to Babylon the punishment is justified anew, namely, by her wantonness, security, and self-exaltation. עָדִין is intensive form of עָדֵן, LXX aptly, *τρυφερά*. The *i* of אַפְסִי is not the same as in אַתְּ=אַתִּי (Hahn), which is impossible in the first person here; nor *Chirek compaginis* (Gesen. Ewald, Knobel *et al.*) =אֵין עוד, which could only occur in the latter form; nor yet the suff. of the word meant as preposition: *et praeter me ultra* (*nemo*), Hitzig, for it is improbable that this *nemo* would be omitted. Rather אֶפֶס means absolute non-being, and as adverb "exclusively, only," *e.g.* אֶפֶס קָצֵהוּ, nothing, the extremity thereof = only the extremity thereof, Num. xxii. 13, cf. xxii. 35, but chiefly with verbal force like אֵין (אַיִן) (*utique*) *non est* (see xlv. 14), therefore אַפְסִי, like אֵינֶנִּי (*utique*) *non sum.* The form in which Babylon's arrogance expresses itself: I (am), and I am absolutely, nothing more, by the side of similar testimonies of Jehovah, xlv. 5, 6, 18, 22, cf. xxi. 14, xlvi. 9, sounds like self-deification. Nineveh speaks in the same way in Zeph. ii. 15; cf. Martial: *Terrarum Dea gentiumque Roma Cui par est nihil et nihil secundum.* Babylon says further (like the Babylon of the last days, Rev. xviii. 7): I shall not sit as widow (*i.e.* in such lonely sorrow, Lam. i. 1, iii. 28, and withdrawn from the world, Gen. xxxviii. 11), and not suffer loss of children, *orbitatem;* she would be a widow, if she lost the nations and "the kings who committed fornication with her" (Rev. xviii. 9), for the relation of a nation to its temporal king is never thought of after the manner of Jehovah's relation to Israel. She would be a mother robbed of her children, if war and captivity robbed her of her population. But both will befall her in a moment (from now), and on one day, so that she will sink under the weight of the double grief; both will come upon her כְּתֻמָּם, *secundum integritatem eorum,* so that

she will experience loss of husband and children in all its extent and all its depth, despite (בְּ, with = notwithstanding, as in v. 25) the multitude of her magical arts (כְּשָׁפִים, cf. Assyr. *kišpu*, magic, *kaššapu*, magician, fem. *kaššaptu*), and despite the immense mass (עָצְמָה here not in intensive sense, as in xl. 29, but like עָצוּם, as parallel word to רַב, in numerical sense) of her spells (חֶבֶר, binding by magic, *κατάδεσμος*; cf. Assyr. *ubburu*, to ban, often along with *kuššupu*).[1] Babylon was the birthplace of astrology, whence came the twelvefold division of the day, the horoscope, and sun-dial (Herod. ii. 109), and also the home of magic, which claimed to be able to control the course of things, and even the power of the gods, and to direct them at will (Diodorus, ii. 29). Thus then has Babylon, fancying herself raised above earthly misfortune, relied on her רָעָה (xiii. 11), her tyranny and craft, by which she hoped to secure for herself eternal existence. The thought: *non est videns me*, suppressing the voice of conscience, and actually denying God's omniscience and omnipresence; רֹאָנִי (with verbal suffix: *videns me;* on the other hand, רֹאִי, Gen. xvi. 3, *videns mei* = *meus*), written also רֹאֲנִי, is pausal form in half pause for רֹאֵנִי; *Tsere* passes in pause both into *pathach*, *e.g.* xlii. 22, and also (apart from Hithpael-forms, *e.g.* xli. 16), into *kametz*, like קִימָנוּ, Job xxii. 20 (see there). By the "wisdom and knowledge" of Babylon, which has turned her aside from the right way (שׁוֹבֵב), is meant her policy, strategy, and especially magic, *i.e.* the secret wisdom of the Chaldeans, her *ἐπιχώριοι φιλόσοφοι* (Strabo, xvi. 1. 6). הֹוָה (here and Ezek. vii. 26, elsewhere הַוָּה) signifies originally, like هاوِيَة, yawning, *χαῖνον*, then a yawning depth, *χάσμα*, abyss and precipice, utter destruction, and hence desolate moan, dull groan. The perf. consec. of the first sentence precedes its predicate רָעָה in the radical form בָּא; cf. ii. 17, Gesen. § 145. 7*a*. Alongside כַּפְּרָהּ the parallel שַׁחְרָהּ, rhyming with the former, is not שַׁחַר inflected: of it thou shalt see no morning-dawn (after the night of misfortune, viii. 20), Meier, Umbreit; the suff. also is against it (on which account Kimchi, like Jerome, *ortum ejus, sc. mali*, the flashing up of destruction; cf. Hos.

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch, Assyr. *WB.* under אבר₃, No. 39. In Shah Nameh, also, *bend* is synonymous with *nirenk*, bewitchment. See vol. i. p. 102.

x. 5; Amos v. 8; so Luther), and we should expect תֵּרְאִי instead of תֵּדְעִי. שחרה also is infin., after which Hahn: "which thou wilt not be able to unblacken;" but this privative meaning of שִׁחֵר as a word of colour is without example. Better, "which thou wilt not be able to discern" (שׁחר, as in xxvi. 9); and still better, as is generally interpreted since J. H. Michaelis and J. D. Michaelis, from שָׁחַר = سحر, to bewitch (*DMZ.* xx. 34): "which thou wilt not be able to exorcise or charm away."

The close of the discourse again strikes up the tone of sarcastic triumph found at the beginning, vers. 12–15: "*Come near, then, with thy spells and with the multitude of thy enchantments, in which thou hast wearied thyself from thy youth. Perhaps thou canst render service, perhaps thou wilt inspire terror. Thou art wearied by the multitude of thy consultations. Let them come near, then, and save thee—the heaven-dividers, the star-peepers, who every new-moon bring to light things which will come upon thee. Behold, they are become as stubble, fire has consumed them; they are not able to save themselves from the power of the flame. There is not a burning coal to warm oneself, a hearth-fire to sit before. Thus it fares with thy people, for whom thou hast wearied thyself; thy associates in trade from thy youth, they wander away, every one to his own quarter; none helps thee.*" It is true that עָמַד בְּ, Lev. xiii. 5, means to stand by something, to persist therein (cf. קוּם עַל, xxxii. 8), like Ezek. xiii. 5, to take a stand; 2 Kings xxiii. 3, to enter on; Eccles. viii. 3, to venture on something; but here, 12*a*, there is no reason to take it otherwise than in ver. 13: Let Babylon come near with (בְּ, as in vii. 24, and often) all the instruments of the black art, in which (אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם=בַּאֲשֶׁר) she had much practice from her youth (יָגַעַתְּ, with helping *pathach* for יָגַעְתְּ). Perhaps she is able to be of some use (ὠφελεῖν), perhaps she will terrify, *i.e.* make herself so terrible to the approaching evil, that it will retire. The prophet now in spirit sees Babylon come near, but harassing herself helplessly and uselessly. He therefore follows up the "come near, then," addressed to Babylon *in pleno* with a second challenge, "let them come near, then:" let her astrologers come near, and let them prove the power over the future which they claim, now in view of the approaching destruction, for the good of Babylon.

עֲצָתָיִךְ is a singular form with femin. plur. suff., like the singular with masc. plur. suff., Ps. ix. 15; Ezek. xxxv. 11; Ezra ix. 15; in these cases (certainly suspicious on critical grounds) the singular has a collective meaning. Instead of הברו שמים (which would be = אשר הברו), the *Keri* reads הֹבְרֵי שָׁמַיִם, cutters-up of the heaven, *i.e.* dividers or dismemberers of it, from הָבַר = هبر, *dissecare, resecare;* cf. Rabb. הֲבָרָה = هبرة, segment in the meaning of syllable (for which the Arabic has not coined a grammatical term), perhaps also Talm. אֲבָרִים, members of a body, or lot of tools. The corrections חֹבְרֵי (Knobel), from חָבַר = خبر, to know, be skilful, and הֵבְרוּ (Hitzig, *Dan.* p. 29; *Psalmen,* ii. 415) from הֵבַר, in the sense to sift = investigate, of which there is no evidence, are unnecessary. Nor must we with Nägelsbach explain: who look into the stars (*i.e.* into the future), or: by means of the stars. חָזָה בְּ means to gaze with desire, here desire to know (cf. Eccles. xi. 3); Luther: the *star-peepers,* cf. ἀστέρας δοκεύειν in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Arcana,* v. 60. They are further described as those who tell, לֶחֳדָשִׁים, *singulis noviluniis* (like לַבְּקָרִים, every morning, xxxii. 2, and often), things which, etc. מֵאֲשֶׁר is partitive in meaning. They select the most important from the multitude of events, every month making the almanack (or تاريخ from ورخ = ارخ, to reckon by the course of the month) or calendar[1] for the State. But these wise men cannot save themselves, to say nothing of others, from the power of the flame, which is no comfortable fire for warmth (not לַחְמָם, but according to Masoretic testimony לַחְמָם, pausal form with *Zakeph-katon* for לַחֲמָם = לְחֹם, Hagg. i. 6, cf. on Job xxx. 4), no hearth-fire (xliv. 16) to sit in front of; but, on the contrary, consuming, eternal, *i.e.* annihilating, flames, xxxiii. 14. Grotius, Clericus, Vitringa *et al.* unsuitably: *non supererit pruna ad calendum.* So shall they be to thee, continues ver. 15, *i.e.* such things shall they suffer to thy hurt, for whom (אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם = אֲשֶׁר) thou

[1] The original of such a Babylonian calendar, taken from an inscription (giving the *agenda et non agenda* on the several days of the month), is found in vol. v. of Rawlinson's work on Inscriptions, pp. 48, 49, and a multitude of tables with astrological predictions in vol. iii. of the same work, pp. 51–64.

hast wearied thyself. The learned orders of the Chaldeans had their own quarter, and enjoyed the regard and privileges of a priestly caste. It is also impossible to apply what follows to these masters of astrology and magic (Ewald). These must have been called שֹׁחֲרַיִךְ, in accordance with שַׁחְרָהּ, ver. 11; and, moreover, if they became a prey to the flames, and therefore could not flee, we must suppose that they were burnt in their flight (Umbreit). No, סֹחֲרַיִךְ are those engaged in commercial intercourse with the great "merchant city," Ezek. xvii. 4, as Berosus says, *ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι ἀλλοεθνῶν κατοικησάντων τὴν Χαλδαίαν, ζῆν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀτάκτως ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία*; cf. Aeschyl. *Pers.* 52 s.: *Βαβυλὼν δ' ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον πέμπει.* These all plunge in wild flight אִישׁ אֶל־עֶבְרוֹ, each one to his special part, namely, the direction of his home (not = אֶל־עֵבֶר פָּנָיו, but to be explained in accordance with xiii. 24; Ewald's *Syntax*, § 218*b*), caring only for themselves, without a thought of helping Babylon, even if they were able.

Ninth Discourse of the First Part, Chap. XLVIII.

Deliverance from Babylon.

This third part of the trilogy (chaps. xlvi., xlvii., xlviii.) stands in just the same relation to chap. xlvii. as xlvi. 3 ff. does to xlvi. 1, 2: the previous prophecy is turned to an admonitory use.

The address is directed to the great mass of the exiles, vers. 1, 2: "*Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel and have come forth from the waters of Judah, who swear by the name of Jehovah and praise the God of Israel, not in truth nor in righteousness! For they call themselves of the holy city, and stay themselves on the God of Israel; Jehovah of hosts is his name.*" The summons to hear is based on (כִּי, as *e.g.* in Ex. xiii. 17; Josh. xvii. 18) the Israelitish nationality maintained by those who are addressed, and on the relation in which they stand to the God of Israel. This gives Jehovah the right to address them, and lays on them the obligation to hear Him. The blame inserted points both to the motive of the following discourse and the subject which

it necessarily treats of. "House of Jacob," as in xlvi. 3, refers to the house of Judah, which shares in the honourable title of Israel, but has issued from the waters (Num. xxiv. 7, along with זֶרַע, cf. the name מוֹאָב), *i.e.* the spring (עַיִן, Deut. xxxiii. 28; מְקוֹר, Ps. lxviii. 27) of Judah; the figure comes in without introduction, so that it seems right to regard מִמְּעֵי (ver. 19) as original. The summons is thus addressed to the exiles of Babylonia, as those who swear by the name of Jehovah, and remember with gratitude the God of Israel (הִזְכִּיר בְּ, as in Ps. xx. 8), but not in truth and righteousness (1 Kings iii. 6; Zech. viii. 8), *i.e.* without their spirit (cf. xxxviii. 3; Jer. iv. 2) and conduct agreeing with their confession and corresponding to God's known will; and who call themselves after the holy city (so Jerusalem is called also in Daniel and Nehemiah, here and lii. 1), and rely upon the God of Israel, without the holiness of mind and conduct which alone gives a right to such trust in the God of the nation, seeing that He is Jehovah Sabaoth, the Thrice-Holy, before whom even the seraphim tremble (chap. vi.).

After this summons the words of Jehovah begin, vers. 3–5: "*The first things I announced long ago, and from my mouth they went forth, and I made them known. Suddenly I performed them, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art hard, and thy neck is an iron clasp, and thy brow of brass, I announced it long ago; before it came to pass I made it known to thee, lest thou shouldst say: My idol has performed it, and my graven and molten image has commanded it.*" הָרִאשֹׁנוֹת means *priora*, and according to the context, *prius facta*, xlvi. 9, or *prius praedicta*, xliii. 9, or *prius eventura*, xli. 22, xlii. 9; in the present passage former events which Jehovah announced beforehand, and, when the time had come, at once accomplished. Glancing back at these, suff. plur. masc. interchange (cf. xli. 27) with plur. fem. (cf. ver. 7, xxxviii. 16); more commonly the prophet uses the sing. fem. in this neutral sense (xli. 20, xlii. 23, etc.), seldom also the sing. masc. (xl. 5, 8). The suffix-form ֵן does not occur at all in the O. T., but once for it ָן, Ex. ii. 17, and once ַן, Hab. ii. 17, Gesen. § 60, Anm. 2. גִּיד (from נוּד, جاد, to stretch) means sinew, and here clasp. נְחוּשָׁה is poetical = נְחֹשֶׁת, as in xlv. 2. It is implied that the Babylonian exiles took part in heathen worship

(cf. Ezek. xx. 30 ff.); we know the same of the exiles of Egypt, among whom Jeremiah's life and labour mysteriously ceased.

But in order rightly to determine what the "first things" are which Jehovah foretold, lest Israel should ascribe them to this or that one of their idols, we must add, vers. 6–8: "*Thou hast heard it; look then at all; and ye — must ye not confess it? I make known to thee new things from now, and hidden things and things which thou knewest not. Now they are created and not long ago; and thou hast not known them before, lest thou shouldst say: Behold, I knew them. Neither hast thou heard them, nor hast thou known them, nor has thy ear opened itself to them long ago, for I knew, thou art verily faithless, and art called rebellious from the womb.*" The meaning of the question in 6*a* is clear: they must, even against their will, confess and testify (xliii. 10, xliv. 8) that Jehovah foretold everything which is now attested by sensible fulfilment. Accordingly the "first things" are the events which the people have experienced from the earliest age (xlvi. 9) to the present period of Cyrus, but especially the first half or epoch of this period itself that has passed in the present, which is the prophet's standpoint. And since the fore-announcement is to guard against Israel ascribing that which is done to its idols, which can only or principally be understood of events for the good of Israel, the "first things" must also include the preparation for the deliverance of Israel from the Babylonian captivity by the revolution due to Cyrus. Therefore the "new things" include the deliverance of Israel, the conversion of the heathen, and the renovation of the world (cf. xlii. 9). The announcing and accomplishing of these absolutely new things, which were kept secret hitherto (cf. Rom. xvi. 25), takes form now; נְצֻרוֹת, guarded things, are things kept secret (cf. נְצוּרִים, lxv. 4, hidden places, and Prov. vii. 10, with hidden, *i.e.* hypocritical, reserved heart); Jer. xxxiii. 3 has for this בְּצֻרוֹת, *ardua*, things lying beyond natural knowledge. Israel has not heard of these things, לִפְנֵי־יוֹם, before to-day (cf. מִיּוֹם, from to-day, xliii. 13), lest it should arrogate to itself as drawn from its own resources knowledge furnished by prophecy. This thought is emphasized in the strongest manner in ver. 8 in three correlative sentences with גַּם; פִּתְּחָה

means here to open, in the sense of self-opening, as in lx. 11. That we need not read פְּתֻחָה, according to the correction in Cod. Babyl., is shown by تفتّح=فتّح, used of the opening of flowers, and coinciding with פִּתַּח, Cant. vii. 13. Jehovah has told them nothing of this before, because there was danger that with the faithlessness and tendency to idolatry which run through their history from the first, they would abuse the knowledge.

Despite such proofs of the Godhead of Jehovah, the people expiating their sins in exile are faithless, always prone to apostasy. Nevertheless Jehovah will save them. The deliverance is thus an unmerited work of His mercy, vers. 9–11: "*For my name's sake I draw out my wrath, and for my praise I restrain myself toward thee, that I may not root thee out. Behold, I have cleansed thee, and not in the manner of silver; I have tested thee in the furnace of affliction. For my own sake, for my own sake I perform it (for how it is profaned!), and my glory I give not to another.*" The imperfects, ver. 9, say what Jehovah is continually doing. He lengthens out His wrath, *i.e.* delays its outbreak, thus shows Himself longsuffering; He checks, restrains, damps it (חָטַם, like خطم), for the good of Israel, that He may not by unchaining His wrath utterly destroy it; and that for the sake of His name, His praise, which demands the carrying out of the plan of salvation, which is the purpose of Israel's existence. What Israel has hitherto experienced is a melting, which is not designed to destroy, but to test and purify. וּתְהִלָּתִי is genitive, dependent on לְמַעַן, whose force continues here as in xlix. 7*b*; cf. ver. 14, xv. 8, xxviii. 6, lxi. 7, perhaps also לַחְמְךָ (אנשי), Obad. 7, but in no case Eccles. xii. 11; the Arabic language of poetry permits itself such elliptical genitives.[1] בָּחַר, parallel with צָרַף, has here, like the Aramaic, the meaning of בָּחַן, which, allied to صاكن, denotes originally to test by rubbing. The ב of וְלֹא בְכָסֶף is not *Beth pretii:* not to gain silver as the reward of labour (Maldonatus, Hendewerk), or:

[1] Respecting this genitive, whose governing word (the مضاف) is supplied out of what precedes, see Samachshari's *Mufaṣṣal*, p. 43, l. 8–13.

so that I might gain silver (Umbreit, Meier, Ewald),—an aimless notion, out of place here,—but ב is the *Beth essentiae*, translatable by *tanquam*, which introduces the accusative predicate here and Ezek. xx. 41, Ps. lxxviii. 55, just as it introduces the nominative predicate in Job xxiii. 13 in the substantive clause, and in Ps. xxxix. 7 in the verbal clause. Jehovah melted Israel, but not as silver (not as one melts silver), by which it is not meant that He melted it more severely, yet more exactly (Stier), or less strictly (Cheyne) than silver,—melting is everywhere nothing more or less than freeing the precious kernel by removing the dross,—but that it was another fire than that of the smelter (goldsmith); it was a melting of a higher sort, the suffering which befell Israel, doing for it the work of a furnace (כּוּר as in Deut. iv. 20), Hitzig. The infliction of wrath had a salutary aim; and this aim contained in it from the first the intention to allow it to last only for a time. Therefore He now puts an end to it for His own sake, *i.e.* not moved by Israel's merits, but purely of grace, in satisfaction of a demand made on Him by His holiness, since a longer continuance would give the heathen occasion to blaspheme His name, and it would seem as if He were indifferent to His honour, which was bound up with Israel's existence. The language here is curt and harsh throughout. In 9*b* we must add לְמַעַן and אַפִּי in thought out of 9*a*, and in the parenthetical exclamation אֵיךְ יֵחָל (*Niph.* of חָלַל as in Ezek. xxii. 26), the remote שְׁמִי out of 9*a*. "I perform it" refers to the effecting of redemption. What a commentary on ver. 11 is Ezek. xxxvi. 19–23!

This discourse began with "Hear ye;" its second half now begins with "Hear." Thrice the cry is addressed to Israel: Hear ye! Jehovah is God exclusively, Creator and Controller of history, God of prophecy and fulfilment, vers. 12–16: "*Hearken to me, O Jacob, and Israel my called one; I am he, I the First, I also the Last. My hand also founded the earth, and my right hand spread out the heavens; I call to them, and they arise together. Assemble yourselves, all of you, and hear! Who among them has announced this? He whom Jehovah loves will execute his will on Babylon, and his arm on the Chaldeans. I, I have spoken, have also called him, have brought him near, and his way prospers. Draw near to me! Hear ye this! I*

have not spoken from the beginning in secret, from the time that it takes place I am there; and now the Lord Jehovah has sent me and his Spirit." Let Israel hear; it is the nation called to be Jehovah's servant (xli. 9). Let it hear (the Deuteronomic "Hear," vi. 4, is heard here again) what kind of a God it has in Jehovah. He is "He," *i.e.* the exclusively One, and eternally the same (see on xli. 4, xliii. 10); He is First and Last (cf. xli. 4), *i.e.* the Alpha and Omega of all history, especially Israel's. He and none else is the Creator of the earth and the heavens (טִפַּח here, like Mishnic and Syriac טְפַח, to flatten, make flat and broad), at whose Almighty call they place themselves at His service, with all the beings they contain; קֹרֵא אֲנִי is virtually a conditional clause, Ewald, § 357*b*. Hitherto everything has supported the exhortation to hearken to Jehovah. The exhortation is further supported by God's calling the members of His people to assemble in order to hear and confirm His declaration: Who among them (the gods of the heathen) has made known this or the like? That which hitherto none but Jehovah has foretold follows at once in the form of an independent sentence, whose subject is ה' אֲהֵבוֹ (said of Solomon, 2 Sam. xii. 24*b*) instead of אֲהוּב ה' (Ewald, § 333*b*): he whom Jehovah loves will perform His will on Babylon, and His arm (will perform it) on the Chaldeans. זְרֹעוֹ is not accus. (Hitzig, Ewald, Nägelsbach *et al.*): for "perform His arm" (Jehovah's or His own?) is an impossible phrase, even used zeugmatically, but nominative of the subject, and בַּכַּשְׂדִּים=כַּשְׂדִּים as in ver. 9 למען תהלתי=תהלתי and רצתה, xlii. 1 = רָצְתָה בּוֹ. The prophet perhaps wrote בכשׂדים, which is not only free from ambiguity, but also gives a more rhythmical close of the verse. Jehovah, He it is alone who announces such things; He also has brought forward (הֵבִיא as in xxxvii. 26) in Cyrus the predicted conqueror of Babylon; the success of his career is Jehovah's work. As certainly then as הִקָּבְצוּ, ver. 14, is Jehovah's word, so certainly also קִרְבוּ אֵלַי. He calls near to Himself those who belong to His people, that they may further hear His declarations: From the beginning He has not spoken in secret (see xlv. 19), but as author and lord of what is taking place has publicly fore-announced by His prophets what now lies before the eyes; since it (what is being done by Cyrus)

has unfolded itself, He is there in order so to guide and turn what happens, that it may issue in Israel's deliverance; cf. the שָׁם אָנִי of Wisdom in reference to creation, Prov. viii. 27. So far Jehovah speaks, not yet (as v. Orelli thinks) the other one, who now strikes into Jehovah's words and continues: "and now," namely, when Israel's deliverance is near accomplishment (וְעַתָּה as often of the turning-point of salvation, *e.g.* xxxiii. 10), "the Lord Jehovah has sent me and His Spirit." Is it the prophet who here comes forward behind Him whom he has introduced, and strikes into His discourse? Nägelsbach and Klostermann actually see here an interruption of Jehovah's words by the prophet, who distinguishes two periods of his preaching, and only in the present one declares himself authorized to declare what now follows. But since in xlix. 1 ff. discourse follows of that Servant of Jehovah about himself, who claims to be the restorer of Israel and light of the heathen, and therefore can neither be Israel as a nation nor the author of these discourses, whether Isaiah or an heir of his spirit, nothing is more likely than that the words, "and now the Lord," etc., are a prelude of the discourse of the one unique Servant of Jehovah about himself which opens in chap. xlix. Only thus can we explain the surprisingly mysterious manner, comparable only again to Zech. ii. 12 ff., iv. 9 (where also the speaker is not the prophet but an angel), in which the discourse of Jehovah turns into that of His ambassador. Only this explains "and now," which intimates that after Jehovah has paved the way for Israel's redemption by bringing forward Cyrus in accordance with prophecy, He has sent him, the speaker here, to effect in mediatorial capacity the redemption prepared for, and this not by force of arms, but in the strength of God's Spirit (xlii. 1; cf. Zech. iv. 6). Accordingly the Spirit is not referred to as Sender (Nägelsbach, Driver, after Jerome, Targ., perhaps also LXX, Syriac), as which He is mentioned nowhere (cf. Zech. vii. 12, בְּרוּחוֹ, and the reading *διὰ τοῦ*, Rom. viii. 11, which is to be rejected for a similar reason), but as sent in and with Jehovah's Servant. In order to this meaning we need neither שָׁלַח אֹתִי ורוחו nor שלחני וְאֶת־רוחו; the phraseology is just the same as in xxix. 7, צֹבֶיהָ וּמְצֹדָתָהּ. But although "His Spirit" is taken as a second object, the passage confirms what Cheyne and

Driver agree in remarking, that in II. Isa. the tendency is evident to regard the Spirit of God as a separate personality.

The exhortation now goes further. In the work of redemption, prepared for both in word and act, Israel is to recognise the incomparableness of Jehovah, vers. 12–16. On the position it henceforth takes to His commands its future depends, vers. 17–19: "*Thus saith Jehovah thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: I, Jehovah thy God, am he who teaches thee to do what profits,* (*who*) *leads thee in the way which thou shouldst go. O that thou didst hearken to my commandments; then thy peace becomes like a river, and thy righteousness like the waves of the sea; and thy seed becomes like the sand, and the offspring of thy body like its grains. Its name should not be rooted out, nor destroyed from before my face.*" Jehovah is Israel's rightful and right teacher and leader. לְהוֹעִיל is used in the same sense as in xxx. 5, xliv. 10, to do what is useful, profitable. The optative לוּא is followed by the preterite, because what is wished in anticipation is regarded as accomplished, as in lxiii. 19: *utinam disruperis.* But here where וַיְהִי follows twice (not וִיהִי, Deut. xxxii. 29; cf. Micah ii. 11) we cannot translate otherwise than: *o si attenderis, facta esset amnis instar pax tua* (Driver, § 140); but the לֹא־יִכָּרֵת glances into the future: in case of such observance, it would not. Peace and righteousness appear here as the divine gift, not deserved by Israel, but dependent only on the faith which marks and appropriates the divine word, and especially the word promising redemption. The play of sound in מֵעֶיךָ כִּמְעֹתָיו is conspicuous. Many expositors (Rashi, Kimchi, Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, Cheyne) take מְעוֹתָיו as synonymous with מֵעֶיךָ,[1] and meaning entrails, *i.e.* the creatures filling the interior of the sea; but the backward reference of the suffix to הַיָּם, 18*b*, is less probable than to חוֹל; especially since such a metaphorical use of *viscera* has no proof, and since elsewhere the fem. plur. (like קְרָנוֹת, כְּנָפוֹת) denotes what is artificial in distinction from what is natural. מְעוֹתָיו are the grains of sand (LXX, Jerome, Targum); this is confirmed by the fact that מְעָא (in modern Hebrew מָעָה, *numulus*) is the Targum

[1] The absolute form, not occurring in the Old Testament, fluctuates between מָעִים and מֵעִים; see Barth in *DMZ.* xlii. 345.

word for גֵּרָה (*granum*, akin to גַּרְגַּר); there is no other word for grain of sand. Israel remains a people even in its apostasy, but rooted up and abolished "from the face," *i.e.* from before the gracious countenance of God, who no longer acknowledges it as His people.

So far the discourse is hortatory. It demands faith and fidelity in view of the approaching redemption. But in the certainty that such a believing, faithful people will not be wanting within Israel, the prophecy of redemption clothes itself in the form of a summons, vers. 20–22: "*Go ye out of Babylon, flee ye from Chaldea with shouts of joy; declare, proclaim this, carry it to the end of the earth! Say ye: 'Jehovah has redeemed Jacob his Servant. And they thirsted not, he led them through dry places, he made water flow from the rock for them; he clave the rock, and waters gushed forth.' There is no peace, saith Jehovah, for the wicked.*" They are to go forth from Babylon, and quickly and joyously leave the land of bondage and idolatry far behind them; בָּרַח here means not properly to flee, but merely to depart with the speed of flight (cf. Ex. xiv. 5). And what Jehovah did for them they are to proclaim to the whole earth; the redemption experienced by Israel is to be the gospel for all mankind. The tidings to be carried forth (הוֹצִיא, as in xlii. 1) reaches from גָּאַל to the second recurring מָיִם. This it is which Israel, so far as it remains true to its God, will experience and proclaim. But there is no peace, says Jehovah, for the wicked. The ungodly in Israel are meant. The utterance says in negative form the same that is said positively in "Peace upon the Israel of God," Gal. vi. 16. "Peace" is the broadest, deepest definition of the future salvation. From this the ungodly exclude themselves; they have no part in the future inheritance; the Sabbath rest reserved for God's people belongs not to them. With this divine oracle, penetrating the conscience like the point of an arrow, concludes, not merely this ninth discourse, not merely the trilogy of Babylon (chaps. xlvi.–xlix.), but the entire First Part of these 3 × 9 discourses to the exiles. From this point the name "Cyrus," and also the name "Babylon," occur no more; the relation of the people of Jehovah to heathenism and the redemption from Babylon, so far as—foretold and

carried out by Jehovah—it proves His sole Godhead, and is the overthrow of the idols and the destruction of idolators,—this theme is now done with, and appears no more in the foreground. The phrase, "Listen, ye isles," compared with "Comfort ye my people," already intimates the different character of the second section now opening.

First Discourse of the Second Part, Chap. XLIX.

Self-attestation of the Servant of Jehovah: Zion's faint-heartedness reproved.

The very same person whom Jehovah introduced in xlii. 1 ff., and into whose address that of Jehovah changed even so early as in xlviii. 16, here begins to speak in vers. 1–3: "*Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye distant nations: Jehovah hath called me from the womb, from my mother's bosom hath he thought of my name. And he made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of his hand hath he hidden me, and he made me a polished arrow; in his quiver hath he concealed me. And he said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I glorify myself.*" Though the speaker in the latter part of ver. 3 is called "Israel," yet he is neither to be regarded as a collective person representing the whole of Israel, nor as one representing the kernel of Israel,—not the former, because in ver. 5 he is expressly distinguished from the people, whose restorer (see ver. 5) and covenant-mediator (see ver. 8, xlii. 6) he is immediately to become; nor the latter, because the people, whose restoration (according to ver. 5) he accomplishes, themselves form the whole body of the "servants of Jehovah," or the remnant of Israel (see *e.g.* lxv. 8–16). Nor again is he both of these together, because what he says of himself, especially the fact that he speaks of the bosom of his mother, is so individual in its character, that it cannot possibly admit of being understood collectively: wherever Israel is spoken of in the same way we read merely מִבֶּטֶן (xliv. 2, 24, xlvi. 3, along with מִנִּי־רָחַם, xlviii. 8), but without mention of the mother, which (except in such allegorical connections as are found in li. 1, 2; Ezek. xvi. 3) is inapplicable to the people collectively.

Is it then possibly the prophet who is here speaking of himself, and does this, in the latter part of ver. 1, with reference to his own mother? (cf. אִמִּי in Jer. xv. 10, xx. 14, 17). This is impossible, for what the speaker here declares of himself, in xlix. 1 ff., is of so unique and glorious a character that it far transcends the limitations and actual performance possible for an Isaiah, or any one of kindred spirit. We shall thus have to recognise the fact that the idea of the "servant of Jehovah," which is here, as in xlii. 1 ff., conceived as constantly changing from a narrower to a wider sense, becomes applied to a person, through limitation of the meaning. When the expression is applied in the fullest extent of its meaning, "the Servant of Jehovah" signifies all Israel; when it is confined to its inner and narrower sense, it signfies the true people of Jehovah who are included within the entire nation, like the kernel within the husk (see the definition of this in li. 7, lxv. 10; Ps. xxiv. 6, lxxiii. 15); here, however, the idea is restricted to its central thought, and the expression becomes the ideal representation of an individual. As Cyrus is the world-power in personal form, made subservient to the people of God; so the Servant of Jehovah, who speaks here, is Israel in personal form, *i.e.* he in whom the vocation of Israel as the saviour of humanity—Israel itself included—is perfected; he is the very same who, in xlviii. 16*b*, represented himself as the messenger of Jehovah who had now appeared; and throughout these discourses the dawn of salvation, not merely for Israel, but for all men, is viewed in connection with the close of the Exile, and is ever associated with the restoration of the people now in exile. Just as, in chaps. vii.–xi., Isaiah sees the son of the virgin grow up at the time of the Assyrian oppressions, and his kingdom rising on the ruins of the Assyrian, so the prophet here sees the Servant of Jehovah as one born in exile—the punishment sent on his people—coming forth towards the close of the Exile, in order to accomplish the restoration of Israel. Now, when he comes forward without further introduction, speaking in his own name,—a unique piece of dramatic composition, not approached even by Ps. ii.,—there already lies behind him the beginning of his work which aims at the salvation of mankind. His summons is addressed to the "isles," which

have already been pretty frequently mentioned, when the evangelization of the heathen formed the subject of this course (xlii. 4, x. 12; cf. xxiv. 15), and the "nations afar off," *i.e.* the distant nations (as in v. 26; cf. on the other hand, Jer. xxiii. 23). They are to hear what he says, yet not merely what he says in the words immediately following, but what he says generally. What follows is rather a justification of his right to claim a hearing and obedience, than the address itself, which is to be received with believing obedience; both, however, are most intimately associated. Jehovah has called him "from the womb," has thought of his name from the bowels (מֵעַי, as in Ps. lxxi. 6) of his mother, *i.e.* even before he was born; even in his mother's womb has Jehovah assigned to him his calling, viz. his vocation as a saviour, and has solemnly given him his name referring to this vocation. Here we are reminded of Jer. i. 5; Luke i. 41; Gal. i. 15, but especially the name "Immanuel," which is given beforehand to the Coming One (vii. 14), and the name "Jesus," which God appointed beforehand through the mouth of an angel (Matt. i. 20–23). The great Coming One, though set before us in the Old Testament as one to be expected "from the seed of David," is nevertheless, wherever mention is made of his entrance into the world, spoken of as "made of a woman," nothing being said of a temporal father. In the Protevangelium he is called the "seed of the woman," though not yet in an individual sense; Isaiah, in the time of Ahaz, speaks of his mother as הָעַלְמָה (vii. 14); Micah (v. 2) speaks of his יוֹלֵדָה. The typical Psalms also (such as xxii. 10 f.) give prominence to the mother.

The speaker now says further, in ver. 2, that Jehovah has made his mouth "like a sharp sword,"—namely, that he may, with the word of his mouth, as with a sharp sword, overcome whatever opposes him, and separate those who are leagued together to destroy (xi. 4; Rev. i. 16; Heb. iv. 12); that He has made him a "polished arrow" (חֵץ בָּרוּר, not βέλος ἐκλεκτόν, as LXX rendered by the LXX, but more in accordance with the nature of an arrow, as in Jer. li. 11, cleaned, polished, sharpened, pointed),—namely, in order to pierce the hearts, and to inflict on them the most salutary wounds; and that—just as sword and arrow are kept in scabbard and

quiver for the time when one wishes to use them—He has hidden him under the shadow of His almighty hand, and kept him concealed in the quiver of His counsel of love, in order that He may, in the fulness of time, draw out this sword of His, and lay this arrow of His upon the bow. It is scarcely necessary to ask, in the form of a dilemma, whether the reference here is to the true preceding the foreseen period of his appearing, or to eternity: the prophecy, however, in this case traces back the existence of him who has now appeared merely to the furthest point of his entrance on the scene of history. Ver. 3 declares, in plain and literal language, what Jehovah has made him: He has said to him (cf. Ps. ii. 7*b*), "Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom (cf. xliv. 23) I glorify myself." The name "Israel" was at the very first the divinely-bestowed name of an individual. Just as the name Israel was first of all given to a man, and not till afterwards to a people, so, besides the personal reference in its origin, it has also a personal reference in its highest application. The servant of Jehovah is the kernel of the kernel of Israel, Israel's inmost centre, Israel's highest head. He it is in whom (*i.e.* on whom and through whom) Jehovah glorifies Himself, by carrying out through him the counsel of love which is the self-glorification of His holy love.

In ver. 4, the speaker opposes the words of divine vocation and promise with a complaint, which, however, immediately disappears: "*And I,—I said, 'In vain have I toiled; on emptiness and vanity have I wasted my strength;' nevertheless my right is with Jehovah, and my reward with my God.*" The ו of וַאֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי introduces the contrast which seemed to exist between the fruitlessness of his work and the call addressed to him: אָכֵן, however, denies the conclusion which might be drawn from it against the reality and truth of his vocation. The relation between the clauses is precisely the same as in Ps. xxxi. 23; Jonah ii. 5 (where we find אַךְ, which is more rarely used in this adversative sense); cf. also Ps. xxx. 7 ("but I said") and the psalm of Hezekiah in chap. xxxviii. 10, with the contrast in xxxviii. 15.[1] In the midst

[1] The pointing וְהֶבֶל for וָהֶבֶל, in spite of the disjunctive accent (*Tifcha*), has no perceptible reason: it is contrary to the rule. See our remarks on Ps. lv. 10.

of his active pursuit of his vocation, when no results of his efforts were to be seen, there came over him the thought that his work was fruitless; but this beclouding of his rejoicing in his calling disappeared in the confident assurance that his מִשְׁפָּט (*i.e.* his good right, in opposition to all contradiction and opposition) and his פְּעֻלָּה (*i.e.* the result and point of the work which was apparently vain) are with Jehovah, who reserves them for the time when He will vindicate His servant's right and crown his work with success. We must not here allow ourselves to be misled by such parallels as xl. 10, lxii. 11; in the first part of ver. 4, the words are as little spoken collectively as in the second, but in xl. 27 the complaint of Israel as a nation runs differently.

The expression "and now" (וְעַתָּה) evidently points to a new turn in the professional life of him who is speaking here. It is likewise plain that it is the want of success in his work among his own nation which has wrung from him the complaint in the beginning of ver. 4. For the fact that he addresses his summons in xlix. 1 to the world of nations is owing to Jehovah's not merely granting to him, the undaunted one, not merely success in his work on Israel, but also assigning to him a far more extensive mission to all mankind. Vers. 5, 6: "*And now saith Jehovah, who formed me from the womb for a servant to him, to bring back Jacob to him, and that Israel may be gathered to him,—and I have been honoured in the eyes of Jehovah, and my God became my strength — he saith: 'It is but a small thing that thou becomest a servant to me, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to bring back the preserved ones of Israel—I have set thee for a light of the heathen, to become my salvation unto the end of the earth.'*" Both שׁוֹבֵב and הֵשִׁיב unite in themselves the meanings "to bring back" (Jer. l. 19) and "to restore." On the occurrence of לֹא=לוֹ, see the remarks at ix. 2, lxiii. 9, and Job xiii. 15. Jerome here wrongly renders: "and Israel who will not be gathered together" (which is said to declare the rejection of the Jews!); nor can we accept the rendering of Hitzig, "inasmuch as Israel is not swept away," or that of Hofmann, "Israel, who is not swept away." In this passage, which speaks of the restoration of Israel, אָסַף can only signify "gathering," as in xi. 12; לוֹ (which is parallel to אֵלָיו) points

to Jehovah as the author of this gathering, and the one whom it concerns; the transition from the infinitive signifying purpose, into the finite verb, is like what is found in xiii. 9, xiv. 25. The attributive clause attached to "Jehovah" expresses the lofty destiny of the servant in relation to Israel. The inserted clause, "I am honoured in the eyes of Jehovah, and my God hath become my strength," already looks onward to the still higher destiny by which the former lofty one is surpassed. On account of this parenthetically inserted praise to Jehovah, the אָמַר is resumed in the form וַיֹּאמֶר. Instead of simply נָקֵל הֱיוֹתְךָ (cf. 1 Kings xvi. 31), *i.e.* "is it a small thing that thou shouldest be?" there is here added, as in Ezek. viii. 17, the comparative מִן, which is not to be logically pressed, however: "it is less than that," *i.e.* "it is too little that thou shouldest be." The נְצִירֵי (*Qeri* נְצוּרֵי) of Israel are those who have been preserved in the Exile (Ezek. vi. 12). Not merely is the restoration of those who survive the time of judgment the work of the servant of Jehovah, but Jehovah has appointed him to something still higher: He has set him for the light to the heathen ("a light to lighten the Gentiles," Luke ii. 32), to become His salvation to the end of the earth (LXX, *τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς*). Those who think that the speaker here is Israel, viewed as a nation, forsake this most natural and obvious meaning of the words, and explain them as signifying "in order that my salvation may be (*i.e.* reach, penetrate) to the end of the earth." But inasmuch as the servant of Jehovah is the light of the world, and by this very fact also the salvation of the world, both of these come through Jehovah, whose salvation, accomplished in accordance with His counsel, attains historical realization and actual manifestation in the servant.

His present condition, however, is one of deepest humiliation, ver. 7: "*Thus saith Jehovah, the Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One, to him of contemptible soul, to the abomination of the people, to the servant of tyrants; kings shall see and arise,—princes, and shall bow down for the sake of Jehovah, who is faithful, the Holy One of Israel, that he hath chosen thee.*" As בְּזֹה (with changeable *Qamez:* see our remarks on חָמוֹץ in i. 17) has not a properly passive meaning (=בָּזוּי, Ps. xxii. 7), but

signifies a state or condition, בְּזֹה־נֶפֶשׁ designates one who is contemptible as regards his soul, held in contempt, *i.e.* one who is not considered as worthy to live (Hofmann and Bredenkamp). Here נֶפֶשׁ is the objective genitive; גּוֹי, joined with מְתָעֵב,[1] would also be an objective genitive if תִּעֵב were meant to be taken causatively ("one who makes the people feel abhorrence"); but, according to Ezek. xvi. 25, the meaning would be "one who makes the people to be abhorred" (*i.e.* an object of abhorrence),—which would be nonsense here. It is better to take מְתָעֵב (unless we prefer to read מְתֹעָב with Cheyne) as a substantive, like מְכַסֶּה in xxiii. 18 "[something] covering," *i.e.* a cover: all such participial nouns from the *Piël* (see Ewald, § 160*e*) signify the thing, place, or instrument affecting what the *Piël* declares. We need not inquire whether גּוֹי means Israel or the Gentile nations: it signifies the mass of the people, like עַם in Ps. lxii. 9, and in those passages in which our prophet applies the word to the human race in general. The מֹשְׁלִים, however, whose servant (*i.e.* enslaved one) the person here addressed is called, are obviously heathen tyrants. What is here stated of the one "servant of Jehovah" applies also to his people, and especially to that portion of the people which remained faithful to their calling and confession; all the shame and persecution which the faithful ones have to endure from their worldly superiors and from the ungodly among their own fellow-countrymen (see, for instance, lxvi. 5), are discharged like a pent-up storm upon him as an individual. But when kings and princes shall see him, formerly so humbled, freed from his humiliation and raised to the glorious height of the work to which he is called, then will they reverently arise from their thrones, and adoringly cast themselves on the ground for the sake of Jehovah, as one who (אֲשֶׁר, being emphatic, *utpote qui*) is faithful, by keeping true to His promises, for the sake of the Holy One of Israel (here לְמַעַן is to be supplied, as in xlviii. 9) that, as has now become evident, "He hath chosen thee:" the consecutive imperfect carries the general motive into detail.

Vers. 8, 9*a* declare (though only with reference to Israel, the immediate sphere of operation) what is the glorious height

[1] This word has Mahpach with Metheg; see on xl. 7.

of the calling to which Jehovah, in accordance with His promise, has raised His chosen one: "*Thus saith Jehovah: In a time of favour have I heard and answered thee, and in the day of salvation have I helped thee; and I preserved thee, and set thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the land, to apportion waste heritages again; Saying to prisoners, Go forth; to those in the darkness, Come to the light.*" Jehovah has heard and answered His servant, and has come to meet him with help when he prayed to Him out of the state of worldly servitude which he shared with his people; He has done this at the moment of time—foreseen and now arrived—when His good pleasure was actively displayed, and His salvation was realized. The imperfects which follow are meant to be taken contemporaneously with the past events mentioned (*i.e.* with a glance back from the standpoint of the transition from humiliation into exaltation), as in xlii. 6 (*q.v.*). That Jehovah makes His servant "a covenant of the nation" (*i.e.* the personal bond of connection uniting Israel and their God in a new fellowship) was the purpose of preservation in the past, and hearing and help in the present. The infinitives with לְ show the modes in which the new covenant relationship will be manifested. That the country which has fallen into decay rises again, and that the waste heritages anew become the property of their former owners who inherited them—these proofs that the covenant-grace is anew applied to the people will be given through the instrumentality of the servant of Jehovah: the meaning is correctly rendered by the LXX, *τοῦ καταστῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ κληρονομῆσαι κληρονομίας ἐρήμους λέγοντα*; and לֵאמֹר ("saying") is subordinated to both infinitives. The prisoners in the darkness of the prison and distress are the exiles (xlii. 22), to whom the powerful word of Jehovah's servant brings the light of liberty; the redemption is here also viewed again in connection with the close of the Exile, and, in conformity with the character of the Old Testament, it is represented as pre-eminently national.

The person of Jehovah's servant now recedes further into the background, and the prophecy goes on to depict the return of the redeemed, vers. 9*b*–12: "*On ways shall they feed, and on all bare hills there is pasture for them. They shall not*

hunger, neither shall they thirst, neither shall mirage nor sun blind them; for he that hath pity on them shall lead them, and by bubbling springs of water shall he guide them. And I make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted. Behold these, from a distance they come; and behold these, from north and from west, and these from the land of the Sinese." The nation returning home is represented as a flock. On the roads along which they march to their home, they find pasture without being obliged to leave the main road in order to satisfy their hunger, and even on bare and sandy hills (xli. 18) pasture for them is to be found. They want for nothing. Neither sharab nor sun endangers them (יַכֵּם—regarding which, cf. Ps. cxxi. 6—is a zeugmatic predicate to שָׁרָב also); neither does the former deceive them and lead them astray, nor the latter oppress them and make them faint; for He whose compassion has been touched by their long pining in misery (xli. 17–20) leads them and guides them gently (יְנַהֵל being used in the same way as Petrarch says of the shepherd, "Move la schiêra sua soavemente") by bubbling springs of real and refreshing water. Jehovah makes all mountains a way for the returning ones, and the paths of the desert are raised as if into artificially formed highways (regarding יְרֻמוּן, see Gesen. § 47, note 4). "*My* mountains," "*my* ways" (used differently in xiv. 25) are emphatic, for they are His creation, which He is also able to transform, and now actually transforms for the best interests of His people, who are returning out of all regions of the world to the land of their forefathers. יָם is the west; there is no warrant here, as in Ps. cvii. 3, for altering וּמִיָּם into וּמִיָּמִין; hence מֵרָחוֹק is either the south (cf. xliii. 6) or the east, according as אֶרֶץ סִינִים is taken as the east or the south country. The Phenician סִינִים (Gen. x. 17), the inhabitants of *Sîn* (see Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 282,—a fortified place near Arca, which has now disappeared,—are not to be thought of here, for the simple reason that this Sîn is too near, and, moreover, lies west of Babylon and north of Jerusalem; the סִין again, which is the Egyptian Pelusium (Ewald), has no name of a nation or a country derived from it. Egli (in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, vi. 400 ff.) sees in סינים the Kurdish tribe *Sin*, of the Turkish calendar of state; while

Hitzig (in his *Sprache und Sprachen Assyriens*, p. 25) identifies them with the Sivnikh, west of the Araxes; but instead of such obscure names we expect that by ארץ סינים is intended an eastern country of considerable importance. Even so early an expositor as Arias Montanus surmised that the Chinese (Arab. صين) were meant; and after the elucidations of Gesenius in his Commentary and his Thesaurus, most expositors, as well as Langlès (in his *Recherches asiatiques*), Movers (in his *Phoenicians*), Lassen (in his *Indian Archaeology*, i. 1028 f.), and Victor von Strauss und Torney, in the Excursus to the third edition of this Commentary, have decided in favour of this view, the origin of the name, however, being accounted for sometimes in one way and sometimes in another. The reference of the name to the Thsin dynasty is inadmissible, for the separate feudal states were not united under this monarchy till 255 B.C.;[1] rather may one think that reference is made to the feudal state of Tsin.[2] Von Strauss is of opinion — and Cheyne thinks this plausible—that סינים contains the Chinese word *zîn*, which, however, was probably sounded *ñin* in the ancient language; and certainly there are examples, both ancient and modern (such as the Egyptian *rutu, lutu*), of nations calling themselves simply "men" in contrast with foreigners. A new hypothesis has been propounded by Terrien de Lacouperie, who thinks that the סינים are the Schina,[3] who live on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush; and not without show of reason does he appeal to the fact that the ruling races of Afghanistan,

[1] See Von Strauss, p. 689; and cf. Von Richthofen on *China*, i. p. 504 (together with 436–442), and in his treatises on Marine Intercourse with China in ancient times and the Middle Ages (*Verhandl. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1876), and on the silk regions of Central Asia (in the same for 1877).

[2] This is the view of Alfred von Gutschmid (in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxxiv. 207), who says: "The most usual way in which general names for a country or nation originate among other nations is that the latter transfer to the whole the name of the portion which lies nearest them. The most westerly province of China is Tsin, the first and only one touched by the great silk-region; from 897–206 B.C. it was the seat of an independent kingdom, which finally obtained supremacy over China."

[3] In the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for January and September 1887; on this Aryan race, cf. Friedrich Müller, *Allgem. Ethnographie*, 1879, p. 510.

which is bounded on the north by the Hindu-Kush, claim to be of Israelitish descent. It still remains most probable, however, that the סינים are an ancient nation, engaged in agriculture and commerce, and that the name will once more, as that of the Chinese, find a more satisfactory explanation than hitherto. The prophet, especially if one of the Babylonian exiles, may have heard of the distant land in the east under this name, and we need assume nothing more,—not (as Movers and Lassen think) that Sinese visited the market of the world on the Euphrates, but merely that information concerning the strange nation, rich in costly productions of their country, had reached the fore parts of the east through commercial intercourse, and this by sea; nor, again, that there were already, at the time when the prophet lived, actually some of the Chinese scattered among other nations (cf. the remarks on xi. 11), but merely that through the Spirit he foresaw that his nation would be scattered as far as this distant point in the extreme East. And this is what actually has taken place: see my *History of post-Biblical Jewish Poetry* (1836), pp. 58–62; cf. also p. xxi. I have not yet had access to the work of Sionnet, *Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine et sur l'influence, qu'ils ont eue sur la littérature de ce vaste empire, avant l'ère chrétienne;* but see also the Report of the Mission of Inquiry to the Jews in China, in the *Jewish Intelligence*, May 1857, where a facsimile is given of the roll of the Torah in Kai-fong-fu; Alexander Wylie on the Israelites in China, in Summers' *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, vol. i. 1863; and J. Alexander on *The Jews, their Past, Present, and Future*, 1870, pp. 105–117. The immigration was from Persia (cf. עֵילָם in xi. 11),—at the latest, under the Han dynasty, which lasted from 205 B.C. till 220 A.D., and in any case, before the Christian era.

On account of this restoration of the exiles, this mighty work of God, the whole creation is to praise Him, ver. 13: "*Shout for joy, O heavens, and exult, O earth; break forth with joyful shout, ye mountains! for Jehovah hath comforted His people, and hath compassion on His afflicted ones.*" The expression פָּצַח רִנָּה (Gesen. § 117. 3), as also פָּצַח וְרַנֵּן, is (apart from Ps. xcviii. 4) peculiarly Isaian (see xiv. 7, and frequently in chaps. xl.–lxvi.). עֲנִיִּים is the usual name in the Old Testa-

ment for the Church militant: the suffix refers to Jehovah. The perfect is changed here for the imperfect; because the act of consolation works once for all, while the compassion continues. Here again the glorious liberty of the children of God appears as the centre and focus from which the whole world is glorified. The joy of the Israel of God becomes that of the heaven and the earth. With the summons to this joy the first half of this address concludes; for the word וַתֹּאמֶר which follows, and which is not suited for beginning a new discourse, shows that it is merely a resting-point which has been reached.

The prophet, looking back into the period of suffering from the standpoint of deliverance, exclaims from the midst of this train of thought, ver. 14: "*Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the Lord hath forgotten me.*" The time of suffering which forces out this complaint still continues; what follows therefore applies to the Church of the present, *i.e.* of the Exile. Vers. 15, 16: "*Does a woman forget her suckling, so as not to have compassion upon the child of her womb? Even though mothers should forget, yet I will not forget thee. Behold, upon the palms of my hands have I graven thee; thy walls stand before me continually.*" To the complaining Church, which knows that her home is in Zion and Jerusalem, and yet has now been so long torn from that home, Jehovah sets forth His love, which is as inalienable as maternal love,—nay, is far stronger than maternal love. עול (=עָוִיל) signifies the "nourished" one (properly, "supported"), viz. the child which the mother nourishes, *i.e.* suckles; and מִן in מֵרַחֵם is used in precisely the same way as in xxiii. 1, xxiv. 10, xxxiii. 15, etc., being equivalent to ὥστε μή. In meaning, גַּם is equivalent to גַּם־כִּי (see Ewald's *Syntax*, English translation, § 362*b*): "even supposing that these (the mothers) should forget," *i.e.* renounced their love. The picture (not merely, as shown by ver. 16*b*, the name) of Zion has been marked with indelible lines on the inside of Jehovah's hands, in something of the same way as men are accustomed to burn or puncture ornamental figures on the hand, arm, and forehead, and to colour the punctures with alhenna or indigo. There is the picture of Zion, unapproachable by every creature, as near to Him as He is to Himself,

and coming before Him in all the movements of His divine life; there He has the walls of Zion ever present to Him; and though they are broken down for a time here below, they have with Him an eternal ideal existence, which must ever be realized again and again in increasingly glorious forms.

It is this fact of renewed glorification which anew comes up as present to the mind of the prophet. Vers. 17, 18: "*Thy children make haste; those who destroyed thee and laid thee waste go forth from thee. Lift up thine eyes round about and see; all of them gather themselves together, they come to thee. As truly as I live, declareth Jehovah, thou shalt certainly put them all on like jewellery, and thou shalt gird them round thee like a bride.*" The vocalization followed by the LXX, Targum, Jerome, Saadiah, and the original scribe of the Babylonian Codex, is בֹּנַיִךְ,—a reading which is favoured by the contrast drawn; but בָּנַיִךְ is more suitable for vers. 18, 19, and the thought that Zion's children come to build her fallen walls again is the natural result arising from the contrast: her children come, and those who tore down the maternal home and made it a desolate ruin, must depart from the city and the country. Zion is to raise her eyes that have hitherto been cast down, and to look around; for on all sides those whom she deemed lost are coming in dense crowds: לָךְ (cf. לֹא=לוֹ along with אֵלָיו in ver. 5), to her, *i.e.* in order henceforth to belong to her again. Jehovah pledges His life (חַי אָנִי, ζῶν ἐγώ, the last Hebrew word always with pausal Qāmez, which remains even in spite of *Munach*[1]) that a time of glory for Zion and her children is coming: כִּי after an affirmative oath is equivalent to אִם־לֹא in other passages (*e.g.* v. 9). The population which Zion regains will be to her like ornaments (כַּעֲדִי, but Babyl. כָּעֲדִי) which a woman puts on, as the ornamental girdle (קִשֻּׁרִים; see iii. 20) which the bride fastens round her wedding dress.[2]

[1] The case is like those of Mal. i. 6; Ps. cxix. 25: the logical pointing here maintains its ground against the rhythmical and musical accentuation. Except in Isa. xlix. 18, the second word in the formula of swearing, חַי־אָנִי, always has a separative accent.

[2] Lagarde suggests that we should read "כִּכְלוּת, *ut calauticam*," *i.e.* like a headband; but the word is unknown in Hebrew of every period of the language.

Thus will Zion once more appear in splendour with the multitude of her children as with festal adornment. Vers. 19, 20: "*Because thy ruins and thy wastes and thy land full of ruins,—surely now wilt thou be too confined for the inhabitants, and those who swallowed thee are far away. Once more shall thy children, who were formerly torn from thee, say in thine ears: 'The place is too straight for me; give way for me, that I may have room.'*" In place of the three subjects, "thy ruins," etc., comes the comprehensive "thou" contained in תֵּצְרִי (from צָרַר), a new commencement of the sentence being made. כִּי is emphatically repeated in כִּי עַתָּה ("for now," "surely now," or, as we prefer to say, "surely then"), which has essentially the same meaning as in the apodosis following a hypothetical protasis (*e.g.* Gen. xxxi. 42, xliii. 10), except that in such cases the sense is more decidedly affirmative than here, where this meaning is seen to arise from the confirmative. Zion, that has hitherto been lying waste, will now be too confined to contain her inhabitants; those who devoured her are far away, *i.e.* those who seized the country and the cities, and made them uninhabitable. עוֹד is meant to be understood in the same way as in Ps. xlii. 6, and בְאָזְנַיִךְ as in Ps. xliv. 2 (cf. the remarks on v. 9): "once more will it come to this, that the children of whom Zion had hitherto been deprived call to one another,—so that she is a witness with her ears of what has been clearly perceived, 'The space is too narrow for me; step back (גְּשָׁה from נָגַשׁ, to approach, then to move generally, and also to move away, move off, Gen. xix. 9) for me, in order that I may be able to settle down.'"

The words which sound in the ears of Zion are now followed by the thought of surprise and astonishment that now rises in her own heart. Ver. 21: "*And thou wilt say in thine heart, 'Who hath born me these, seeing that I was bereaved of children and barren, banished and driven away? And these,—who hath brought them up? Behold, I was left alone; these,—where were they?'*" She sees herself suddenly surrounded by a great multitude of children, and yet she had been robbed of her children, and גַּלְמוּדָה (properly "hard," "strong," Arab. *ǵalmad*, *ǵulmûd*, mostly substantive,—a stone, rock; from גָּלַם), *i.e.* such an one as seemed utterly incapable of bearing children any more. Hence she asks, Who hath born me

these (not, Who hath begotten, which is an absurd question)? She cannot believe that they are the children of her body, and her children's children. As the tree whose foliage has faded away is itself called נֹבֶלֶת (i. 30), so does she call herself גֹּלָה וְסוּרָה, because her children have been forcibly carried off into banishment. The passive participle of the intransitive verb סוּר signifies to be gone aside (far away), as in Jer. xvii. 10; cf. נוּס, "fled," Num. xxxv. 32; סוּג, "turned aside," Prov. xiv. 14; שׁוּב, "returned," Micah ii. 8. In the second question there has, as it were, dawned upon her the thought that those by whom she sees herself now surrounded are her own children; but as she was left alone while they went away, and this too, as she thought, to die in a foreign land, she cannot comprehend where they have hitherto been concealed and grown up into so numerous a people.

The prophecy now takes a step backwards, and describes the way in which the children of Zion reached their home. Ver. 22: "*Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, 'Behold, I lift up my hand to nations, and to peoples I raise my banner; and they bring thy sons in their bosom; and thy daughters,—upon shoulders are they carried.'*" The setting up of a banner (v. 26, xi. 12, xviii. 5; cf. lxii. 10), as well as the waving of the hand (xiii. 2), is a favourite figure in the Book of Isaiah. The nations understand and carry out His instructions, and bring the sons and daughters of Zion; and this they do as a nursing father or attendant (אֹמֵן, παιδαγωγός) carries a little child before him on his breast (חֹצֶן, as in Neh. v. 13; Arab. as in Ps. cxxix. 7, حِضْن from حَضَنَ; cf. Num. xi. 12), *i.e.* on his arm, so that the child lies on his shoulder (עַל־כָּתֵף; cf. עַל־צַד, lx. 4, lxvi. 12).

Such is the affectionate assistance received by the Church which is again assembling upon its native soil, and after it has reassembled, kings and their princely consorts revisit it most zealously. Ver. 23: "*And kings shall be thy nursing-fathers and princesses thy nurses; with their face to the earth do they bow down to thee, and the dust of thy feet do they lick, and thou shalt know that I am Jehovah, whose hoping ones shall not be put to shame.*" As guardians devote all their strength and care to those committed to their keeping, and as nurses

nourish the children from the marrow of their own life, so do kings become the protectors of Zion, and princesses those who further her growth. What is true in the view that princes are the *summi episcopi* of the Church becomes realized, and the unrighteous assumption of princely territorialism condemns itself; they pay homage to the Church, they kiss the ground upon which she stands and walks. As shown in xlv. 14, this adoration is directed to the God who is present in the Church, and directs the Church away from all vain conceit of her own merit to Jehovah (וְיָדַעַתְּ, like יָגַעַתְּ in xlvii. 15), the God of salvation *cui qui confidunt non pudefient* (אֲשֶׁר being here combined with the first person, and made into a relative, as in xli. 8; Ex. xx. 2; Job ix. 15, etc.). The state will not then be swallowed up by the Church,—an event which will never occur in this world, and is not meant to occur,—but there is realized, even in this life, a prelude of the perfected kingdom of God, by the state becoming serviceable to the Church.

There follows now a doubting question, prompted by a weak faith. Ver. 24: "*Can booty be actually wrested from a hero, or will the captive crowd of righteous ones escape?*" The question is logically one, and only divided into two for rhetorical reasons. The hero, or gigantically strong one, is the Chaldean (li. 12, 13, lii. 5). Ewald, Knobel, and Bredenkamp follow the Syriac and Jerome in reading עָרִיץ instead of צַדִּיק in the latter part of ver. 24, on account of the parallelism; but this is unnecessary. The exiles are called שְׁבִי צַדִּיק (a genitival combination, not adjectival), not as the prisoners who have been wrested from the righteous ones, or the Church of the righteous, as Meier thinks, making צַדִּיק an objective genitive, like הֶעָנִי in iii. 14; still less as prisoners carried off by the righteous one, *i.e.* the Chaldean (Hendewerk's opinion), for the Chaldean, even as the accomplisher of judgment, is not צַדִּיק, but רָשָׁע (Hab. i. 13); but rather as the host of prisoners consisting of righteous ones, צַדִּיק being an exegetical genitive (as in the expression זֶרַע מְרֵעִים, "a seed of evil-doers," i. 4).

The divine answer follows in vers. 25, 26: "*Verily, thus saith Jehovah, Even the captive host of a giant hero are wrested from him, and the booty of a tyrant escapes; and on him that*

warreth with thee will I make war, and thy children will I save. And I will feed thy tormentors with their own flesh, and as with new wine shall they be drunk with their own blood, and all flesh perceives that I [*am*] *Jehovah thy Saviour, and that thy Redeemer* [*is*] *the Mighty One of Jacob.*" Rosenmüller thus correctly explains the כִּי: "that which is scarcely credible shall assuredly take place, for thus hath Jehovah spoken;" and also the גַּם: "even though that seems quite incredible, nevertheless I will perform it." The גִּבּוֹר and עָרִיץ are, in the latter part of ver. 25, with direct reference to Zion, called יְרִיבֵךְ ("him that contends with thee"), a noun formed from the verb רִיב, like יָרֵב (which possibly means "king 'fighting-cock'"), Hos. v. 13, x. 6. The אֵת joined with אָרִיב is either the preposition ("with"), as in Jer. ii. 9 (cf. Hos. iv. 1), or the sign of the accusative, as in Deut. xxxiii. 8; Job x. 2; Isa. xxvii. 8; as in Ps. xxxv. 1, the latter alternative is to be preferred here, where the Almighty speaks. The self-laceration threatened against the Chaldean empire reminds one of ix. 19, 20; Zech. xi. 9; and rouses the same feeling of horror as is evoked by Num. xxiii. 24; Zech. ix. 15. All this must necessarily be subservient to that salvation and redemption which form the grand aim of Jehovah throughout the course of the world's history, the irresistible work of the Mighty One of Jacob (אֲבִיר יַעֲקֹב, as in Gen. xlix. 24; cf. i. 24 above). With the opening of chap. l. begins a new chain of ideas.

Second Discourse of the Second Part, Chap. L.

Israel's self-rejection, and the stedfast adherence of the servant of Jehovah to his vocation.

The address is now no longer directed to Zion, but to her children. Ver. 1: "*Thus saith Jehovah, 'Where is your mother's bill of divorce with which I divorced her? Or where is one of my creditors to whom I sold you? Behold, for your iniquities have you been sold, and for your transgressions has your mother been divorced.'*" It is not He who has broken up His relation to Zion, for the mother of Israel, whom Jehovah betrothed to Himself, can point to no bill of divorce with which (אֲשֶׁר not being here used as in lv. 11) Jehovah had dis-

missed her, and thereby (according to Deut. xxiv. 1–4) for ever renounced all right to take her again, in case she may have in the meantime become another's. Moreover, He has not, yielding to external compulsion, given up Israel to a foreign power; for where could be found that one of His creditors—there are none at all—to whom He would have been obliged to surrender His sons, because unable to pay His debts, in order that He might thereby make payment—a harsh procedure often followed (see Ex. xxi. 7; 2 Kings iv. 1; Matt. xviii. 25) by strict creditors towards insolvent debtors? Regarding נֹשֶׁה ("a creditor"), see the remarks on xxiv. 2. Now, the present state of the nation was certainly this, that they had been sold and sent away; but this condition of things was not the work of lordly caprice, or the consequence of force on the part of Jehovah; it is Israel itself that has interrupted its relation to Jehovah; they have been sold through their own offences, and "because of your transgressions has your mother been divorced." Instead of בְּפִשְׁעֶיהָ ("through her transgressions") the expression used is בְּפִשְׁעֵיכֶם ("through your transgressions"); this might be because the Church, though on the one hand standing higher and being older than her children (*i.e.* her members at any one time), is nevertheless morally responsible for those who are born of her, trained by her, and recognised by her as her own.

But the great sin, which has continued from the time before the exile to the present, is disobedience to the word of God. This sin has brought upon Zion and her children the judgment of banishment, and has also been lengthening the duration of this punishment. Vers. 2, 3: "*Why did I come, and there was no one there? Why did I call, and there was no one who answered? Is it possible that my hand is too short to redeem, or is there no power in me to deliver? Behold, through my threatening I dry up the sea; I turn rivers into a plain: their fish putrefy because there is no water, and die for thirst. I clothe the heavens with mourning, and make sackcloth their covering.*" Jehovah has come, and with what? From the fact of His bidding them consider, it follows that His hand is not too short, and therefore too weak, to deliver Israel and set them at liberty, that He is the Almighty who by His mere threat (Ps. cvi. 9, civ. 7) can dry up the sea and turn streams

into firm and dry ground, so that the fish become putrid through want of water (Ex. vii. 18, etc.), and die from thirst (תִּבְאַשׁ is the voluntative form, used in accordance with poetic license for the indicative, as in xii. 1); who can clothe the heavens in mourning (קַדְרוּת, from signifying the turbidity of water that has been stirred, being applied to the darkness or dirtiness of colour in mourning garments) and make sackcloth their (dull, dusky, dark grey) covering (cf. xxxvii. 1, 2 on the expression); who therefore (*fiat applicatio*) can dissolve and destroy the girdle of waters behind which Babylon thinks herself concealed (see on xlii. 15, xliv. 77), and can cover the empire, which now enslaves and vexes Israel, with a sunless and starless night (xiii. 10) of ruin: cf. the figure of grass and flowers, etc., in xl. 6–8. From this witness of Jehovah to Himself we see that it is the gospel of redemption from sin and punishment with which He has come; but Israel has given no answer, *i.e.* has not believingly received this message of salvation,—for faith is assent to the word of God. And in whom did Jehovah come? Knobel and most expositors reply, "in His prophets." This answer, however, though not incorrect (cf. lxv. 12, lxvi. 4 with Jer. vii. 13, 27, xxxv. 17; Zech. vii. 7–11), is not full enough to show the connection between the preceding and the succeeding portions of the discourse. For it is one person who speaks throughout, and who is it but the servant of Jehovah, who is also introduced in other parts of these discourses as speaking with dramatic directness in his own name? Hence we say, Jehovah has come to His people in His servant. We know who, in actual historical fulfilment, this Servant of Jehovah was; it is He whom the New Testament also, especially in the Book of Acts (iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30), calls *τὸν παῖδα τοῦ κυρίου*. It was not indeed during the Babylonian Exile that this Servant of Jehovah appeared with the gospel of redemption for Israel; but the human element in these discourses is precisely this, that they view the advent of the servant of Jehovah, the saviour of Israel and of the heathen, in connection with the close of the captivity. But, that in these discourses the divine element is not destroyed by the human, we have already shown in our remarks on xlix. 1–3.

He in whom Jehovah came to His people and announced

to them, amidst their self-caused misery, the way and work of salvation, is the same who speaks in ver. 4: "*The Lord, Jehovah, hath given to me a disciple's tongue, that I may know how to set up an wearied one with words; he wakeneth every morning, wakeneth my ear to hear like the disciples.*" The word לִמּוּדִים, which (as in viii. 16, liv. 13) is the older word used instead of the later תַּלְמִידִים, μαθηταί, is repeated palindromically at the end of the verse, and the order of thoughts, "He wakeneth morning by morning, wakeneth for me the ear," reminds us of the progressive parallelism (*e.g.* in Ps. xcvi. 7), and especially the scale of thoughts presented in the "psalms of degrees." The servant of Jehovah here affords us a deep insight into His hidden life. The prophets receive revelations chiefly through the night, either in a dream or (like Zechariah) in ecstatic visions; here, however, the servant of Jehovah receives the divine revelations neither in dream (בַּחֲלוֹם) nor in vision (בַּמַּרְאָה), but as the antitype of Moses (Num. xii. 6–8), and thus also in this respect as a prophet like him (Deut. xviii. 15–19), are fully awake with the clearest consciousness: "every morning" (בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר, as in xxviii. 19), therefore, after waking from his sleep, which is a direct merging of conscious life in God, without the intervention of the world of images constituting involuntary dream-life—Jehovah draws near to him, awakens his ear (Cheyne takes this to be the inner ear, as in xlviii. 8), by giving him a sign that he may listen, and then takes him, as it were, into the school like a pupil, and teaches him what and how he is to preach. But nothing so clearly betokens a tongue befitting the disciples of God as the gift of consolation, and such a tongue has he who is the speaker here: "to aid with words him who is exhausted" (through the pain of suffering and mortification of spirit); אֵת is here prefixed to an undetermined noun (as in Ezek. xxi. 28; Prov. xiii. 21; Job xiii. 25). עוּת is equivalent to غاث, "to help" (whence comes غَوْث, "assistance," and also correctly, one who is a "help" to another): Aquila renders it by ὑποστηρίσαι, and Jerome by *sustentare:* we must not here think of غاث (*med. ye*), to "rain upon," "water," as is done by Rückert, Ewald, Umbreit, Knobel; but still less is עוּת to be regarded as a denominative

from עֵת,—the view of Abulwalid and Kimchi, followed by Luther, who translates "to speak with the wearied one at the proper season." דָּבָר, λόγῳ (cf. בִּדְבָר in xxix. 21), is an accusative of closer specification, like אֲשֶׁר in ver. 1 (cf. xlii. 25, xliii. 23): Jerome here correctly renders, "ut sciam sustentare eum qui lassus est verbo." There is no need for the alteration of לָדַעַת לָעוּת into לרעות, suggested by Cheyne and Klostermann, who point to Prov. x. 21.

His vocation is to save, not to destroy; and for this calling he has Jehovah to mould and guide him, to whom also he has submitted with docile receptivity. Ver. 5: "*The Lord, Jehovah, hath opened mine ear: and I — I was not rebellious, I did not turn back.*" He put him into the condition needful for inwardly perceiving His will, in order to become the mediator of His revelation; and he did not resist this call (מָרָה, signifying to set oneself firmly against any one, ἀντιτείνειν), nor did he shrink from fulfilling the vocation, which, as he well knows, does not bring him earthly honour and advantage, but rather shame and ill-treatment. Ever since he has walked in the path of his calling, so little has he shrunk back in fear from the sufferings attendant on this course, that he has rather willingly taken them upon himself. Ver. 6: "*My back I gave to the smiters, and my cheeks to those who pluck out the hair: my face I hid not from insults and spitting.*" He offered his back to those who smote it, his cheeks to those who pulled out the hair of his beard (מָרַט, as in Neh. xiii. 25); he did not hide his face to cover it from actual insults and spitting (on כְּלִמּוֹת, combined with רֹק, viz. κολαφίζειν, ῥαπίζειν, τύπτειν εἰς τὴν κεφαλήν, combined with ἐμπτύειν, cf. Matt. xxvi. 67, xxvii. 30; John xviii. 22). The path of his calling, therefore, leads through a condition of shame and humiliation. What was typified in Job (see xxx. 10, xvii. 6), what the Davidic psalms of suffering prefigure in a typico-prophetic manner (see xxii. 7, lxix. 8), what a Jeremiah has to utter in complaint (xx. 7 ff., xvii. 14–18), finds in him a perfect antitypical fulfilment.

But no disgrace discourages him; he trusts in Him who has called him, and looks to the end. Ver. 7: "*Nevertheless the Lord Jehovah will help me; therefore I did not let myself be overcome by disgrace; therefore did I make my face like the*

flint, and knew that I would not be put to shame." By means of the ו is annexed the thought which filled his soul amidst all his suffering. In the words לֹא נִכְלָמְתִּי he declares that he did not allow himself to be overcome and overpowered (or more correctly—for כָּלַם, Arab. كلم, signifies to hit, in the sense of *percutere*) within by disgrace: the consciousness of his high calling remained undisturbed; he was not ashamed of it, never became perplexed concerning it. (The two conjunctions "therefore" are co-ordinated.) He made his face "like the flint" (see our commentary on Ps. cxiv. 8), *i.e.* insensible to hostile attacks, like the flint-stone (cf. Ezek. iii. 8 f.). As Stier says, "in holy hardness of endurance" he presented his face to his adversaries without letting himself be influenced or overawed, and was conscious that He whose cause he represented would never forsake him.

Amidst his still continued sufferings he is certain of victory, and feels himself raised above every accusation of man, knowing that Jehovah will acknowledge him, while his adversaries are on the way to that destruction of which they already carry the germs within them. Vers. 8, 9: "*My justifier is near, —who will contend with me? Let us draw near together! Who is my opponent in judgment?—let him draw near to me! Behold, the Lord, Jehovah, will help me,—who is he that could condemn me? Behold, they all shall fall into decay like a garment; the moth shall eat them up.*" הִצְדִּיק and הִרְשִׁיעַ are forensic antitheses: the former signifies to set forth a person judicially and actually as righteous (2 Sam. xv. 4; Ps. lxxxii. 3), the latter as guilty (רָשָׁע, Deut. xxv. 1; Ps. cix. 7). Regarding נַעַמְדָה, which has lost its chief tone (2 Chron. xx. 9) on account of the following יָּחַד, see the footnote on xl. 18. בַּעַל מִשְׁפָּטִי denotes "he who has a judicial cause (or lawsuit) against me," just as in Roman law the *dominus litis* is distinguished from the *procurator, i.e.* the person who represents him in the court: synonymous expressions are בַּעַל דְּבָרִים, Ex. lxxiv. 14; and אִישׁ רִיבִי, Job. xxxi. 35; cf. xli. 11 above. In מִי־הוּא the two pronouns are intimately associated, and form an intensified interrogative τίς (Rom. viii. 34: see Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, English translation, § 325*a*). כֻּלָּם, "all of them," refers to all those who are hostile to him: they fall into decay like a worn-out garment, and become the food

of the moth which they already carry within them,—a figure of destroying power which works imperceptibly and slowly, yet all the more surely (li. 8; cf. Job xiii. 28; Hos. v. 12).

Up to this point we have the words of the servant. The discourse began with the words of Jehovah (vers. 1–3), and with such words it also closes, as is evident from the expression, "from my hand has this been," 11*b*. The first word of Jehovah is addressed to those who fear Him, and who listen to the voice of His servant. Ver. 10: "*Who among you is fearing Jehovah, listening to the voice of his servant? He that walketh in darkness, and without a ray of light,—let him trust in the name of Jehovah, and stay himself upon his God.*" The question is asked for the purpose of telling to any one who will answer, "I am such an one, or hope to be such an one," what his duty and his privileges are. In the midst of circumstances which afford no prospect of an exit from them (חֲשֵׁכִים indicating local extension,—the plural of חֲשֵׁכָה, which is found in viii. 22,—here the accusative of the object, in a construction like that seen in Job xxix. 3; cf. Deut. i. 19), and which induce a cheerless frame of mind, he is to trust upon the name of Jehovah,—this most firm and certain of all grounds of trust,—and stay himself upon his God, who cannot forsake or deceive him: he is to *believe* (vii. 9, xxviii. 16; Hab. ii. 4) on (ἐπί) God and the word of salvation,—for בָּטַח and נִשְׁעַן indicate that *fiducia* which is the essence of faith.

The second word of Jehovah is directed to those who despise that word which is brought by His servant. Ver. 11: "*Behold, all ye who kindle a fire, who gird yourselves with fiery darts,—away into the glow of your fire, and into the fiery darts ye have kindled! From my hand does this come to you; in sorrow shall ye lie down.*" The fire which they kindle (קָדַח, قدح, *allidere*, to "strike," especially the flint on the steel, hence to "strike fire") is not the fire of divine wrath (Jer. xvii. 4), but the fire of wickedness (ix. 17), especially that hellish fire with which an evil tongue is set on fire (Jas. iii. 6); for the זִיקוֹת (or זְקוֹת, from זֵק=*zinq*, and this from זָנַק, to spring, let fly, *Syr.* to shoot, hurl), *i.e.* missiles, burning arrows (cf. Ps. vii. 14), are symbols of their blasphemies and curses hurled against the servant of Jehovah. There is no need of reading (with Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, and Breden-

kamp) מְאִירֵי (not מְאַוְּרֵי) instead of מְאַזְּרֵי: "they gird on burning arrows," *accingunt malleolos*, is equivalent to saying that they equip or arm themselves (xlv. 5) therewith for the attack. But the destruction which they prepare for the servant of Jehovah becomes their own; they themselves are obliged to go into the burning fire and the fiery darts which they have kindled: the hand of Jehovah brings this about (cf. Mal. i. 9), suddenly reversing the former state of things; the fire of their rage becomes the fire of divine judgment, and this fire becomes their bed of pain. Nägelsbach renders "in torment shall ye lay yourselves down;" but the place in which one lays himself down is indicated by לְ only when a local term follows, as in Job vii. 21; Lam. ii. 21; the לְ has not a local meaning, as Nägelsbach thinks, but marks the state or condition (Ewald, § 217*d*). A dictatorial conclusion is formed by תִּשְׁכָּבוּן, with its accent on the final syllable.

Third Discourse of the Second Part, Chap. LI.

The breaking forth of Salvation, and the turning away of the cup of wrath.

From the despisers of the word, for whom the punishment of fire has been threatened, the prophetic address now returns to those who eagerly long for salvation. Vers. 1–3: "*Listen unto me, ye who pursue righteousness, ye who seek Jehovah: look unto the rock [from which] ye have been hewn, and to the hollow of the pit [from which] ye have been dug. Look unto Abraham your father, and to Sarah who bare you,—that he was one [when] I called him and blessed him and multiplied him. For Jehovah hath comforted Zion; he hath comforted all her waste places, and made her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of Jehovah; delight and joy are found in her, thanksgiving and sounding music.*" The prophetic address is directed to those who strive after the right mode of living and seek Jehovah, who do not turn from Him to make earthly things and themselves the object of their efforts; for only they are able by faith to regard as possible, and in spirit to behold as real, what to human understanding seems impossible, because the very opposite is present to the eye of sense.

They are meditatively to bring before their minds Abraham and Sarah, the types of the salvation which they are to expect. Abraham is the rock from which have been hewn the stones that compose the house of Jacob; and Sarah, with her natural womb, is the hollow of the pit from which Israel has been brought to the light, somewhat in the way in which peat is cut out of a pit, or ore dug out of a mine; the marriage of the two was long unfruitful; it was, as it were, hard stone, גַּלְמוּד (xlix. 21), out of which God raised up children in Abraham and Sarah, for the origin of Israel was a miracle of divine power and grace. In contrast with צוּר, which is masculine, בּוֹר is made a feminine through מַקֶּבֶת, which has been selected with a reference to נְקֵבָה; and in connection with חֻצַּבְתֶּם, we must supply the relatives אֲשֶׁר . . . מִמֶּנּוּ, and with נֻקַּרְתֶּם similarly אֲשֶׁר . . . מִמֶּנָּה. The first part of ver. 2 tells who are the rock and the pit; Abraham your forefather, and Sarah תְּחוֹלֶלְכֶם, she who with labour (*i.e.* amidst the pangs of childbirth) bare you—"you," for the birth of Isaac the son of promise was the birth of the nation with whom was associated the history of redemption. The respect in which Abraham (in comparison with whom Sarah now retires into the background) is to be regarded, is stated in the words *quod unum vocavi eum.* The perfect קְרָאתִיו indicates the one gracious call which removed Abraham out from among the idolaters, and brought him into communion with Jehovah: the imperfects which follow mark the blessing and increase which arose in connection therewith (Gen. xii. 1 f.). He is called אֶחָד (as in Ezek. xxxiii. 24; Mal. ii. 15) as being "one" at the time when he was called, and yet, through the power of the divine blessing, becoming the root of Israel, the people of the promise and of His heritage, the land of promise. This is what those who long for salvation are to remember, strengthening themselves by resting on the past in faith on a future resembling it. The corresponding act of blessing is expressed in preterites (נִחַם, וַיָּשֶׂם); because, to the eye of faith and the prophetic vision, the future has the reality of a present and the certainty of a completed fact. Zion, the mother of Israel (l. 1), the counterpart of Sarah, the ancestress of the nation,—Zion, which is now in sorrow because it lies in waste and ruins,—is comforted by Jehovah: the comforting words of promise

(xl. 1) become to her the comforting act of fulfilment (xlix. 13). Jehovah makes her desolation like Eden (LXX, ὡς παράδεισον), like the garden of Jehovah (Gen. xiii. 10), which was planted by Himself (Gen. ii. 8; Num. xxiv. 6). Nor is this future paradise devoid of human beings; joy and gladness are found (the verb יִמָּצֵא regulating itself in accordance with the former of the two subjects, as in Prov. xxvii. 9, xxix. 15; Job iv. 14) therein; and there is heard the voice of thanksgiving for the wonderful change that has taken place, as well as resounding melody (זִמְרָה, as in Amos v. 23). The land of bliss is thus full of human beings in festive frame and active enjoyment. As Sarah bare Isaac after a long period of barrenness, so Zion, another Sarah, after long desolation is surrounded by a joyful multitude of children.

But the great work of the future stretches far beyond the restoration of Israel, which becomes the source of salvation to the whole world. Vers. 4, 5: "*Listen unto me, O my people, and give ear unto me, O my nation! Because a law shall go forth from me, and for my judgment I prepare a place, to be a light of the nations. My righteousness is near, my salvation has gone forth, and mine arms shall judge nations; unto me is the hopeful expectation of the islands, and for mine arm is their waiting.*" It is Israel that is summoned to listen to the promise introduced by כִּי; only here is לְאוּמִּי applied to Israel, as גּוֹי is employed in Zeph. ii. 9: that the heathen should be here addressed, as was imagined by the Syriac translators, is contrary to the logical sequence of this whole discourse. What is set forth in xlii. 1 ff. as the work to which the servant of Jehovah was called,—viz. to spread abroad justice among the nations, and plant it on the earth,—here appears as the doing of Jehovah, The תּוֹרָה ("law") here meant is that of Zion (ii. 3), as distinguished from that of Sinai,—the gospel of redemption; and מִשְׁפָּט is the new ordering of life, in which Israel and the nations unite. For this, Jehovah prepares a firm standing-place from which is poured out, on all sides, its light to enlighten the nations: הִרְגִּיעַ (as in Jer. xxxi. 2, l. 34) comes from רָגַע in the sense of the *Arab.* رجع, to return, to bring about a return, entrance, rest; it is different in meaning, though not in derivation, from רָגַע in

li. 15. In the first part of ver. 5, צֶדֶק and יֶשַׁע, as throughout these discourses, are synonymous: their meaning is determined by the character of the "law" (תּוֹרָה) which gives the "knowledge of salvation" (Luke i. 77), and therewith the "righteousness of God" (Rom. i. 17; cf. Isa. liii. 10). This righteousness is now upon the point of being revealed; this salvation has begun to be realized. The mass of the nations in the world are ripe for the judgment inflicted by Jehovah's arms, which on the right and left cast down to the ground. Hence, when it is said of the isles, that they hope for Jehovah and wait for His arm, what is meant is the remnant of the heathen nations which longs for salvation and is ready to receive it, which survives the judgment, and actually shares in the salvation (cf. John xi. 52; but see also *e.g.* John iii. 5). To these the saving arm (only the singular was suitable here: cf. *e.g.* Ps. xvi. 11) now brings the salvation towards which, more or less consciously, their longing was directed, and which satisfies their inmost need. In ver. 5, observe the victorious and self-consciously majestic movement of the rhythm, with the effective incidence of the tone in יְיַחֵלוּן.

The people of God are now summoned to look above and below: the old world over their heads and under their feet is destined for destruction. Ver. 6: "*Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens will vanish like smoke, and the earth will fall into decay like a garment, and its inhabitants will die like a nonentity; but my salvation will last for ever, and my righteousness does not go to ruin.*" With כִּי follows the ground of the summons. The heavens will dissolve into atoms, like smoke. נִמְלָחוּ is from מָלַח (the root of which is מל, from which also comes מָלַל; see our comments on Job xiv. 2), which is allied to מָרַח (from the root מר; see on Job xxiii. 2), and means to rub to pieces, break small, rub to shreds. As מְלָחִים signifies rags, the figure of a worn-out garment, which otherwise was ready at hand (l. 9), was also presented through association of ideas. However, כְּמוֹ־כֵן cannot signify "in like manner" (as rendered by LXX, Targ. and Jerome); for if we hold to the figure of a garment falling to rags, the result is an insipid thought; and if the reference is to the fate of the earth in general, the resultant thought is tame. But neither could the old

expositors stumble upon what is now the favourite interpretation, "like gnats" (Hitzig, Meier, Ewald, Knobel, Umbreit, Stier, Hahn, Orelli); for the singular of כִּנִּים as little takes the form כֵּן, as בֵּיץ (an egg) is the singular form of בֵּיצִים; the gnat is called כִּנָּה, as shown by post-Biblical Hebrew.[1] Unless with Cheyne, after Weir's initiative, we are willing to read כנים, the form must be explained as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5; Num. xiii. 33; Job ix. 35; in all these passages כֵּן has no other meaning than *ita, sic;* but as these words pretty frequently get their meaning through the gesture which accompanies their utterance (*e.g.* in the Eunuch of Terence, *cape hoc flabellum et ventulum sic facito*), so must כֵּן always be regarded as uttered like *hujus*, in the comic phrase, *hujus non facio* ("I do not care *that* for it;" see Zumpt's *Grammar*, § 444); cf. the inscription on the tomb of Sardanapalus, as given in Strabo, xiv. 5. 9, "Eat, drink, and play: all else is not worth *so*." Such also, according to his gloss, has been considered the meaning of Luther's rendering, "like *that;*" cf. Rückert's translation, "and its inhabitants,—like *so* do they die;" but the expression "like *so*" is here equivalent to "like nothing." That heaven and earth do not perish without rising again in renovated form, is a thought that naturally suggests itself, and is expressly declared in ver. 16: also lxv. 17, lxvi. 22. Righteousness (צְדָקָה) and salvation (יְשׁוּעָה) are the heavenly powers which throughout the overthrow of the old world attain the supremacy and become the foundations of the new (2 Pet. iii. 13). That the righteousness will endure eternally, and the salvation not be broken (יֵחַת, as in vii. 8, *confringetur*, whereas in ver. 7 the verb means *consternemini*), is a prospect which holds good of the restoration of the new world out of all those elements which survive the catastrophe.

From this grand promise regarding the final triumph of the counsel of God is derived an inspiriting address to the persecuted Church. Vers. 7, 8: "*Listen to me, ye that know*

[1] Moreover, כִּנָּם, in Ex. viii. 13 f., whether it be a collective plural or a singular, proves nothing in favour of כֵּן,—as little as מִדָּה suggests a form מַד in the sense of a "measure:" regarding such flexional forms see our remarks on סֻכֹּה, Ps. xxvii. 5.

righteousness, thou people with my law in their heart; fear not the reproach of mortal men, and be not alarmed for their revilings! For like a garment will the moth consume them, and like a woollen cloth shall the weevil devour them, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my salvation to late generations." The conception of the "servant of Jehovah" is in this address unfolded in its intermediate sense: those who pursue after righteousness, seeking Jehovah (li. 1), and who are thus the servants of Jehovah (lxv. 8 f.), are comprehended into the unity of a "people" (עָם), as in lxv. 10 (cf. x. 24), therefore of the true people of God in the people of His choice, and hence of the kernel in the mass. The exhortation is addressed to those who know by experience regarding righteousness as the gift of grace, and as involving a transaction in conformity with the scheme of salvation as well as in relation to the people who bear in their heart the law of God as the standard and moving principle of their life,—the Church which not merely maintains the law as a letter outside, but keeps it as a living power within (cf. Ps. xl. 9). None of these need fear the abuse and revilings of men; their despisers and revilers are weak mortals (אֱנוֹשׁ; cf. ver. 12; Ps. ix. 20, x. 18), whose fancied omnipotence, grandeur, and perpetuity are an unnatural and impudent lie. The double figure in ver. 8 declares that the smallest expenditure of strength is enough to destroy their seeming greatness and power, and that even long before they succumb to destruction they already carry within them the germ which is unceasingly developing in the direction of that ruin. "The סָס," says a Jewish proverb, "is brother to the עָשׁ:" the latter term (from עָשֵׁשׁ, to fall to pieces; Arab. عثّ, with the transitive sense of eating away) signifies the moth; the former (like the Arab. *sûs sûsa*) means the moth, and also the weevil, or mite (Lat. *curculio*); in Greek we may compare σής and κίς. While the persecutors of the Church succumb to these destructive powers, the righteousness and the salvation of God, on the other hand, abide forever,—even now the ground of trust and object of hope to His Church, but hereafter to be openly and fully manifested for their good,—and "to a generation of generations," *i.e.* to an age which embraces endless ages within itself.

But as such an exhortation for the Church grows out of the grand promises with which the discourse began, so there also springs from it the longing after the promised salvation, combined with assured confidence in its realization. Vers. 9–11: "*Awake, awake! clothe thyself with strength, O arm of Jehovah! Awake, as in the days of yore, the ages of ancient times! Was it not thou who didst hew Rahab in pieces, who pierced through the dragon? Was it not thou who didst dry up the sea, the waters of the great swelling wave,—that didst turn the depths of the sea into a way that the redeemed might pass through? And the ransomed ones of Jehovah shall return and come to Zion with shouting, and everlasting joy upon their head; gladness and joy do they lay hold of, sorrow and sighing flee away.*" Cheyne takes this עוּרִי here and in lii. 1, as well as הִתְעוֹרְרִי in ver. 17, to be the voice of angels, the cry of the watchers in heaven (lxii. 6); but we rather think we hear in these words the prayer of entreaty arising from the believers who long for salvation, and from the prophet as their leader. The paradisiacal restoration of Zion, the new world of righteousness and salvation, is a work of Jehovah's arm, *i.e.* the active exercise of His power. This arm of His is at present in a state of sleep, as it were: though not lifeless, indeed, it is motionless. Hence the Church thrice cries aloud to it, "Awake!" (in the case of עוּרִי, as in Judg. v. 12, the place of accent is interchanged, between the penult and the final syllable, to avoid monotony: cf. Wright on Zech. ix. 9, גִּילִי). It is to arise and put on strength, drawing this from the fulness of omnipotence;—לָבַשׁ being used as in Ps. xciii. 1; cf. λαμβάνειν δύναμιν in Rev. xi. 17, and δύσεο ἀλκήν (arm thyself with strength) in *Iliad,* xix. 36, ix. 231. The arm of Jehovah is capable of accomplishing what the prophecy declares, and what the Church hopes for; because it has in fact already miraculously redeemed Israel. "Rahab" is Egypt represented as the monster of the waters (see on xxx. 7): תַּנִּין ("dragon") is the same (cf. xxvii. 1), but especially Pharaoh (Ezek. xxix. 3), whose name has in Arabic become that of the crocodile (الفِرْعَون). אַתְּ־הִיא, *tu illud,* is equivalent to "thou, yea thou:" see the remarks on xxxvii. 16. The verb חוֹלֵל (from the

root חל, to excavate, round), which is parallel with הַחֲצֶבֶת, is here the intensive of the Qal, in the sense found in Hos. vi. 5. Lagarde follows Houbigant in reading הַמֹּחֶצֶת (Job xxvi. 12): this is possibly right, but is nowise better. The name given to the Red Sea is תְּהוֹם רַבָּה, "the great deep," because the vast store-house of water lying under the solid land is there partially displayed. הַשָּׂמָה has a double *Pashta*, and is therefore accented on the penult: hence this form is the 3rd pers., and is equivalent to אֲשֶׁר שָׂמָה (see Gesen. § 138. 3*b*). Ver. 11 is a repetition of xxxv. 10, and, just as in that passage, it is attached to גְּאוּלִים, with the difference that יַשִּׂיגוּן נָסוּ there takes the form יַשִּׂיגוּ וְנָסוּ. Hitzig, Ewald, and Knobel are of opinion that ver. 11 is not a genuine production of the author of these discourses, but has been interpolated by some other writer. In lxv. 25, however, we meet with a precisely similar repetition, and ver. 11 here is just as dependent on the preceding verse as in the case of xxxv. 10. From the past there is drawn a conclusion bearing on what is to be expected: the look into the future is cleared and strengthened by the look into the past ("and thus will the ransomed ones of Jehovah return, delivered from the present oppression as their forefathers were from that of Egypt" . . .). Here ends the first half of the address.

In the second half the promise begins anew, but with more detailed reference to the afflictions of the exiles and the sufferings of Jerusalem. Jehovah Himself begins to speak directly, sealing and confirming what was longed and hoped for. Vers. 12–15: "*I, I am your Comforter: who art thou that thou shouldest be afraid of a mortal man who will die, and of a son of man who is made a blade of grass? —that thou forgettest Jehovah thy Maker, who stretched out the heavens and founded the earth? — that thou shouldest constantly be afraid, all the day, of the wrath of the oppressor, as he prepares to destroy? — and where is the wrath of the oppressor left? He that is bent down is speedily set free, and does not die to the grave, nor does his bread fail him: as truly as I Jehovah am thy God, who terrifieth the sea, so that its waves roar: Jehovah of hosts is his name.*" The pronoun הוּא after אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי is an emphatic repetition, and hence an emphasizing of the subject (αὐτὸς ἐγώ), like אַתְּ־הִיא

in ver. 10 above. From this major premise, that Jehovah is the Comforter of His Church, and through the medium of the minor premise, that whoever has Him for a Comforter need not fear, there is drawn the conclusion that the Church has no cause for fear. Hence we are not to explain the sentence as Knobel suggests—"how small thou art that thou art afraid!"—but rather as meaning, "Is such then the case with thee (hence, art thou then so small, so forsaken) that (*imperfect consecutive;* cf. the use of כִּי in Ex. iii. 11; Judg. ix. 28) thou dost need to fear?" The attributive clause יָמוּת explicitly sets forth the meaning contained in the designation of mankind by the term אֱנוֹשׁ. חָצִיר stands for כֶּחָצִיר (Ps. xxxvii. 2, xc. 5, ciii. 15; cf. xl. 6–8 above), and forms an instance of apposition employed instead of comparison: יִנָּתֵן is the passive of the verb נָתַן, in the sense of *παραδιδόναι*,—a meaning which it certainly has in other passages, though only when followed by בְּיַד or לְ—so that others render the expression, "who is made into grass;" but the idea readily suggests the thought of mowing down or withering away, whereas man does not need first to be made into grass, but (xl. 6) is already this (like this) in himself. In ver. 13*a* is continued the superaddition of clauses subordinated to the initial "Who art thou?" In the latter part of ver. 12, the address is in feminine form, while at the beginning of ver. 13 it is masculine, being directed in the first point to Zion, but in the second point (what amounts to the same thing) to Israel: "that thou forgettest thy Creator, who is likewise the almighty Director of the universe, and dost hang in constant suspense and anxiety (פָּחַד, *contremiscere,* as in Prov. xxviii. 14) before the wrath of the tormentor, because (כַּאֲשֶׁר, as in Ps. lvi. 7; cf. Num. xxvii. 14,—properly 'in conformity with the fact that') he is aiming (כּוֹנֵן, namely, 'his arrows,' or even 'his bow,' Ps. xi. 2, vii. 13; cf. xxi. 13) to destroy." We must not translate this expression by *quasi disposuisset,* which, though syntactically possible, is opposed to actual facts. The question which opposes fear ("and where is the wrath of the tormentor?") directs attention to the future, and practically says, "Nowhere does a trace of him remain visible,—he is completely swept away, leaving no trace behind." If הַמֵּצִיק

is the Chaldean, then, in ver. 14, when the exhortation changes into a promise,—just as, conversely, in the first half, the promise changed into an exhortation,—we are not to think of oppression by their own fellow-countrymen, who had more of a heathen than of an Israelitish disposition; but צֹעֶה (from צָעָה, صغا, to stoop, bend) is the individualizing designations of the exiles in the Babylonish captivity, some of whom perhaps may have actually been in prison (see on xlii. 7, 22). Every one who lay in fetters, and thus could not help stooping, hastens to be freed from his bonds, *i.e.* will speedily be unloosed (the point to which reference is here made being possibly the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus); he will not die and fall into the pit (*constructio praegnans*, as in Ps. lxxxix. 14), nor does his bread fail. If we take the last two clauses as the analytical presentation of one thought (as Hitzig does), though this is unnecessary, then the meaning will be "he will not die of hunger." The guarantee for this lies in the omnipotence of Jehovah, who, even by a threatening word (גְּעָרָה) throws the sea into a state of trembling (רֹגַע being the construct of the participle, with the tone on the final syllable, as in xlii. 5, xliv. 24; Ps. xciv. 9; and even Lev. xi. 7; from רָגַע, رجع, to move violently backwards and forwards, also to put into such a state of motion), so that its waves roar (cf. Jer. xxxi. 35, and the primary passage in Job xxvi. 12). On the attachment of the asseverative clause at the end, by means of וְ, see Ewald [English translation of the Syntax], § 340*c* (cf. Jo. iv. 21; Ps. lxxxix. 38).

The promise, for the fulfilment of which the absolute power of Jehovah is pledged, and to which everything else must yield, now rises to an eschatological height. Ver. 16: "*And I placed my words in thy mouth, and in the shadow of my hand did I cover thee, to plant heavens and to found an earth, and to say to Zion, 'My people art thou!'*" It is a high calling, a most glorious future for the preparation and furtherance of which Israel, now in the state described in ver. 7, has been equipped and preserved in the shadow of unapproachable omnipotence. The God who has created the world, and to whom Israel owes its existence,—Jehovah has

put His words in the mouth of this Israel (וָאָשִׂם, as also in Gen. xxiv. 4, etc.). And what is the high calling which it is to subserve by means of these words? We must not render the expression by "that thou mayest plant," etc., for this is not in accord with the conclusion "that thou mayest say" . . .; for it is not Israel that says this to Israel, but Jehovah says it to Israel. The planter, founder, speaker is Jehovah. It is God's own work to which Israel is instrumentally subservient, by means of the words put in the mouth of the nation, viz. the new creation of the world and the restoration of Israel itself to favour,—both, the latter as well as the former, being royal prerogatives of God: the reference is to actual facts connected with the last times. Jehovah intends to create a new world of righteousness and salvation (lxv. 17), and anew to acknowledge Zion practically as His people. The preparation for this great and all-renewing work of the future is aided by the true Israel, now enslaved by the heathen, and disowned and persecuted by their own countrymen: the words in their mouth are the seed-corn of a new world in the midst of the old. The fact that the same thing is here said of the true, spiritual Israel, as is said in xlix. 2 regarding the One Servant of Jehovah, is explained in precisely the same way as when the apostles of the New Testament refer to themselves (Acts xiii. 47), a declaration of God which applies to the One Servant, by saying, "So hath the Lord commanded us." The One Servant is in fact one with this Israel; He is Israel itself in its highest potency; He towers above it, but in the same way as the head rises above the members of the body, with which it forms a living whole.

In the same way as out of the grand promises which preceded, there grew the call "Awake!" (עוּרִי) addressed by the Church to the arm of Jehovah, so there here grows out of the same promises a similar call (הִתְעוֹרְרִי) addressed to Jerusalem. Vers. 17–23: "*Rouse thyself up, rouse thyself up! Arise! O Jerusalem, who hast drunk out of the hand of Jehovah the cup of his wrath: the goblet cup of reeling hast thou drunken, drained! There was none who guided her of all the children whom she bare, and none who laid hold of her hand out of all the children whom she brought up. There were*

two things that befell thee,—who was to console thee? Devastation and ruin, and famine, and the sword: how was I to comfort thee? Thy children were benighted, lay at the corners of all the streets like a snared antelope, as those who were filled with the wrath of Jehovah, the rebuke of thy God. Therefore, hearken to this, O wretched and drunken one,—but not with wine! Thus saith thy Lord, Jehovah, and thy God who defendeth his people, Behold I take out of thy hand the cup of reeling, the goblet cup of my wrath; thou shalt not continue to drink it any more. And I place it into the hand of thy tormentors, who said to thy soul, Bow down that we may pass over, and thou madest thy back like the earth, and like a thoroughfare for those who pass over." In ver. 17, Jerusalem is viewed as a woman lying on the ground in the unconsciousness of a swoon and stupefaction: she has been obliged, for her punishment, to drink the cup filled with the burning wrath of God, the cup which puts those who drink it into unconscious reeling; and this cup, which, in order to bring into prominence its swelling sides, is called קֻבַּעַת כּוֹס (the two words being put in genitival construction, though in meaning they stand in apposition,—unless the second word כּוֹס should possibly be struck out as a gloss, as is done by Lagarde, following the LXX), she has been obliged not merely to drink, but to drain quite clean (cf. Ps. lxxv. 9, and especially Ezek. xxiii. 32–34). Observe in שָׁתִית מָצִית the doleful incidence of tone, bringing on a feeling of dread. In this state of unconscious reeling, Jerusalem was utterly devoid of any help on the part of her children: no one was a guide to the stupefied one, no one laid hold of her hand to hold her up: the consciousness that the punishment of her sins was deserved, and the greatness of her suffering, weighed so heavily on all the members of the Church, that no one felt the joy and strength needful to rise up for her, in order to make her fate at least more tolerable for her, and to prevent the worst. What elegiac music meets us here in the deep cadences מִכָּל־בָּנִים יָלָדָה מִכָּל־בָּנִים גִּדֵּלָה. So dreadful was her misfortune, that no one ventured to break the silence of the horror, and to express their condolence: even the prophet, humanly speaking, is constrained to confess, "How" (properly "who?" מִי, as in Amos vii. 2, 5) "should I comfort thee?"

He knew of no similar or greater sorrow to which he could have been able to refer Jerusalem, in accordance with the principle that "it is a comfort to the wretched that they have had companions in misfortune:" in this way must the expression be explained, as in Lam. ii. 13: the reading יְנַחֲמֵךְ, proposed by Cheyne and others, would be less sensible. The whole group of these verses is pervaded by the tone of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The things which befell her (קֹרְתַיִךְ being equivalent to אֲשֶׁר קָרוּךְ, from קָרָא or קָרָה,—a form with which it is interchanged even so early as in the Pentateuch) were twofold (*i.e.* there were two kinds, מִשְׁפָּחוֹת, Jer. xv. 3, of evils), viz. the devastation and the wrecking of their city and their country, famine and the sword for her children, their inhabitants. In ver. 20 this is more fully depicted with reference to famine: her children have become veiled (עֻלְּפוּ, to suffer an eclipse, properly, to be covered over), lay unconscious, as if they were becoming corpses at all the corners of the streets, where this dreadful sight presented itself on all sides: they lay there, כְּתוֹא מִכְמָר (strangely rendered by the LXX, "like a half-cooked turnip," but correctly by Jerome, *sicut oryx*—as also by the LXX in Deut. xiv. 5—*illaqueatus*), like a netted antelope (see on Job xxxix. 9), *i.e.* one that lies exhausted in the hunter's net (מִכְמָר, with a distinctive accent, for מִכְמֹר, like שָׁרְיָן, in lix. 17), after it has spent its strength in efforts to get free, and has nearly strangled itself in the attempt. The appositional clause beginning with הַמְלֵאִים and referring to בָּנַיִךְ, states (like a *quippe qui* in Latin) the ground of this sad fate: it is the punitive decree of God which has penetrated to their very heart, and has got them completely in its power: from this it is evident that בָּנַיִךְ is not to be restricted (as in Lam. ii. 11 f., 19, iv. 3 f.) to children as distinguished from adults (cf. v. 25). With לָכֵן in ver. 21 the discourse turns from depicting sufferings to the utterance of promises, with reference to which there went forth, even so early as in ver. 17, the call to awake and arise: "therefore" (*i.e.* because Jerusalem has fully endured the wrath of God) she is to hear what His compassion, now begun to move, has decreed. The construct-form שְׁכֻרַת stands here, according to Gesenius, § 132. 1, in spite of the intervening וְ, which is epexegetical. From xxix. 9 one may see how characteristic

of Isaiah's style is this expression, "drunk, and not with wine:" on this distinction between a lower and a higher region of related facts, cf. xlvii. 14, xlviii. 10. The intensive plural אֲדֹנִים, which is elsewhere in the Book of Isaiah applied only to human lords, is only here, where Jerusalem is represented as a woman, employed with reference to Jehovah. יָרִיב עַמּוֹ is an attributive clause, meaning one who is the Advocate or Defender of His people. The cup of reeling and wrath, after Jerusalem has emptied it, He takes for ever out of her hand, and forces it, newly filled, upon her tormentors. Instead of מוֹגַיִךְ (Hiphil participle of יָגָה, from the root וג, وج, to push, press,—hence to be oppressed with grief, afflicted), the favourite word of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (i. 5, 12, iii. 32, cf. i. 4), the tone of which we recognise throughout in this address, there is no need for reading, as in xlix. 26, מוֹנַיִךְ (from יָנָה), as is done by Lowth, Ewald, and Umbreit, who follow the Targum דַּהֲווֹ מוֹנָן לִיךְ. The words of Jerusalem's foes, שְׁחִי וְנַעֲבֹרָה (from שָׁחָה, the Qal of which occurs here only) are to be understood figuratively, as in Ps. cxxix. 3: Jerusalem, in the person of her children, both at home in their conquered country and abroad in exile, has been forced to submit as the defenceless object of lordly tyranny and caprice. But now the relations are reversed: Jerusalem, after being punished, is redeemed; and the instruments themselves incur the punishment which their pride and arrogance have earned.

FOURTH DISCOURSE OF THE SECOND PART, CHAP. LII. 1–12.

The servitude of Jerusalem is changed into dominion, imprisonment into liberty.

The call addressed in li. 9 to the arm of Jehovah, which was represented as sleeping, is here addressed to Jerusalem, which is represented as a woman sleeping. Vers. 1, 2: "*Awake, awake! clothe thyself with thy strength, O Zion! clothe thyself with thy gorgeous garments, O Jerusalem, thou holy city; for there will not henceforth enter into thee one uncircumcised and unclean. Shake thyself from the dust! Arise, sit down, O*

Jerusalem! unloose the bonds of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion!" Stunned by the wrath of God, and faint with grief, Jerusalem is lying on the ground; but this ignominious helplessness and disgrace she has experienced is now at an end: she is to raise herself and put on her might, which was long broken and seemed to have disappeared, but which can and must ever renew itself, because it rests on the foundation of an inviolable promise; awaking, and regaining her former strength, she is to put on her gorgeous robes, *i.e.* the priestly and royal ornaments which become her as the "holy city." For, what she is destined to be, that she must henceforward be without any further desecration. Heathens, uncircumcised, and those who were unclean in heart and flesh (Ezek. xliv. 9) had forced their way into her, and had desecrated her (Ps. lxxix. 2)—heathens, who, as such, have no right to enter the Church of Jehovah (Lam. i. 10); by such intruders she is no longer to be defiled,—not to say conquered (Joel iii. 17; Nah. ii. 1*b*, not without reference to the latter passage; cf. v. 7 with Nah. ii. 1*a*). On the construction, *non perget intrabit = intrare*, see Gesenius, § 120. 2*b*, Remark) [Ewald's *Syntax*, Eng. translation, § 285*b*]. In ver. 2 the representation of the city falls into the background, while that of the people comes into the foreground. שְׁבִי יְרוּשָׁלַםִ does not mean, as Hitzig supposes, "captive people of Jerusalem,"—an expression which, in accordance with the personification, would require שְׁבִיָּה, as in ver. 2*b*—but, as correctly given by the LXX, "sit down, O Jerusalem:" the accentuation likewise indicates the same view. The summons is the counterpart of xlvii. 1. Jerusalem is sitting on the ground, having no chair or stool, but only to become highly exalted; whereas the daughter of Babylon, as mistress, is seated upon a throne, but only to be deeply abased. Jerusalem is now to shake herself free from the dust, to rise and sit down (namely, upon a throne, as given in the Targum): the captive daughter of Zion (שְׁבִיָּה, αἰχμάλωτος, Ex. xii. 29, an adjective placed at the beginning for the sake of emphasis, as in x. 30, liii. 11) is to unloose for herself (*sibi laxare*, like הִתְנַחֵל, xiv. 2, *sibi possidendo capere*) the chains of her neck (the *Kethib* התפתחו, "they unloose themselves," is opposed to the beautiful parallelism); for she who mourned in her abasement comes

again to honour, she who was ignominiously fettered is restored to freedom.

The summons is now enforced by well-grounded promise. Vers. 3–6: "*For thus saith Jehovah, Ye have been sold for nothing, and not with silver shall ye be redeemed. For thus saith the Lord, Jehovah, To Egypt my people went down at first, to dwell there as guests, and Assyria hath oppressed them for nothing. And now, what have I to do here? saith Jehovah; for my people have been taken away for nothing, their oppressors shriek, declareth Jehovah, and continually, all the day, is my name blasphemed. Therefore, shall my people learn my name; therefore, on that day, that I am he who saith, Here am I.*" Ye have been sold,—such is the meaning of ver. 3,—but this selling is merely a delivering over to a foreign power, without any advantage accruing therefrom to Him who thereby had no other object in view than to make you atone for your sins (l. 1), or even without another nation who might serve Him taking your place as an equivalent; and there will be no need of silver for purchasing the favour of Him who is delivering you up, but merely of a manifestation of divine power (xlv. 13). The general statement in ver. 3 is now substantiated in the train of thought in vers. 4–6. Israel went down into Egypt, the country of the Nile valley, with the innocent design of sojourning there in the foreign land as guests (לָגוּר), and (what suggests itself from the following member, after the manner of the self-completing form of parallelism) there fell into the bondage of the Pharaohs, who, not fearing Jehovah, but rather scorning Him, were but the blind instruments of His will. Then Assyria oppressed them, בְּאֶפֶס, *i.e* not "finally" (*ultimo tempore*, as rendered by Hävernick), but (as אֶפֶס is synonymous with אַיִן, xl. 17, xlvii. 12) "for nothing," *i.e.* without acquiring any right over them, but rather, in his unrighteousness, being merely the blind instrument of the righteousness of Jehovah, who, by means of Assyria, put an end first to the kingdom of Israel and then to that of Judah. The two references to the Egyptian bondage and the Assyrian are made as brief as possible; the words "but now," however, mark the transition to the present oppression in Babylon, and the address shows greater fulness of expression. Jehovah asks, "*What* have I

to do here?" Hitzig refers פֹּה ("here") to heaven, as if the meaning were, "What pressing occupation have I here, that all this kind of thing can happen without my taking an interest in it?" But such a question would be more appropriate to the Zeus of Greek comedy than the Jehovah of prophecy. Nägelsbach refers פֹּה to Jerusalem,—and makes the expression mean "here, in the desolate city, from which the people that could and should honour me are removed?" But the context shows that the standpoint lies in the land of exile. In accordance with xxii. 16, the question simply means, "What have I to do here?" Jehovah is regarded as present with His people (cf. xlvi. 4), and thereby means to ask whether He is to continue this penal condition of exile any longer: such is the view taken by the Targum, Raschi, Rosenmüller, Stier, etc. The question implies the intention to redeem Israel, and with כִּי follows the justification of this design. Israel has been taken away (viz. from its native ground and soil), חִנָּם, *i.e.* without the Chaldeans having had any right to this. The words מֹשְׁלָיו יְהֵילִילוּ (מֹשְׁלוֹ), which continue the grounds assigned, are neither to be translated (as by Ruetschi and Rosenmüller) "its singers lament," for the poetic writers of Israel are called מְשֹׁרְרִים; nor "its (Israel's) princes lament," as is done by Vitringa, Hitzig, and Hendewerk, for though the people of the exile still have national שָׂרִים, they have no other מֹשְׁלִים than the Chaldean oppressors (xlix. 7, xiv. 5). It is the intolerable tyranny of the oppressors of His people that Jehovah indicates in this clause as the reason for His interposition, which can no longer be deferred. It is true that הֵילִיל (the imperfect of which here suffers no syncope of the inflexionally prefixed syllable) elsewhere signifies to "howl," as a cry of pain; but in the same way as הֵרִיעַ, רָנַן, רוּחַ signify a yelling outburst either of joy or of pain, so הֵילִיל also may be employed to designate the howl of tyrants, expressing their rage, or revenge, or victory (Nägelsbach),—like Lucan's *laetis ululare triumphis*, and the common cry in Syriac, used in war and for other exclamations (see Bernstein's *Glossary*). In connection with this haughty bluster, Jehovah's name was made the dishonoured object of constant blasphemy: מִנֹּאָץ is the participle Hithpoël, or rather (as the *ē* of the participles Hiphil, Poël, and Hithpoël cannot

be changed into a pausal *ā*), the participle Hithpoal (cf. the Hithpoël in Jer. xxv. 16); Luzzatto and Cheyne read מְנֹאָץ (like מְגֹאָל in Mal. i. 7, and מְבֹהָל in Ex. viii. 14), which is at least equally admissible. Then follows in ver. 6 the closing sentence in the chain of thoughts: therefore His people are to get to learn His name (*i.e.* the self-evidencing of the God who is despised by the heathen), therefore (לָכֵן repeated with emphasis, like כְּעַל in lix. 18, and perhaps מִן in Ps. xlv. 9) on that day, the day of redemption (supply יֵדַע, "it is to get to learn") that "I am He who saith, 'Here am I,'" *i.e.* that He who has promised redemption is now present, as the true and Omnipotent One, to accomplish it.

Here end the first two turns in the prophecy (vers. 1, 2, and 3–6). The third turn (vers. 7–10) forms a jubilation over the salvation now being accomplished. The prophet sees in spirit how the tidings of the deliverance, to which the fall of Babylon—which is, as it were, the liberation of the captives—gives the decisive stroke, are carried over the mountains of Judah to Jerusalem. Ver. 7: "*How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messengers with good tidings, of those who proclaim peace, who announce good news, who proclaim salvation, who say to Zion, Thy God ruleth as a king.*" This address is directed to Jerusalem, hence the mountains are those of the Holy Land, and especially those on the north of Jerusalem: מְבַשֵּׂר is a collective (as in the primary passage, Nah. ii. 1; cf. Isa. xli. 27; Ps. lxviii. 12), meaning whoever carries the joyful message to Jerusalem. The exclamation מַה־נָּאווּ (Pilel, from נָאָה, of which the original form is נָאו) does not refer to the pretty sound of their footsteps, but their feet are as if they were winged, because it is a joyful message which they bring. The element of gladness implied in מְבַשֵּׂר, but left indefinite, is more closely specified by שָׁלוֹם, טוֹב, and יְשׁוּעָה, and still more fully by the announcement, "Thy God hath obtained royal sway,"—מָלַךְ being used in the inchoative historical sense, as in the theocratic psalms beginning with the same watchword (see our commentary on Ps. xciii.), and like ἐβασίλευσε in Rev. xix. 6, cf. xi. 17. Till now, when His people were in bondage, He seemed to have lost His kingship (lxiii. 19), but now He has ascended the throne as a Redeemer with greater glory than ever (xxiv. 23).

The gospel of the swift-footed messengers is thus the gospel of the kingdom of God which is at hand; and the application of this passage made by the apostle in Rom. x. 15 is justified by the fact that the prophet saw the close of the exile in combination with the final and general redemption.

How will the prophets rejoice when they see in realization before them what they have hitherto seen from afar? Ver. 8: "*Hark, thy watchers! They lift up the voice, rejoicing together; for eye to eye they see how Jehovah is bringing back Zion.*" קוֹל, with a following genitive, forms interjectional clauses, and has almost become an interjection (see on Gen. iv. 10). צֹפִים, "watchers," is the name given here, as in lvi. 10, to the prophets, who are regarded as looking out into the distance from a watch-tower (xxi. 6; Hab. ii. 1). It is assumed that the people of the Exile had prophets, to whom, indeed, the very first word of these discourses (xl. 1) is addressed. They who beheld the redemption afar off and comforted the Church therewith (differing thus from the מְבַשֵּׂר, the evangelist announcing the fulfilment), together lift up their voice with rejoicing; for they see Jehovah bringing back Zion as near as one man is to another when he looks into the other's eye with his own (Num. xiv. 14; cf. "mouth to mouth," so that the mouth of the one is brought near to that of the other). The use of בְּ is the same as in the expression רָאָה בְּ; and שׁוּב has the transitive sense "to bring back," restore (LXX, Syriac, Jerome, Luther), as also in שׁוּבֵנוּ, Ps. lxxxv. 5; the expression שׁוּב שְׁבוּת, "to bring back the captivity" (*i.e.* captives), to turn the captivity (Ps. xiv. 7; cf. cxxvi. 1), puts this transitive use of the verb beyond a doubt (see the explanation in the second edition of our commentary on Job xlii. 10); and the bringing back of Zion may quite as well be spoken of as an object of sight, as the comfort of Jerusalem in the common post-Biblical expression, "to see the comfort of Jerusalem." If it was to have been declared how Jehovah returns to Zion, the prophet would have written לְצִיּוֹן, as in the Targum.

The idea of the restoration is now pursued further: the holy city rises again from its ruins. Ver. 9: "*Shout aloud, rejoice together, ye ruins of Jerusalem; for Jehovah hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.*" Because the word of consolation has become an act of consolation

(xlix. 13), the ruins of Jerusalem, now rising again, are to break forth into rejoicing.

Throughout the judgment, Jehovah has plainly been working out His salvation before the whole world. Ver. 10: "*Jehovah hath bared his holy arm before the eyes of all nations, and all ends of the earth see the salvation of our God.*" As a warrior, in order to be able to fight without encumbrance, is wont to make bare his right arm up to the shoulder (*exsertare humeros nudamque lacessere pugnam*, as Statius says, in *Theb.* i. 413); so hath Jehovah bared (חָשַׂף allied to كشف) before the whole world His holy arm, the arm in which holiness dwells, from which holiness beams forth, and which acts in holiness,—this arm of His, which had been hitherto concealed, and hence appeared to be feeble; and all ends of the earth come to see the work of this arm, viz. "the salvation of our God."

This salvation, in its most natural and obvious manifestation, is the liberation of the exiles, to whom, therefore, on the ground of what he sees in spirit, the prophet cries (vers. 11, 12): "*Away, away! depart thence! touch no unclean thing! depart from the midst of her! purify yourselves, ye who bear the vessels of Jehovah! For ye shall not go out in confused haste, nor shall ye go out in flight; for Jehovah goeth before you, and your rearguard is the God of Israel.*" Marching out thence (*i.e.* from Babylon), they are not to touch anything unclean (Lam. iv. 15), *i.e.* they are not to enrich themselves with the property of their now conquered conquerors, as was done in marching out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 36). And not merely are those who bear the vessels of Jehovah (*i.e.* the vessels of the temple) not to defile themselves, but they are to purify themselves (הִבָּרוּ being the regular imperative Niphal בָּרַר accented upon the penult): this is an indirect prophecy, fulfilled in the command by Cyrus that the gold and silver vessels brought by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon should be restored to the returning exiles as their rightful property (Ezra i. 7–11). It will thus be possible to put themselves into a proper state for departure, as this will not be like a flight, as was formerly the case in marching from Egypt (Deut. xvi. 3; cf. xii. 39), for they march out under the guidance of Jehovah. מְאַסִּפְכֶם (with the change of the ĕ

into the original ĭ, as in Lev. xx. 8, 2, Kings xxii. 20, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28, where אֹסִיפְךָ is the wrong reading; cf. the remarks on i. 15, above) does not mean, "He brings you, the scattered ones, together," but (as in lviii. 8; Num. x. 25; Josh. vi. 9, 13), "He closes your line of march," brings up your rear; He not merely goes before you, to lead you, but also (as in Ex. xiv. 19), behind you, for your protection. For the rearguard (מְאַסֵּף) is the keystone of the army, and preserves the connection of the whole.

The division into chapters for the most part coincides with the distinction between the different addresses; here, however, correction is needed. Calvin was among the first to animadvert upon the forced separation: a new section begins at lii. 13—not later, at liii. 1—with the words, "Behold, my servant," etc., like xlii. 1, which opens in a similar manner. As Nägelsbach says, chaps. xlix.-lvii. are like a wreath of magnificent flowers, intertwined with a mourning ribbon, which is fastened at the middle (lii. 13-to chap. liii.) into a strong knot.

Fifth Discourse of the Second Part, LII. 13-Chap. LIII.

Supreme Exaltation of the Servant of Jehovah out of deep Humiliation.

Hitherto, wherever another besides Jehovah has been speaking, it has always been the Servant of Jehovah, who is the heart and head of the body of Israel. After we have heard him speaking himself in l. 4–9, xlix. 1–6, xlviii. 16*b*, and Jehovah speaking of him in l. 10 f., xlix. 7–9, xlii. 1–7, it is not surprising that Jehovah here begins anew to speak of him; we can also understand how the prophet passes from the raising of the Church to the exaltation of the servant. In relation to Jehovah, Israel has often been called "my servant," and "his servant;" here, however, there has preceded the representation (continued from li. 17 onwards) of Israel as a female; moreover, in li. 1–16, though the national idea of the "servant of Jehovah" has reached its most definite expression (especially in li. 7), yet there has been no mention of the name borne by the Individual whom, in l. 4–9,

it is impossible to mistake. It is this individual who is further spoken of here. It is his picture that is here fully given and finished, and this as a side-piece to the deliverance from bondage and restoration of Zion-Jerusalem, which has just been depicted. It is none else than he who leads his people through suffering to glory. As we now perceive, it is in his heart that the change of God's wrath into love is decided. He suffers with his people for his people, instead of his people; because he has not, like the mass of the people, brought on the suffering through sin, but as the guiltless and righteous one, voluntarily takes on himself the guilt and the sin, in order to take it completely away by his sacrifice of himself. Thus the glory of Israel also has its focus in him. He is the corn of wheat which falls into the earth in order to bring forth much fruit, and this "much fruit" is the glory of Israel and the salvation of the nations.

"Christian scholars," says Abravanel, "explain this prophecy as referring to that man who was executed towards the end of the second temple, and who, according to their view, was the Son of God, who became incarnate in the womb of the virgin. But Jonathan ben-Uzziel applies it to the Messiah who is still to be expected, and such is also the view of the ancients in many of their commentaries." Hence even the Synagogue itself cannot help acknowledging that the course of the Messiah to glory through death is predicted here! Jefet the Karaite, in referring chap. liii. to the Messiah and His career from His birth to the throne, can appeal to the authority of Benjamin ha-Nahâwendi, of the same sect, who previously expressed the same view.[1] And what interest could we have in increasing the national pride of the Jewish nation, and making the latter—as is done by Juda ha-Levi in the Book of Cuzari (ii. 34 ff.) and by most Jewish, and all Judaizing expositors—the sufferer for the sins of the world? Or what interest could we have in persuading ourselves that Jeremiah (as Saadiah, Grotius, and Bunsen think), or some other unknown martyr-prophet (as Ewald thinks), is intended,[2]

[1] See Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* (1886), p. 17.

[2] Arthur S. Weissmann, in his *Earnest Replies* (1889) to my *Earnest Questions* (1888), says regarding chap. liii., that "the picture suits Nehemiah the son of Hakaliah." Other Jewish writers also have thought

whereas it is rather the great unrecognised and misunderstood One who is meant? How many already have had their eyes opened on reading this "golden passional" of the Old Testament evangelist, as Polycarp Lyser calls it? In how many Israelites has the crust of the heart been melted? It is as if it were written under the cross on Golgotha, and illumined by the bright clearness of the now fulfilled exaltation. It is the solution of the problem in Psalms xxii. and cx., but it is likewise the completion of what, even in these typico-prophetic psalms of David, is ever an imperfect picture; for, inasmuch as the suffering of no sinful man, himself in need of atonement, can be an expiation for the sins of others, the type in the Psalms, in spite of the full description of his condition, intensified through the spirit of prophecy, could not express in symbol the expiatory aspect of the sufferings of Christ. What is stated in this section regarding the Servant of God in His work of reconciliation by the sacrifice of Himself, is unique, and without a parallel in any other portion of the Old Testament. According to xliii. 3, God delivers up the heathen nations as a ransom for Israel; here, however, One delivers up Himself, and is delivered up for the salvation of Israel and of the heathen. As this section forms the outer portion of the middle part of the wonderful book of consolation in chaps. xl.–lxvi., so it is the most central, the deepest, the loftiest production of Old Testament prophecy, which has here surpassed itself.[1]

And yet the prophecy plainly presents its limitations as a production of Old Testament times through human agency. For the prophet beholds the advent of the Servant of Jehovah in connection with the duration of the Exile; and the exaltation of the Servant of Jehovah, the internal and external restoration of Israel, the conversion of the nations, as

of Nehemiah. The work by Neubauer and Driver, entitled *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish interpreters* (Oxford, 2 vols. 1879), affords an interesting but saddening survey.

[1] Ritschl (died March 20, 1889), in vol. ii. of his *Doctrine of Justification and Atonement* (2nd edition, 1882, p. 61 ff.), regards chap. liii. as the interpolated production of a different author, for which no preparation has previously been made (a position that we impugn), and presents no traces of influence afterwards (a peculiarity which is owing to the fact that a higher point than what is reached in chap. liii. is impossible of attain-

associated with the close of the Exile. In this sense there follows here, immediately after the summons, "Go ye out from Babylon," an indicator pointing away from the suffering of the Servant to his glorious reward. Chap. lii. 13: "*Behold, my servant will deal wisely, he will rise and be exalted, and be very high.*" Even apart from xlii. 1, הִנֵּה or הֵן is a favourite beginning for the prophecies of Isaiah; and this very first verse, in Isaian fashion, forms a condensed statement of the main points contained in the following discourse regarding the exaltation of the Servant. In ver. 13*a* is declared the course by which he attains his greatness; in the latter part of the verse there is described the greatness itself. In itself הִשְׂכִּיל merely signifies to obtain, or show understanding or discernment (LXX, *συνήσει*); but also secondly,—because sagacious dealing is generally also productive of result,—it is used as synonymous with הִצְלִיחַ, הִכְשִׁיר, to signify effective action, so that success follows, as in Josh. i. 8; Jer. x. 21. In Jer. xxiii. 2, where וְהִשְׂכִּיל forms one feature in the exercise of the Messiah's rule, the idea of prudent dealing is alone sufficient; but in this passage, where the exaltation is deduced from יַשְׂכִּיל as the immediate consequence, without any intervening "therefore," there is naturally associated with the idea of sagacious dealing (*i.e.* action in accordance with the appointed work to which one is called) the representation of effective execution, abundant success, which is naturally followed by continuous exaltation. Rosenmüller observes, on the latter part of ver. 13, that "there is no need for discussing or inquiring in what way the several words are distinguished from one another." But when we consider that רום not merely signifies to be exalted, but also to rise (Prov. xi. 11), and to become exalted, to become manifest as exalted (Ps. xxi. 14); and that נִשָּׂא, according to the most

ment). I am delighted to find myself in agreement with my friends the Oxford scholars, investigators in the field of Old Testament criticism, T. K. Cheyne (see his excellent Excursus on the Servant of Jehovah, and on the Suffering Messiah) and S. R. Driver, in holding that the symbolical prophecy of the great Sufferer is meant to refer to One, and this in the actual fulfilment of history is Jesus the Christ. Cf., moreover, the exhaustive monograph by Dr. G. H. Dalman, *Der leidende und sterbende Messias der Synagoge des erster nachchristlichen Jahrtausends* (Berlin, 1888), and also my *Ernsten Fragen an die Gebildeten jüdischer Religion*, Leipzig, 1888.

natural and original reflexive meaning of the Niphal, signifies to raise one's self; whereas, on the other hand, גָּבַהּ simply expresses the state or condition, without the secondary and subordinate view of activity,—we obtain the following series of thoughts, "he will rise, he will be still more exalted, he will stand high." The three verbs (of which the two perfects are regulated by the preceding imperfect) thus signify beginning, progress and result or the climax of the exaltation; and Stier is not wrong when he recalls to mind the resurrection, ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of God, the three main stages in the historical fulfilment of the exaltation. That וְגָבַהּ is meant to be taken as the highest step in the scale of ascent, as the final result, is also shown by the addition of מְאֹד; ascending from one step to another, the Servant of Jehovah finally reaches a towering height, surpassing everything else (cf. *ὑπερύψωσε*, Phil. ii. 9, with *ὑψωθείς*, Acts ii. 33; and on the ideas contained in *ὑπερύψωσε*, see Eph. i. 20–23.[1]

The discourse regarding him now (like xlix. 8; cf. vii.) passes into the form of direct address to him, but this at once falls again into an objective tone. Vers. 14, 15: "*Just as many were astonished at thee,—so disfigured, his appearance was not like that of a man, and his form not like that of the children of men,—so will he make many nations tremble; kings will shut their mouths at him, for they see what has not been told them, and perceive what they have not heard.*" The Servant of Jehovah is here directly addressed; and the meaning of the *sicut* ("just as") in ver. 14, and of the *sic* ("so") introducing its principal clause in ver. 15, is this,—that as his humiliation was the deepest, so also will his glorification be of the highest. The height of the exaltation is held up in contrast with the depth of the degradation: but the words "so disfigured was his face, more than that of a man," form an interjected clause, stating the ground for the astonishment excited by the servant of Jehovah. Stier is wrong in referring this first כֵּן ("so") to the כַּאֲשֶׁר, and rendering the passage, "As people were astonished at thee, so there was actually reason for the astonishment;"

[1] The Jalkut on Isaiah, § 338, regards the three stages in a different manner: הנה ישכיל עבדי זה מלך המשיח ירום מן אברהם ונשא ממשה וגבה מאד ממלאכי השרת. Cf. Heb. vii. 4, iii. 3, i. 4.

the thought that the actual state of the case was like the impression which people received, is tame and superfluous; the change of persons also is intolerably harsh; whereas, considering the view of the relation of the clause, almost universally agreed upon since the days of Vitringa, the sudden change from direct address to objective statement in the third person appears to be brought about by means of the parenthesis. Hitherto, many had been astonished at the servant of Jehovah,—שָׁמֵם signifying to be desolate or waste; to be thrown into a desolate or benumbed state about something; to become startled, disconcerted, petrified as it were, by an astonishment that paralyses and disturbs (Lev. xxvi. 32; Ezek. xxvi. 16): to such a degree was his appearance מִשְׁחַת מֵאִישׁ and his form מִבְּנֵי אָדָם (מִשְׁחַת being understood). The vowel-pointing תָּאֳרוֹ (cf., on the other hand, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14) is like that of פָּעֳלוֹ, i. 31; cf. Num. xxiii. 7; Judg. vi. 28, xiv. 4; 2 Chron. xx. 34; Nah. ii. 8, in all of which instances, instead of ֳ, the vowel ֹ has been preferred. The form מִשְׁחַת may be regarded as a construct (as by Hitzig and Bredenkamp), for the connecting form is sometimes employed even (as in xxxiii. 6) without any genitival relation; but it may also be absolute, either syncopated from מִשְׁחַתְּתְּ=מִשְׁחֶתֶת (as Hävernick and Stier hold), like מָשְׁחָת in Mal. i. 14 (on which passage see Köhler's commentary); or—as we prefer to regard it—like the form מִרְמָס in x. 6, with the original *ă*, without the usual lengthening (see Ewald, § 160 *c*, Rem. 4). According to the Babylonian punctuation, the text has מֻשְׁחַת instead of this (see Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. 155), as the Tiberian *i* and the Babylonian ֻ (*ü*) pretty frequently interchange (*e.g.* in Amos iv. 3). His appearance, his form, was "disfigurement" (stronger than מָשְׁחָת, "disfigured,"—a form which, however, also occurs as a substantive in Lev. xxii. 25), from men,—away from men,—*i.e.* so that his appearance and the impression he produced were not like those of a man, and not at all like those of other human beings.[1] In ver. 15 now follows the contrast,—the state of glory which has abolished

[1] The Church, before the time of Constantine, thought of the Lord, while He lived on earth, as uncomely, but the Church since Constantine as ideally beautiful. The latter was more correct; He was uncomely, though not deformed, in the days of His flesh; His outward appearance

this state of sorrow. To the רַבִּים in ver. 14 corresponds, in ver. 15, גּוֹיִם רַבִּים, "many nations," instead of the many individuals, as if for every individual who took offence there now came an entire delighted nation; while to the words, "they were astonished at thee," corresponds יַזֶּה ("he shall cause to tremble"), *i.e.* to the effect which he produces by his sufferings corresponds that which is produced by what he does. The Hiphil הִזָּה elsewhere means to "sprinkle" (L. *adspergere*), and is applied to the sprinkling of blood with the finger (thus differing from זָרַק, which is applied to the swirling of the blood out of a bowl), especially on the Day of Atonement, towards the mercy-seat and the altar of incense; also to the sprinkling of the water of purification by means of the sprinkling-brush upon the leper (Lev. xiv. 7), and of the ashes of the red heifer on those who were defiled by contact with a corpse (Num. xix. 18); and generally to sprinkling for the purpose of expiation and sanctification. In accordance with this use of the word, Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Hölemann, and others, following the Syriac, Aquila, Theodotion, and Jerome, render it "he will sprinkle;" and this has something to commend it when we look to נָגוּעַ, liii. 4, and נֶגַע, liii. 8 (words which are elsewhere commonly applied to leprosy, and on account of which the suffering Messiah, in *Sanhedrin* 98*b*, is emblematically called חִוָּרָא דְבֵי רַבִּי, "the leper of Rabbi's house"), inasmuch as there results the significant contrast that He who was regarded as Himself unclean—another Job—will as a priest purify and consecrate whole nations, thus removing the dividing wall between Israel and the heathen, who had hitherto been regarded as "unclean" (lii. 1), and gathering the latter with the former into one holy Church. Jerome renders: "he himself will sprinkle many nations, cleansing them with his own blood, and consecrating them in baptism to the service of God," as if the reading were יזה דמו על (Lev. xiv. 7), יזה מים טהורים על (Ezek. xxxvi. 25). Such would require to be the reading, for הִזָּה (like the Aramaic אַדִּי, the Aphel from נְדָא) never seems to be joined with the accusative of the person or thing sprinkled (for אֶת־ in Lev. iv. 6, 17

—though faith saw the glory glistening through—was that of a sufferer; for from His mother's womb the portion of the Lamb of God was the suffering of death.

is the preposition, as עַל and אֶל are used in other places);[1] but even apart from this, the representation of the Servant as priest would come in here quite abruptly. The verb נָזָה originally signifies to spring, or leap; hence הִזָּה, the causative, to cause to spring; Qal unites in itself the intransitive and the transitive meanings of "spurting," and in the former case (lxiii. 3) signifies the springing up and springing generally of any liquid scattering into drops. The Arab. *nazâ* (see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*) shows that this same verb may also be used in speaking of the springing of living beings, such as is produced by overpowering emotion. Hence, following Martini (1791), we translate the word, with the majority of modern expositors, *exsilire faciet,*—יַזֶּה signifying the same as יַתֵּר, which Cheyne prefers, following Hab. iii. 6. What is meant is a springing up caused by astonishment (LXX, in accordance with the sense, but tamely, renders θαυμάσονται), and not so much an external as an internal motion: they will start up with astonishment within themselves (cf. פָּחֲדוּ וְרָגְזוּ, Jer. xxxiii. 9), as if electrified by the surprising change that has taken place in the Servant of Jehovah. The reason why kings shut their mouths at him is expressly stated; they see before them something for which no announcement had prepared them; they perceive what they had never heard,—hence something far transcending their expectation and experience. The shutting of the mouth is the involuntary consequence of the overpowering impression, the expression of the highest astonishment at him who has been so suddenly lifted from the depths and placed so high. The strongest emotion is that which remains shut up within, because its intensity throws the whole man into an impassioned condition, and drowns all reflection in feeling (cf. יַחֲרִישׁ in Zeph. iii. 17). The parallel in xlix. 7 does not contradict this view: the speechless astonishment at what has never been heard and is incomprehensible passes into adoring homage after a certain degree of familiarity has been attained.

[1] The construction with the accusative is certainly possible; יָרָה also, with its Hiphil הוֹרָה, signifies not merely to throw, but to throw upon, *i.e.* to besprinkle (Hos. vi. 3), or to shoot at (*jaculis petere*, Ps. lxiv. 5; Num. xxi. 30).

The second turn, in liii. 1–3, declares that the man of sorrow was deeply despised among us, and no man believed the prophecy regarding his future. We hear the complaint —but from whose mouth it comes is doubtful—in ver. 1: "*Who has believed what we have heard? And the arm of Jehovah,—over whom hath it been revealed?*" "I formerly," says Hofmann (in his *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. 159 f.), "misunderstood the connection, and thought that in liii. 1 it is the heathen who are speaking, because they were spoken of in lii. 13–15 (*Weiss. und Erf.* i. 265); but now I perceive my mistake. Of the heathen it was certainly stated before, that they did not hear what they now see with their eyes; hence it cannot be they who speak, or for whom another says in their name, Who hath believed what we have heard?" The work of redemption is certainly announced to the heathen from Israel as a fact already accomplished; and according to lii. 15 (cf. xlix. 7, xlii. 4, li. 5), they accept what has never been heard, as satisfying their longing desire, with an astonishment that passes into adoration,—hence with the joyful obedience of faith. But, besides, the words מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי, "because of the transgression of my people," in liii. 8, are out of place in the mouth of the heathen, and words spoken by the latter would require to be expressly introduced as such. Whenever a "we" is suddenly introduced in a prophecy, it is always Israel that speaks, since the prophet takes the nation along with himself (cf. xlii. 24, lxiv. 5, xvi. 6, xxiv. 16, etc.). Hence Hofmann rightly also rejects the view of those who think they hear the prophet, in this passage, speaking in company with the other heralds of salvation (Calvin, Stier, Oehler, Bredenkamp); for, as he asks, "how would all that follows, spoken in the first person plural, agree with this assumption?" In fact, it is Israel that (in ver. 2 ff.) acknowledges how blind it has been; hence the question of complaint, in ver. 1, also comes from the mouth of Israel. The people—or, what is the same thing, the prophet (John xii. 37 f.; Rom. x. 16), sinking his own individuality in the mass of the nation—utters the complaint in ver. 1. While the heathen accept in faith what has been utterly unheard of before (lii. 15), Israel has to accuse itself of putting no faith in what it heard regarding the servant of God. שְׁמוּעָה,—like the

forms שְׁמוּעָה, יְשׁוּעָה, and with the possible insertion of Dagesh, גְּדֻלָּה, נְאָלָה (גְּדוּלָּה),—signifies what has been heard through the statement of another (ἀκοή), announcement, and especially the prophetic preaching (see xxviii. 9); and שְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ is not (as in 2 Sam. iv. 4) "the announcement about us," which would here be unsuitable, but either "the tidings which we brought" ("our preaching," as Luther renders it), or—inasmuch as the prophet is not speaking for his brother-prophets, but for the people, with whom he connects himself, so that the subject indicates the genitive of the object—"the announcement which concerned us" (as in xxiii. 5; 2 Sam. iv. 4; cf. תּוֹכַחְתִּי, "the correction which concerned me," Ps. lxiii. 14). But the expression also admits of being taken in the sense of "the announcement which we have heard," *i.e.* the tidings which we came to hear, the genitive being that of the subject, as in שְׁמוּעָתִי, which occurs in the Mishnah (*Eduyoth* v. 7), with the meaning "my tradition," *i.e.* that which has been heard by me: in accordance with this view we have, with Cheyne, rendered the word in the text.

There were certainly some who did not refuse to believe what they came to hear, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (Rom. x. 16). The number of believers was exceedingly small, compared with the unbelieving mass of the nation. The subject of the preaching which was not believed was the exaltation of the Servant of God out of deep degradation. This was a work performed by the arm of God (זְרוֹעַ, of common gender, here fem., as in lix. 16), which, raised far above every created thing, works down from on high; it is over us, and becomes manifest to those who recognise it in what is happening before them. Who (asks Israel) showed any faith in the impending exaltation of the Servant of God? Who recognised the omnipotence of Jehovah, which set itself to effect his exaltation? All that follows is the confession—introduced by this question—of the Israel of the last times, one of the grandest prophecies of the future conversion of the nation that has rejected the Servant of God, and has permitted the heathen to anticipate it in recognising him. But at last, though late, it will repent.

The great lamentation described by Zechariah (xii. 11 ff.) is that out of which the following confession comes. Ver. 2:

"*And he came up like a layer-sprig before him, and like a root-sprout out of dry ground; he had no form and no beauty, and we saw him and there was no appearance that we could have found pleasure in him.*" Following on the latter part of ver. 1, ver. 2 looks back into the past and describes how the dealings of Jehovah showed themselves in the servant's course of life from the beginning, but imperceptibly at first, and in a way not recognised by those who regard merely what presents itself to the outward senses. The suffix of לְפָנָיו cannot (as Hahn, Hofmann, and Hölemann think) refer to the subject of the interrogative sentence, for the answer to that *quis* is *nemo*, but it refers to Jehovah, who is mentioned immediately before. "Before Jehovah," so that He whose counsel began to be fulfilled in this way had directed His eye upon him, caring for and protecting him (Gen. xvii. 18): he grew up כַּיּוֹנֵק, "like the suckling," *i.e.* (in the horticultural sense) the tender twig which sucks its nourishment out of the root and stem (not, as Hitzig explains, in accordance with Ezek. xxxi. 16, out of the water of the ground); because יוֹנֶקֶת, instead of which there is here יוֹנֵק, is the name given to the tender twig upon a tree, or stem, or stalk, *e.g.* the twig of a cedar, Ezek. xvii. 22; or of a vine, Ps. lxxx. 12; Hos. xiv. 7; or of a liana, Job viii. 16. It is here regarded as a layer, as in Ezek. xvii. 22; for, on the other hand, it resembles the shoot or sprig which springs from the root-stump remaining in the ground after the tree has been felled. שֹׁרֶשׁ, as in xi. 10 (ῥίζα in Rev. v. 5, xxii. 26), is applied to the sprout produced by the root, and anew striking out from it with vigour, —the root-sprout which is more precisely called נֵצֶר שָׁרָשִׁים in Dan. xi. 7. Both figures depict the poor and unattractive appearance of the small though vigorous beginning. The expression "out of dry ground," which is common to both figures, further brings out the miserable character of the outward circumstances in which the birth and growth of the Servant took place. The "dry ground" is the state of the people as at that time enslaved and decayed; he was made subject to the conditions attending the circumstances of a people that had been thrown under the power of the empire and was not merely in a state of misery, but also in blind ignorance regarding its cause. What is here stated regarding

the Servant of Jehovah coincides with what is said in chaps. vii. and xi. regarding the other David. In what follows, we must abide by the division of the clauses as shown by the accents, and not translate "no form had he, and no beauty, that we should regard (or, have regarded) him," viz. with fixed looks that willingly lingered on him: such is the rendering adopted by Symmachus (*ἵνα εἴδωμεν αὐτόν*) and by Vitringa (*ut ipsum respiceremus*). But in that case, instead of וְנִרְאֵהוּ, the reading should have been וְנִרְאֶה בּוֹ; moreover, the close mutual relation of the terms in the expression וְנִרְאֵהוּ וְלֹא מַרְאֶה, which resembles a play on words, becomes expunged: "we saw him, and there was not (= if we saw him, there was not) any appearance that we should have felt ourselves drawn by him,"—the Hebrew, with its vivid style of transferring one into the situation, expresses the result in the words "that we should desire him." He remained in the midst of Israel, so that he was bodily present before the nation; but he had no "form" (תֹּאַר as in אִישׁ תֹּאַר, *vir formae, i.e. formosus*, 1 Sam. xvi. 18), no splendid and brilliant presence (הָדָר), no appearance at all (מַרְאֶה), that one (as וְנֶחְמְדֵהוּ declares) should have thought desirable, attractive, winning.

On the contrary, the impression made by his appearance was repulsive, and, for those who measure greatness and nobility by a worldly standard, contemptible. Ver. 3: "*He was despised and forsaken of men, a man of sorrows and familiar with sickness, and like one from whom men hide their face, despised, and we esteemed him not.*" In Isaian fashion, נִבְזֶה is again introduced palindromically at the end, hence Martini's conjecture that the proper reading there is נִבְזֵהוּ לֹא וגו', must be rejected. This נִבְזֶה (cf. בְּזֹה in xlix. 7) is the key to the sad retrospective picture. The predicate חֲדַל אִישִׁים is misunderstood by those expositors who take אִישִׁים as synonymous with בְּנֵי־אָדָם, whereas it has rather the meaning of בְּנֵי אִישׁ (the better class) as distinguished from בְּנֵי־אָדָם (common people); see the remarks on ii. 9 and xi. 17; in Prov. viii. 4, and Ps. cxli. 4 also, it means people of rank, occupying a position of eminence beyond the masses; hence Cocceius remarks, "*deficiens virorum h. e. nullos secum habens viros spectabiles, quorum fulciatur auctoritate.*" The expression might also be explained as meaning "the ceasing one (*i.e.* taking the last

place: S. ἐλάχιστος; Jerome, *novissimus*) among men;" but he would thereby be himself described as אִישׁ, though he certainly had not the appearance and respect of such a person. Cocceius's rendering, "*deficiens*," is quite correct: cf. Job xix. 14, חָדְלוּ קְרוֹבָי, *defecerunt cognati mei;* and the Arabic *ḫaḏalahu* or *ḫaḏala ʿanhu* (he forsook him, held back from him, left him: see Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*). The upper classes among his people, the great ones of this world, drew back their hands from him, withdrew from him: he had no person of influence upon his side. He was further אִישׁ מַכְאֹבוֹת, a man of heart-sorrow in all forms, a man characterized by his life of constant endurance of pain. וִידוּעַ חֹלִי (instead of which we also find וִיְדַע) does not mean *insignis morbo*, one well known for painful suffering, as Nägelsbach renders it, following Deut. i. 13, 15,—an idea which could not sufficiently be expressed by the genitival construction,—nor "one well known to sickness" (S. γνωστὸς νόσῳ, *familiaris morbo*), which would have been expressed by מְיֻדָּע or מוֹדָע; but *scitus morbi, i.e.* one who had been put in a position for knowing about sickness; יָדוּעַ signifying "acquainted, knowing well" (like בָּטוּחַ, *confisus;* זָכוּר, mindful; cf. the Latin passive participle of deponent verbs, *e.g. expertus*), as מַדּוּעַ is also equivalent to מַה־יָּדוּעַ. It is not meant that he had naturally a sickly body, which fell out of one disease into another, but that the wrath caused by sin, and the eagerness of self-sacrifice (Ps. lxix. 10) burned in his soul and body like the flame of a fever, so that, even though he had not died a violent death, he would have been slain by the force of the destructive powers indigenous to humanity in consequence of sin, and of his self-consuming struggle with them. Moreover, he was כְּמַסְתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ: this cannot mean "like one hiding his face from us" (as Hengstenberg thinks, pointing to Lev. xiii. 45), or, what is comparatively better, "like one causing the face to be hidden from him;" for though the feminine of the participle takes the form מַסְתֶּרֶת, and in the plural מַסְתְּרִים is a possible form for מַסְתִּירִים, yet there is nothing to prove that מַסְתֵּר is used for מַסְתִּיר (cf. infin. הַסְתֵּר for הַסְתִּיר, xxix. 15, as in Deut. xxvi. 12). Hence מַסְתֵּר is a noun after the form of מַחְצֵב, מַרְבֵּץ, מַרְבֵּק, מַשְׁחֵת; and the words mean either "like the hiding of the face on our part," *i.e.* like one who experienced this from us, or (what is more

natural) "like the hiding of the face before him," *i.e.* like one whose repulsive look is intolerable, so that people turn away the face, or cover it with their garment (cf. l. 6 with Job xxx. 10). Lastly, all the predicates are summed up in the comprehensive term נִבְזֶה: "He was despised, and we not only did not consider him dear and worthy, but did not esteem him at all," as Luther appropriately renders it; "we thought him nothing" (חָשַׁב, حسب, to reckon, value, esteem, as in xiii. 17, xxxiii. 8; Mal. iii. 16). Here concludes the second turn.

Those who formerly mistook and despised the Servant of Jehovah because of his pitiable state, now acknowledge that his sufferings were quite different from what they thought. Ver. 4: "*Verily our sicknesses he hath borne, and our pains —he hath laden them; but we considered him as one stricken, one smitten of God, and afflicted.*" It may be doubtful whether אָכֵן (the fuller form of אַךְ) is affirmative here, as in xl. 7, xlv. 15, or adversative, as in xlix. 4: the latter meaning arises from the former (as in the case of רַק, Gen. xx. 11; Num. xx. 19, etc., from the restrictive sense), inasmuch as it is the opposite which is strongly affirmed. We have translated it as an affirmative (Jerome, *vere*), not adversatively (*verum, at vero*), because ver. 4 in itself consists of two antithetical halves,—a relation which is expressed in the independent pronouns הוּא and אֲנַחְנוּ, which correspond to one another. Many MSS. repeat הוּא before סְבָלָם. The penitents contrast themselves and their false views with him and what he has actually accomplished. Matthew's Gospel (in chap. viii. 17) here corrects the LXX by translating thus: *αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν*; and the relief which Jesus afforded to all kinds of bodily ailments is regarded as a fulfilment of these words. In the first part of ver. 4 it is not really sin that is spoken of, but the evil which is the result of human sin, though not always the immediate result of the sin of the individual (John ix. 3). But in the fact that he was intent on relieving this evil in every form, whenever it came before him in line of his calling, there was manifested the help inferentially implied in the first part of ver. 4, though not the bearing and lading which are primarily expressed here. Matthew appropriately renders נָשָׂא by *ἔλαβε*,

and סָבַל by *ἐβάστασεν*; for, while סָבַל signifies the toilsome bearing of a burden that has been taken up, נָשָׂא combines in itself the ideas presented by *tollere* and *ferre*. Construed with the accusative of the sin, it means to take on oneself the guilt of sin as one's own, and to bear it, *i.e.* to recognise and feel it as such, as in Lev. v. 1, 17; more frequently it means to bear the punishment incurred through sin, *i.e.* to come to make atonement for it, as in Lev. xvii. 16, xx. 19 f., xxiv. 15, and wherever the bearer himself is not the guilty one, to bear the sin as a mediator, in order to atone for it, Lev. x. 17. In the LXX this נָשָׂא is rendered, both in the Pentateuch and in Ezekiel, by *λαβεῖν ἁμαρτίαν*, once by *ἀναφέρειν*; and that this *λαβεῖν* and *ἀναφέρειν* are meant to be understood as referring to expiatory bearing, and not merely, as has been affirmed, in opposition to vicarious satisfaction, in the sense of taking away, is abundantly shown in Ezek. iv. 4–8, where the שְׂאֵת עָוֹן is represented by the prophet in symbolical action. Even here, where it is not the sins, but "our sicknesses" (חֳלָיֵנוּ being plural, while the singular would take the form חָלְיֵנוּ) and "our pains" that form the object, the meaning is that the Servant of God took upon himself the sufferings which we had to bear, and deserved to bear, and endured them in his own person, in order to deliver us from them. The people among whom he appeared here bewail their former mistaking of the mediatorially vicarious character of the agonies endured by the Great Sufferer, which they regarded as the punishment of his own sins—and these, too, peculiarly great; for, like the friends of Job, they measured the sin of the Sufferer by his sufferings. They saw in him "one stricken" (נָגוּעַ), *i.e.* afflicted with a hateful, disgraceful disease (Gen. xii. 17; 1 Sam. vi. 9), such especially as that which is pre-eminently called נֶגַע, leprosy, 2 Kings xv. 5 (*A. ἀφημένον*, *S. ἐν ἀφῇ ὄντα*, *i.e.* leprous, *Th. μεμαστιγωμένον*; cf. *μάστιγες*, Mark iii. 10, scourges, *i.e.* bad attacks);[1] "one smitten of God" (מֻכֵּה אֱלֹהִים) and "bowed down" (by God), oppressed

[1] Further, צָרוּעַ and מְצֹרָע, a leper, literally signifies one who is violently attacked and thrown down; in Arabic, صَرَعَ is the common word signifying the falling down in epileptic fits.

(מְעֻנֶּה), covered with sufferings. God is here intentionally called אֱלֹהִים, as the all-conditioning divine power, whose object of punitive vengeance this Sufferer seemed to have become.

Then follows, with וְהוּא indicating a circumstantial clause (cf. the first part of ver. 7), the true state of the case in contrast with the false judgment regarding it. Ver. 5: "*Whereas he was pierced because of our transgressions, bruised because of our iniquities; the punishment for peace to us lay upon him, and through his stripes came healing to us.*" It has been asked whether the first part of this verse describes what he was during his life, or what he was in his death; but doubtless the reference is to the latter. Though מְדֻכָּא may signify one who is almost destroyed through inward grief or outward violence (xix. 10, cf. lvii. 15), מְחֹלָל indicates, more definitely than חָלָל (Jer. li. 52; Ps. lxix. 27), not merely one who is mortally wounded, but one who has been actually slain; it is not the Polal participle from חִיל, to be thrown into writhings with pain (as Hölemann thinks), but the Poal participle from חָלַל, "pierced," *transfossus* (the passive of מְחֹלֵל, li. 9; cf. the passive מְנֹאָץ in lii. 5). In Zech. xii. 10, דָּקַר is used instead,—with the same meaning. No stronger expressions for indicating violent and excruciating death could be found in the language. And as מִן, with the passive, is not used like ὑπό, what is here meant is not that it was our transgressions and offences which had pierced and crushed him, but that he was pierced and crushed on account of them: not his own, but our transgressions and offences, which he had taken on himself in order to atone for them in our stead, were the mediate cause of his having to suffer so cruel and painful a death. The ultimate cause is not mentioned, but the words מוּסַר שְׁלֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו, which follow, implicitly point to this: his suffering was a מוּסָר, which indirectly states that God had appointed it to fall on him,—for who else could the יֹסֵר (מְיַסֵּר) be? We have rendered מוּסָר by "punishment," as the language has no other word for it; for, though נָקָם and פְּקֻדָּה also mean punishment, yet the former signifies ἐκδίκησις, the latter ἐπίσκεψις; while מוּסָר not merely signifies παιδεία, as chastisement inflicted by love (Prov. iii. 11), but also punitive infliction (τιμωρία, κόλασις), Prov. vii. 22; Jer. xxx. 14: hence David, when entreating God not to punish

him in wrath and anger (Ps. vi. 2), has no more fitting expression than יִסֵּר (הוֹכִיחַ) for indicating punishment as the execution of judgment. The noun (formed like מוּסָד, xxviii. 16) originally includes the idea of actual chastisement, which was afterwards transferred to that of correction by words, and of warning by example. In this passage, where mention is made of a sufferer, and of מוּסָר lying on him, this can only be meant of actual chastisement. And if the expression employed were מוּסָרֵנוּ עָלָיו, this would merely affirm that God caused him, who had taken on himself our transgressions and offences, and hence made himself vicariously guilty, to suffer the vengeance deserved by those sins. But the expression used is מוּסַר שְׁלֹמֵנוּ, in which the connection of the words is the same as in מוּסַר חָכְמָה (Prov. xv. 33, cf. i. 3, xv. 31); as the latter signifies "chastisement leading to wisdom," so the former means "the chastisement which leads to our peace." The genitive שְׁלֹמֵנוּ defines the aim or object, and the result of the מוּסָר, and this declares that this manifestation of God's justice, this satisfaction provided by His holiness, had love as its foundation and end. It was our peace—or, what is more in conformity with the full meaning of the word (synonyms being טוֹב, יְשׁוּעָה, lii. 7), our good in all respects, our blessedness —which these sufferings designed and effected. The succeeding words, "and by his stripe" (חַבּוּרָה=חֲבוּרָה, i. 6) "has healing come to us," define שָׁלוֹם as a state of salvation brought about through healing. "*Venustissimum ὀξύμωρον,*" is the exclamation of Vitringa here: he means the same as Jerome, who say, "*suo vulnere vulnera nostra curavit.*" The bloody stripes, the swellings (LXX, keeping the singular, with collective meaning, *τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ*; see also 1 Pet. ii. 24), which were inflicted on him, have made us whole and well. Because of our sins we were sick unto death; then he, the sinless One, took on himself a suffering unto death, which was, as it were, the quintessence and substance of the woe we had incurred; and this voluntary suffering, this self-submission to the justice of the Holy One, in accordance with the counsel of love, became our healing.

In this way the whole of the restored Israel penitently confess that they have so long mistaken him whom God, as is now directly declared, had made a curse for them who had

gone astray and become lost. Ver. 6: "*We all like sheep went astray; we had each turned to his own way, and Jehovah caused to fall on him the iniquity of us all.*" It is the moral condition of Israel, which brought about the exile, and continued during the exile, on which Israel here repentantly looks back. Then, amidst the ruin caused by their sins, and in their penal state, Israel resembled a scattered flock without a shepherd; they had lost the way of Jehovah (lxiii. 17), and each one had turned, in selfishness and estrangement, from God, to his own way (lvi. 11). But Jehovah caused the punishment of their guilt to fall on his Servant, that he might make atonement for them by his sufferings. Stier's explanation is: "Jehovah made the iniquity of all to strike (or break) on him;" while Hahn's rendering is, "Jehovah took the guilt of the whole into his service," by causing him to die a violent death through their bringing guilt on themselves. Hofmann rightly rejects both explanations, holding firmly to the fact that הִפְגִּיעַ בְּ, as the causative from פָּגַע בְּ, means, "to cause something to strike or hit on some one," as Symmachus translates, *κύριος καταντῆσαι ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνομίαν πάντων ἡμῶν.* "As the blood of the murdered one comes on the murderer, by the bloody deed committed returning on him as blood-guiltiness demanding vengeance; so sin comes upon the sinner, overtakes him (Ps. xl. 13), falls on him. As his deed it went forth from him; as a fact condemning him, it comes back on him as a power to destroy. Here, however, God does not cause those who have sinned to be overtaken by their sin, but it falls upon His Servant, the righteous one" (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. 207). What falls on him is not punishment, and yet it is punishment: it is punishment only in so far as he has identified himself vicariously with sinners who are deserving of wrath. How could he have made expiation for sin, if he had merely subjected himself to its cosmical effects, and not, face to face with God, to that wrath which is the correlative of sin? And what else would have prevented God from taking away from him the bitterest of all cups,—that of death,—except the moral impossibility of recognising the atonement as actually accomplished, without leaving the representative and substitute of the guilty, who had taken the guilt on himself, and was

standing before him, to taste the punishment incurred by those guilty ones? As the palindromically repeated כֻּלָּנוּ emphatically shows, it was the sin of all Israel that pressed forcibly on him; the term עָוֹן, however, indicates not merely the sin committed, but also the guilt thereby incurred, and the punishment which it brings on,—all this great multitude of sins, and mass of guilt, and weight of punishment came upon the Servant of Jehovah, in accordance with the appointment of the God of salvation, who is gracious in holiness. Here ends the third turn. It was our sins that he bore, and our salvation for which Jehovah made him suffer on our account.

The fourth turn describes how he suffered and died, and was buried. Ver. 7: "*He was ill-treated, while he suffered willingly, and opened not his mouth; like the lamb that is led to the shambles, and like a sheep that is dumb before her shearers, and he opened not his mouth.*" At the opening of the sentence stands the 3rd pers. sing. Niphal, in a passive sense: "he was hard pressed" (1 Sam. xiii. 6), he was driven, hunted down (1 Sam. xiv. 24),—tyrannically and mercilessly treated; in a word, "plagued," harassed, tormented (*vexatus;* cf. the Niphal in the reciprocal sense, iii. 5, and according to the reading נִגַּשׁ in xxix. 13, in the reflexive sense, "to torment one's self"). Hitzig goes on to translate the next clause, "and though tormented, yet he opened not his mouth." But if the construction followed the arrangement combining what is simultaneous and coincident (1 Kings xiv. 17; 2 Kings ii. 23; Isa. xxxvii. 38; cf. 1 Sam. ix. 11), then we should rather have to render the passage, "and while he was being tormented, he opened not his mouth." The right view, however, is given by the accentuation, which connects וְהוּא נַעֲנֶה (*Zarka* with *Munach Kadma* preceding) as a subordinate clause with what precedes, and takes וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו (*Segolta* with *Munach* preceding) as a continuation of the participial clause. Accordingly, we give to the participle נַעֲנֶה, not a passive, but a reflexive meaning (as in Ex. x. 3): "he was being ill-treated, while bowed himself (Niphal with the 'tolerative' sense), and opened not his mouth" (the regular change from the participle to the finite verb). The voluntary endurance is then elucidated by the

figure, "like a lamb that is being led to the slaughter" (an attributive clause, as in Jer. xi. 19); while the resigned and submissive silence is set forth by the simile, "like a sheep that is dumb before its shearers:" the first time, שֶׂה is used, because it was necessary that the sacrificial lamb should always be a male; the second time, רָחֵל, in which case (as lambs are not yet shorn) we must think of the grown female sheep. נֶאֱלָמָה is not the participle—which would require to be accented on the *final* syllable, as in i. 21, 26; Nah. iii. 11—but the pausal form for נֶאֶלְמָה; and this, too,—because the interchange of the perfect with the imperfect in the attributive clause must be intentional,—does not mean *quae obmutescit*, but *obmutuit*. The following clause וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו does not form a part of the simile, otherwise the verb-form would need to be תִּפְתַּח; for only the most urgent necessity would compel us to assume (as is done by Rashi and others) that the form in the text refers back, beyond רָחֵל, to שֶׂה. But the palindromical repetition also (which Klosterman attributes, with Lagarde, to a *dormitans librarius*) pleads for the unity of the subject with the preceding יִפְתַּח, as well as for the correctness of the accentuation, with which also the LXX and Acts viii. 32 (*οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*) coincide. All the utterances in the New Testament regarding the Lamb of God are derived from this prophecy, in which the dumb type of the Passover now finds a tongue.

The description of the closing portion of the life of the Servant of Jehovah is continued in ver. 8: "*Out of prison and out of judgment was he taken; and of his contemporaries, who considered this: 'He was snatched out of the land of the living, seeing that, on account of the transgression of my people, vengeance fell on him?'*" The emphasis rests, not on the fact that he was taken away from suffering, but that it was suffering from which he was taken: in לֻקָּח (with *ā* in the half-pause) the predominant idea is not that of being translated (as in the histories of Enoch and Elijah), but that of being snatched away: *abreptus est* (lii. 5; Ezek. xxxiii. 4, etc.), an expression which is paralleled by *abscissus* (נִכְרַת, Jer. xi. 9) *a terra viventium*, instead of which even נִגְזַר alone is used in the sense of "being departed" (*i.e.* removed from the realm

of the living to that of the dead), Lam. iii. 54; cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 11. עֹצֶר (from עָצַר, to confine, restrain) is forcible restraint; here, as in Ps. cvii. 39, it means persecuting treatment, causing prevention through external compulsion; and מִשְׁפָּט is the judicial action which framed the lawsuit against him, accused him as one worthy of death, and condemned him,—hence it means unrighteous legal proceedings. As in the first part of ver. 5, and in Ps. cvii. 39, the מִ may certainly be understood as pointing to the ground and reason of the taking away, but the local meaning is more simple and natural in connection with לֻקַּח (as in xlix. 24); hostile oppression and judicial persecution were what befell him, and out of these he was removed by death. With regard to what follows, we must in any case adhere to the ordinary use of the language, according to which דּוֹר (Arab. *daur*, *dahr*, an age, period of time) means a "generation," the human beings living in a generation, and in an ethical sense also the whole mass united by similarity of thought and feeling (see *e.g.* Ps. xiv. 5, cxii. 2), or even (the Arab. *dâr*) the dwelling or habitation, as in xxxviii. 12 (possibly also applied to the grave in Ps. xlix. 20). Such meanings as "the length of life" (assigned by Luther, Grotius, and others), "course of life" (Vitringa), "fate" (Hitzig), cannot be substantiated. When therefore the LXX (followed by Jerome) renders this clause by *τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται*, this could only mean, "Who can express the number of his generation?" (*i.e.* those descended from him: such is the view of Hengstenberg, Nägelsbach, etc.); in this connection, however, such a thought is premature: besides, instead of דּוֹרוֹ, the unambiguous זַרְעוֹ might have been expected. Still less must we start with the signification "dwelling," or habitation. Knobel explains the expression, "who considers how little suited to him is the grave which he has obtained as a habitation?" But the words are insufficient to bear all this meaning imposed on them. Hofmann (in his *Schriftbeweis*), though he had formerly explained the passage thus: "No one thinks and speaks about his dwelling-place, so as even to consider this and ask what has become of him," has rightly decided for the meaning "contemporaries" (as *e.g.* in Jer. ii. 31). Only

through adopting this meaning do we obtain a thought suited to this description of His sufferings, and especially to what follows. We take ואת as an accusative; וְאֶת־דּוֹרוֹ, however, is not the prefixed object of יְשׂוֹחֵחַ, this object being rather what is set forth after כִּי; but it is the accusative of respect or general regard, which (as is evident from lvii. 12; Ezek. xvii. 21, and Neh. ix. 34) may also serve to give emphatic prominence to the subject (see Gesenius, § 117): for אֵת is not the preposition (as Luzzatto thinks), because the meaning "among His equals" (or contemporaries) would not be expressed in Hebrew by אֶת־דּוֹרוֹ, but by בְּדוֹרוֹ. The Pilel, followed by בְּ (as shown by Ps. cxliii. 5; cf. the Qal with the accusative, in Ps. cxlv. 5), signifies considerate speaking and thinking, and is synonymous with הָגָה: as in vers. 2, 7, the imperfect states what happens in the past. The following כִּי is an explicative *quod* ("with regard to his contemporaries, who of them considered that," etc.): the words introduced by כִּי indicate what his contemporaries ought to have considered, but did not. We see from עַמִּי that it is meant to introduce direct address; and, on the other hand, we understand—if כִּי, like the recitative ὅτι (*e.g.* in Josh. ii. 24; cf. דִּי in Dan. ii. 25), be left untranslated—why the discourse, which has hitherto been carried on in a general way ("who hath believed what we had heard," etc.), becomes in this case so specific; for the assertion that עַמִּי is equivalent to עַמִּים is a mere makeshift on the part of those who maintain that the servant of Jehovah in the prophecy is Israel, and who make the latter the Saviour of the world. It is not to be denied that a suitable subject for the meditation mentioned is obtained by explaining the passage (as is done by Hofmann and by V. F. Oehler), "He was torn away from the land of the living, through (מִן being regarded as indicating the mediating cause or means) wicked (bringing him to death) conduct of my people, for a punishment to themselves;" hence "none (like מִי in ver. 1: none = exceedingly few) of his contemporaries perceived what had befallen them because of their sin, by the fact that they had deprived themselves of him through violent death. But the words מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֶגַע לָמוֹ certainly produce the impression that they are meant to be viewed in correlation with וַאֲנַחְנוּ

חֲשַׁבְנֻהוּ נָגוּעַ (in the latter part of ver. 4), as a justification of the statement they make. Rather does this correlation come in appropriately, if the force of the מִן is viewed as continuing, so as to make the clause mean "on account of the stroke which was their due" (Seb. Schmid, Kleinert, Hölemann, F. Philippi, Bredenkamp), but not (what would be against the meaning of נֶגַע as shown by actual use in the language) "through the stroke coming from them," *i.e.* my people (which is the view of Hahn); or if we take נֶגַע לָמוֹ as a relative clause, so as to mean, with its preceding context, "of my people to whom the stroke was due" (the view of Hengstenberg and Hävernick), or if, with Stier, we explain it to mean "He was wholly stricken for them,"—in which case הוּא is wanting. Against the explanation "on account of the transgression of my people, the punishment due to them," there is nothing in itself objectionable; it is most simple and natural, however, to refer לָמוֹ to the Servant of God, especially because our prophet uses this word in xliv. 15 also, and there as a singular (see the passage), and the suffix-form מוֹ is proved by Job xxii. 2, xx. 23, xxvii. 23 to have the singular meaning. נֶגַע (from the root נג, and allied to נָכָה) rarely means a blow given by a human being (ill-treatment), but almost always signifies one inflicted by God (Jerome's rendering is *percussi eum*), — divine punishment, suffering appointed by God, whether outward, *i.e.* corporal (especially leprosy) or internal (cf. 1 Kings viii. 38 with 2 Chron. vi. 29). He was regarded as נָגוּעַ, and he was also actually such, but not in the sense in which men regarded him. Though during his lifetime they were deceived regarding him, yet, on looking back upon his doings and sufferings, they ought to have come to think that it was not his own, but Israel's transgressions for the sake of which (viz. in order to atone for them) the נֶגַע (*i.e.* such a visitation from God) had fallen upon him. The ל is used as in xxiv. 16, and especially xxvi. 16, where it is likewise found in a subordinate clause; Dachselt translates it correctly in accordance with the syntax: *propter praevaricationem populi mei plagâ ei contingente;* regarding such loosely connected subordinate clauses, cf. the remarks on i. 5.

After the description in ver. 7 of his patience under

suffering, and in ver. 8 of the manner of his death, there follows a retrospect touching his burial. Ver. 9: "*And his grave was assigned to him with transgressors, and with a rich man was he in his death, because he had committed no unrighteousness, nor was there deceit in his mouth.*" The subject to וַיִּתֵּן is not Jehovah, though this—inasmuch as נֶגַע has Jehovah for its implicit subject—is not unnaturally supposed; but this view is incompatible with ver. 10, where יְהוָה appears in antithetical prominence as the subject. Either עַמִּי is the subject, viewed as continued from ver. 8; or וַיִּתֵּן is to be regarded as the common impersonal or indefinite construction (Gesenius, § 144. 3), "one gave," *i.e.* there was given, like וַיִּקְרָא in ix. 5, "one calls," *i.e.* people call. But does not this view clash with the following clause, וְאֶת־עָשִׁיר בְּמֹתָיו? The old translators here do violence to the text, and yet do not bring out of it any thought that can be accepted. Equally untenable also is the explanation now generally current, according to which עָשִׁיר is the synonymous parallel to רְשָׁעִים (such is the view even of Luther, whose rendering is, "and died like a rich man," with the marginal gloss, "a rich man who sets his heart on wealth," *i.e.* a godless man); for, even supposing that עָשִׁיר might be synonymous with רָשָׁע (which in Job xxiv. 6 signifies precisely a heartless rich man), as עָנִי and אֶבְיוֹן are synonymous with צַדִּיק, it is just in a passage like this that such a meaning of the word would be least admissible, inasmuch as one who is buried with the rich—whether these are godly or ungodly—and not with בְּנֵי הָעָם (Jer. xxvi. 23), by that very fact obtains an honourable, nay, a grand burial (Job xxi. 32 f.). Hence Hitzig explains עָשִׁיר to mean the same as عثور *lapsator* (which, however, merely means one who makes a mistake in speaking, one who makes a slip,—no ethical element being contained in the word); Ewald corrects עָשִׁיר into עָשׁוֹק (עָשִׁיק?), and Böttcher into עֹשֵׂי רָע: all these suggestions originate with the correct assumption that to be rich is not in itself a sin that deserves an unhonoured burial, to say nothing of its obtaining one; and that with a rich man there is not necessarily associated the idea of vice or wickedness (hard-heartedness, debauchery, tyranny). But if "wicked" and "rich" are not allied ideas, then they will be antithetical; and this is rendered

probable both by the intentional play upon the words (רְשָׁעִים and עָשִׁיר), and by the change in the number (cf., however, Job xvi. 11). And if, in connection with רְשָׁעִים, we think of those who are found guilty, criminals (see our remarks on l. 9),—as is warranted by the juridical character of the context,—then the result is a contrast between a rich man living in the enjoyment of his goods, and a delinquent who has become utterly impoverished through hatred, condemnation, and execution. By taking this view of the passage, prophecy and fulfilment are equally satisfied (and why should we shut our eyes to this?), inasmuch as the Jewish authorities appointed for Jesus a burial as dishonourable (see Deut. xxi. 22 ff.) as to the two robbers (*κακοῦργοι*), while the Roman authorities gave up the body to Joseph of Arimathea, a rich man (*ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος*, Matt. xxvii. 57), who deposited it in the sepulchre of his garden. The parallelism might naturally lead us to think of the "rich man" as dead, just like the "wicked;" but the meaning is, "his grave was assigned to him with criminals, and with a rich man after he had actually died a painful death," *i.e.* he was to have been laid where the bodies of dead criminals lie, but he came after his death to lie in a grave that had been intended for the corpse of a rich man. On this view, certainly, there arises the difficulty that the indefinite subject of וַיִּתֵּן cannot be the same in the one assigning or appointing as in the other, and thus it becomes impossible, in spite of the want of הָיָה or הוּא in the second clause, to avoid deciding for the explanation of Cappellus, Vitringa, and others, *ac cum divite fuit in morte sua*, so that, in the first part of ver. 9, as well as in the second, a noun-clause follows a verb-clause. It had been determined that his grave should be among criminals, but when he was dead he came to lie with a rich man. The rendering *tumulum ejus* (Aben Ezra, Ewald, Beck, Böttcher) is inadmissible, for בָּמָה (like *βωμός*) cannot be proved to mean in Hebrew a "burial-mount," still less can תָּו, which Kessler (with Bredenkamp's approval) makes out by altering the text into וְאֶת־עֹשְׂקִים תָּוו. In this passage, as in Ezek. xxviii. 10 (cf. מְמוֹתֵי in ver. 8 of the same chapter), Jer. xvi. 4 (not to be compared with חַיִּים), מוֹתֵי is an intensive plural; and בְּמוֹתָיו (in accordance with Lev. xi. 31; 1 Kings

xiii. 31; Esth. ii. 7) signifies "when he was dead," *eo mortuo* (as בְּחַיָּיו means "when he was living"). "To find a resting-place with a rich man after death," as F. Philippi rightly remarks, "is not of course a complete compensation for the disgrace of having died the death of a criminal; nevertheless, the honourable burial of one who was put to death with dishonour shows that there must have been some special circumstances connected with him: it is the beginning of a glorification commencing with death." If we have correctly understood the second member of the sentence, then the following עַל לֹא (=עַל־אֲשֶׁר לֹא; cf. עֵקֶב in Num. xiv. 24, and, מִן for מֵאֲשֶׁר in Deut. xxxiii. 11) will not mean, as in Job xvi. 17, "in spite of the fact that there is not," but, like עַל־בְּלִי in Gen. xxxi. 20, "because of the fact that . . . not" (Nägelsbach): the reason for the change to honour the Servant of God immediately after his ignominious and painful death, lay in his sinlessness. But an alternative explanation is that of Hengstenberg, who regards the words וְאֶת־עָשִׁיר בְּמֹתָיו as a parenthetical clause, and attaches the clause beginning with עַל לֹא to the first member. The parallel adduced from Job, however, is not by any means of irresistible force; for, as in other cases also, in appropriating a passage from another place, there is pretty frequently made some modification of its original meaning. Hence the whole passage might be regarded thus: the burial of him who died took a different turn from that which had been intended for him, because (LXX, ὅτι; Jerome, *eo quod*) he neither had done any wrong, nor was there deceit in his mouth (LXX, and 1 Pet. ii. 2, with correct rendering of the noun-clause, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ). Pure love was ever the motive of his actions, the clearest truth formed the substance of his speech.

The last turn in the discourse, which now begins, further carries out the latter part of ver. 6 by disclosing the background of his fate. The gracious purpose of God for our salvation was accomplished thus: Ver. 10: "*And it pleased Jehovah to bruise him; he afflicted him with disease: if his soul were to pay a trespass-offering, he should see posterity, live long days, and the purpose of Jehovah should prosper through his hand.*" It is impossible that הֶחֱלִי can be equivalent

to הֶחֱלִי, as Hitzig supposes: the article attached to a noun never (not even in הָאָרֶץ) obliterates the original character of its form; nor does the view of Böttcher, that הֶחֱלִי is an accusative of closer specification, commend itself—for, in that case, what would be the use of the article? Many (including Böttcher and König) needlessly regard it as an Aramaism: it is the Hiphil from חָלָא, 2 Chron. xvi. 12 (cf. תַּחֲלוּאִים), but written as in the text, like הֶחֱטִי, 2 Kings xiii. 6; Jer. xxxii. 35: for, whenever there follows a word beginning with א, one א is written instead of two (Klostermann). דַּכְּאוֹ is the infinitive Piël, and is by Jerome rendered *conterere eum:* incorrect is the rendering of the LXX (דַּכָּא being taken for זַכָּה), *καθαρίσαι αὐτόν.* Judging from Micah vi. 13 (הֶחֱלֵיתִי הַכּוֹתֶךָ, I make ill in smiting thee, *i.e.* I smite thee with a painful blow), דַּכְּאוֹ הֶחֱלִי might seem to be connected, so that the clause would mean, "And it pleased Jehovah to bruise him painfully;" logically, however, as well as syntactically, this would require the inverse arrangement of these words, thus, הֶחֱלִי דַּכְּאוֹ; hence, according to Job xxxiii. 32, דַּכְּאוֹ will be an infinitive depending on חָפֵץ. From the infinitival construction there is then made a change into the finite, the object being given by the preceding דַּכְּאוֹ, and the expression means, "he made [him] ill," *i.e.* plunged him into distress, or even, he made him ill thereby (*i.e.* through the bruising),—for this meaning of הֶחֱלָה ("to make ill through something," as Hofmann thinks) may be substantiated by Hos. vii. 5; Micah vi. 13. It was men who inflicted on the Servant of God such overwhelming suffering, such deep sorrow; but the supreme efficient cause throughout was God, who made the sin of men subservient to his predetermined counsel. The suffering of his Servant was to be for him the path to glory; and this path of his through suffering to glory was to be the basis of a Church of redeemed ones springing from him: it was to be the beginning of the continued execution of the divine plan of salvation, carried out by him, the ever-living, ever-working one. Jerome's rendering, *si posuerit pro peccato animam suam,* is contrary to the received text. The view of Nägelsbach and others, that תָּשִׂים is directly uttered by Jehovah, has this against it, that the giver is the Servant, and that the giving refers to Jehovah.

Still less admissible is the view of Hofmann, that the words apply to the nation: is it then Israel that makes the soul of the Servant an אָשָׁם, and not rather the Servant Himself? When our rendering is, "if his soul placed (this being equivalent in meaning to the future perfect 'should have placed;' cf. Job xiv. 14, *si mortuus fuerit*) an אָשָׁם," it is obvious that אָשָׁם has here a sacrificial sense; נַפְשׁוֹ as the subject gives prominence to the voluntary character of his sacrificial death; this willingness, as distinguished from the nature of the animal sacrifices, made his offering truly expiatory: and there was no need of a second נַפְשׁוֹ to specify the object, for the אָשָׁם offered by the soul of the Servant is, as such, a sacrifice of himself. And even assuming (with Wellhausen) that אָשָׁם in itself here signifies the recompense due for contracted guilt, this satisfaction for guilt, as being a self-sacrifice, is certainly an expiatory offering. And inasmuch as Ezekiel, the older prophet of the exiles, mentions (in xl. 39) the trespass-offering (אָשָׁם) along with the burnt-offering (עֹלָה) and the sin-offering (חַטָּאת) as a customary species of sacrifice (cf. Ezra x. 19, where we may read אֲשָׁמִים or אֵילִים), there is nothing to prevent us from answering the question, in what light the self-sacrifice of the Servant of God is viewed when it is called אָשָׁם, from the sacrificial laws codified in Leviticus and Numbers. The אָשָׁם is a most holy sacrifice, like the חַטָּאת (Lev. vi. 10, xiv. 13); and according to Lev. vii. 7, it has "one law" with the latter. This similarity of treatment, however, was confined to the fact that the pieces of fat in the trespass-offering, as in the case of the sin-offering, were laid upon the altar; whereas the remainder, as in the case of those sin-offerings, the blood of which was not brought into the interior of the sanctuary, was assigned to the priests and to the male members of the priestly families (see Lev. vi. 22, vii. 6). But these two kinds of sacrifices differ in various other ways; and in the case of the trespass-offering, instead of the proper altar-ritual, on which the law (in Lev. vii. 1–7) is very brief, there come into prominence other details of observance which are peculiar to itself (Lev. v. 14 ff.; Num. v. 5–8). These are explained by the fact that a trespass-offering had to be brought by every one who had allowed himself to incur guilt through an illegal appropriation, reten-

tion, or embezzlement of another's possessions, any violation of the divinely-appointed relations regarding property, or requirements in connection with worship.[1] Wherever material restitution of what had been taken away was possible, this had to be done with the addition of a fifth beyond what had been taken; and in the one case mentioned in Lev. xix. 20–22, the trespass-offering could not be presented till after the judicial punishment had been inflicted: in every case, however, the guilty one had to present the trespass-offering with the estimation of the priest in silver shekels, *i.e.* in accordance with the priestly valuation in sacred coin. Thus distinct was the prominence which the person of the priest assumed in the ritual connected with the trespass-offering; and whereas, in the case of the sin-offering, he is the representative of the offerer, in the trespass-offering he appears pre-eminently as the representative of God. The trespass-offering is in him, the priest, a recompense for an injury rendered to God,—a compensatory payment or amends,—a satisfaction in a disciplinary sense. This is also indicated by its name; for, as חַטָּאת primarily signifies sin, then the punishment of sin and atonement for sin, and hence the sacrifice which removes the sin; so אָשָׁם primarily signifies guilt, then the recompense rendered for guilt, and hence (cf. Lev. v. 15) the offering which cancels the guilt and sets the offender free.

Every species of sacrifice has its own peculiar fundamental conception. The primary idea presented by the עוֹלָה or "burnt-offering" is *oblatio,* or the offering of worship; that of the שְׁלָמִים, or "peace-offerings," is *conciliatio,* or joining together in intercourse; that of the מִנְחָה, or "meat-offering" (or rather "meal-offering") is *donatio,* or sanctifying dedication; that of the חַטָּאת, or "sin-offering," is *expiatio,* or atonement; that of the אָשָׁם, or "trespass-offering," is the payment of a fine (*satisfactio*), or compensatory payment. The self-sacrifice of the Servant of Jehovah may be exhibited under all these aspects; it is the complete antitype, the reality, the end and object (τὸ τέλος) of all sacrifices. So far as it is the antitype of the trespass-offering, or compensatory sacrifice, the point of difficulty in the correlation between type and antitype

[1] See Köhler, *Geschichte,* i. 401 f.

lies in the equivalent rendered to the divine righteousness for the sacrilegious injuries caused through our sins (cf. the expression מָעַל מַעַל, Ezek. xiv. 13, etc.). The idea of compensatory payment, which Hofmann extends to the whole field of sacrifice, by understanding the verb כִּפֶּר as meaning the covering over of guilt in the sense of a debt (*debitum*), is peculiar to the אָשָׁם; and specific expression is likewise given in it to an idea which Hofmann refuses to assign to sacrifices, viz. the conception of *satisfaction* required by the justice of God, and of the *penalty* or punishment attached to the guilt contracted (cf. נִרְצָה, xl. 2), *i.e.* the idea of *vicarious satisfaction* in this passage, in which the soul of the Servant of God, the unique One, the representative of Israel (as Cheyne thinks), is said to offer such an atoning sacrifice by giving himself in this way, with his life so highly valued by God (xlii. 1, xlix. 5). In agreement with the fundamental idea of the trespass-offering, fit choice has also been made of the verb שִׂים, which is the usual term employed in connection with the giving of a pledge (Job xvii. 3), and is thus also a suitable word for every kind of *satisfaction* representing a direct *payment*. The apodoses to the conditional clause "if his soul shall have paid the penalty,"—which all have verbs in the imperfect,—state what was to happen when the former should have come to pass: he was to see (the verb being used as in Gen. l. 23; Job xlii. 16) posterity, *i.e.* to obtain a large family of widely-spread descendants, by which is meant the new "seed of Israel" (see the Targum on this passage, and our remarks on Ps. xlv. 17), the people redeemed by him, the Church founded by him, and composed of those who have been redeemed out of Israel and all nations. Then again: he was to see long days, as he says in Rev. i. 18, "I was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore." Thirdly: the pleasure of Jehovah was to prosper in his hand, *i.e.* through the service of his mediation (or, according to the radical meaning of צָלַח, صلح, to have ever-increasing progress to the final goal). His self-sacrifice is thus only the foundation for the progressive self-realization of a "pleasure of Jehovah," *i.e.* (cf. liv. 28) of a purpose of God in accordance with His counsel, the fuller description of which we have read in chaps.

xlii. and xlix.: he is to be the mediator of a new covenant, and the restorer of Israel, the light of the Gentiles, and the salvation of Jehovah even to the ends of the earth.

This grand work of salvation lies, as the task to which he is called, in the hand of him who died, and yet ever lives, and it goes forward victoriously through him. He now reaps the fruits of his self-sacrifice in continual exercise of his priestly work. Ver. 11: "*Because of the travail of his soul he will see, will refresh himself; through his knowledge will he obtain righteousness, my righteous Servant, for the many, and their iniquities will he take upon himself.*" The prophecy here leaves the standpoint of Israel's retrospective acknowledgment, and anew becomes the prophetic organ of God himself, who acknowledges his Servant. The מִן of מֵעֲמַל indicates the source from which this satisfying view will come, viz. from the distress of his soul, *i.e.* its endurance. This מִן is not negative, so as to signify "away from" or "free from" distress (as, for instance, in Job xxi. 9); nor has it the temporal meaning "immediately after" distress (see *e.g.* Ps. lxxiii. 20); but the meaning here is local, "out of," and this, when viewed causally (so as to signify "in consequence of," on account of, as in Eccles. ii. 23), separates and combines not merely outwardly, but brings into intimate connection. Accordingly, the meaning is, "out from the travail of his soul (*i.e.* in consequence of the trouble which has been suffered and felt, not merely in his body, but in his inmost soul; cf. διό in Phil. ii. 9) will he see, satisfy himself." Hitzig supplies בְּטוֹב (Jer. xxix. 32), but this would require to be stated here; Geiger takes יִרְאֶה as equivalent to יִרְוֶה, but this would be an unsuitably strong expression here. Meier and Knobel (as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion had already done, rendering ἐμπλησθήσεται ἐν τῇ γνώσει αὐτοῦ), against the accentuation, connect the word בְּדַעְתּוֹ with the verbs preceding, and would render the clause thus, "he looks on his prudent work, and has complete satisfaction in it;" but there is nothing to be supplied, and nothing in the existing accentuation to be changed: the second verb receives its colouring through the first,—the expression, "he will see, will satisfy himself," being equivalent to "he will enjoy a satisfying, refreshing sight" (cf. Ps. xvii. 15), which (as shown by the

latter part of ver. 10), will consist in the successful advance of the divine work of salvation carried on through him. בְּדַעְתּוֹ belongs to יַצְדִּיק as the means (cf. Prov. xi. 9) of making right. This verb is construed with לְ, in the sense of "procuring righteousness," like רָפָא לְ in vi. 10; חָבַשׁ לְ in lxi. 1; הֵנִיחַ לְ in xiv. 13, xxviii. 12 (cf. Dan. xi. 33, הֵבִין לְ, to "procure understanding;" Gen. xlv. 7, הַחֲיוֹת לְ, to "prolong life:" this is a usage forming the transition to the Aramaizing confusion of the dative with the accusative, *e.g.* Job xxxvii. 18; but cf. also v. 2). צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי are not mutually related as a proper name and a noun in apposition (Hofmann's opinion), but the attributive word is placed before the possessor of the attribute (cf. x. 30, xxiii. 12; Ps. lxxxix. 51), and the expression means, "a righteous one, my Servant:" in this way is indicated what Paul brings out (Rom. v. 12 ff.), that the one righteous person becomes the medium of righteousness to many.

But how is בְּדַעְתּוֹ to be understood? דַּעַת is γνῶσις, or ἐπίγνωσις; but is the suffix objective ("by knowledge of him"), or subjective ("by his knowledge")? The former view gives a meaning which is correct in actual fact: the Righteous One makes others partakers of righteousness, when they acknowledge him, his person, and his work, and enter into living fellowship with him: such is the view of Vitringa, Hengstenberg, Stier, Nägelsbach, and others. We prefer, however (with Cheyne, Bredenkamp, and Orelli), to take the suffix subjectively (cf. Prov. xxii. 17): this view is favoured by Mal. ii. 7, according to which "the priest's lips ought to keep knowledge" (דַּעַת: see Köhler on this passage), by Dan. xii. 3, where those are said to be faithful teachers who are called מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים, and by xi. 2, according to which "the spirit of knowledge" (רוּחַ דַּעַת) also belongs to the seven spirits that descend upon the sprout of Jesse, so that knowledge thus appears the qualification for the priestly, the prophetic, and the royal office alike. The Servant of God knows him with whom he stands in living fellowship (cf. Matt. xi. 27); he knows his loving purpose and his gracious will, in the accomplishment of which his life is spent (cf. לָדַעַת in l. 4); and in virtue of this knowledge, which rests on the most immediate experience, he, the Righteous One, will assist

"the many,"—*i.e.* the vast mass (הָרַבִּים being used as in Dan. ix. 27, xi. 33, 39, xii. 3: cf. Ex. xxiii. 2, where רַבִּים, without the article, is used in the same sense), therefore all his own people, and, through them, mankind beyond (so far as these are capable of receiving salvation), τοῖς πολλοῖς, Rom. v. 19 (cf. πολλῶν, Matt. xxvi. 28)—in reaching the position and line of conduct that are right and well-pleasing to God. What is primarily meant is the righteousness of faith, which is the consequence of justification on the ground of his righteousness obtained for us (Dan. ix. 24); but there is likewise included that righteousness of life which proceeds from the saving influences by an inward necessity, which is contained in the new life begun in us. Because our righteousness springs from the forgiveness of sins as a gift of grace, quite apart from merit or works, the prophecy ever reverts anew from the justifying work of the Servant of God to His sin-destroying work as the foundation of all righteousness: "and their iniquities, he shall bear." This verb-form יִסְבֹּל, which stands in co-ordinate relation with the preceding imperfects bearing a future meaning, sets forth an operation extending over and beyond the work to which he was called and which he accomplished in this life, and it signifies the continued operation of what is indicated in סְבָלָם, ver. 4. His continued taking of our transgressions on himself is but the constant presentation and representation of his atonement, which was offered once for all: he who died but now lives is, on the basis of his one sacrifice of himself, an everlasting high priest, who now distributes the blessings he procured.

The last reward of his work here for the salvation of sinners, and of his work hereafter, based on the former, is victorious dominion, ver. 12: "*Therefore I give him a share with the great, and with the strong will he share spoil; because he poured out his soul unto death, and let himself be numbered among transgressors, while he bare the sins of many, and interceded for the transgressors.*" The promise takes its stand between humiliation and exaltation, and is based partly on the work of the exalted one, partly on the doing and the suffering of him who willingly sacrificed himself. Luther, following the LXX and Jerome, gives the rendering, "There-

fore will I give him a great multitude for booty;" and Nägelsbach, with others, take substantially the same view, "therefore will I apportion him the many." But (as shown by Job xxxix. 17) this clause can only mean, "therefore will I give him a share in the many." But, if חִלֵּק בְּ signifies "to give a share in" something, and not to give this itself as a share, then it follows that הָרַבִּים here are not "the many," but "the great" ones, and this view receives support from the parallel member. What is meant by this giving of a share בָרַבִּים, is shown by passages like lii. 15, xlix. 7, according to which the great ones of this earth will side with him and pay him homage, or at least will be forced to submit to him. Luther renders the second clause, "and he shall have the strong for a prey," while Nägelsbach and Bredenkamp translate, "the strong ones will he divide as spoil,"—but among whom? Bredenkamp (pointing to Zech. ii. 13) replies, "among his own people;" but the most natural thought would certainly be that they become the spoils of the victor and his host (Ps. cx. 3; cf. Rev. xix. 14). Following Prov. xvi. 19, we take אֵת as a preposition: mighty ones surround him, fight along with him, and come also to enjoy with him a share in the fruits of his victory,—a Messianic feature in the portrait of the Servant, but one that is to be understood in a spiritual sense (Cheyne). With such glory—like that of a victorious prince—is he rewarded for having poured out his soul unto death, by not merely exposing his life to death (Hölemann), but by pouring out (הֶעֱרָה, to make bare or empty, shake out completely, pour out to the last drop) his life's blood into death (לַמָּוֶת, like the לְ in Ps. xxii. 16), and also for letting himself be counted (נִמְנָה being the "tolerative" Niphal) among transgressors, *i.e.* in the judgment of his contemporaries, and in the unjust sentence by which he was delivered up to death as a transgressor, *i.e.* a wicked lawbreaker and apostate. With וְהוּא there is attached to the preceding statement a circumstantial clause containing a verb in the perfect, such as is found, *e.g.*, in Judg. iii. 26 (see Driver on the *Hebrew Tenses*, § 160): he willingly submitted to the death of a transgressor, while he was nevertheless so far from being a sinner that he rather bare the sins of many (*αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε*, Heb. ix. 28), and made

intercession for the transgressors. Many (as has been done most recently by V. F. Oehler) translate, "and he takes away the sin of many, and intervenes for the evil-doers;" but the perfect נָשָׂא in the present context can only set forth something antecedent to the preceding imperfects, so that יַפְגִּיעַ accordingly expresses an associated past (as rendered by LXX, Jerome, and Luther). As הִפְגִּיעַ בְּ in ver. 6 signifies to cause to fall upon a person, so, in Jer. xv. 11, it means to cause one person to approach another (with a request); here, however, as in lix. 16, the Hiphil is not causative, but the intensive of the Qal, and means to importune earnestly; it is followed by לְ prefixed to the person for whom this is done; hence it signifies to intercede. According to the consecution of the tenses, the reference is not to the intercession (ἔντευξις) of the glorified One, but the suffering Mediator. Every word here is, as it were, written under the cross on Golgotha: and this remark applies to what has just been stated, which has been fulfilled in the words of the crucified One, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke xxiii. 34).

"In these discourses," says V. E. Oehler, "the contemplation of the prophet ascends by stages as it were from the foundation walls of a cathedral, enclosing a large space, to the giddy height of the towering summit upon which the cross has been planted; and the nearer it approaches the summit, the clearer appears the outline of the cross fixed there: arrived at the top, it rests in peace, for it has reached what was desired when it began to ascend the first steps of the temple tower." This figure is striking. Here, in the centre of the book of consolation, is found the idea of the "Servant of Jehovah" at the summit of its ascent. It has reached its goal: the Messianic idea, formerly included in the more general idea of the nation regarded as the "Servant of Jehovah," has now risen from the depth of this view on magnificent metamorphosis. From the very fact of this commingling resulted the element of the "mystic union of the head with the body, which was foreign to previous representations of the Messiah:" Israel is the body, and he the head that towers above. Another element through which we saw the Messianic idea enriched even before chap. liii. is the

"threefold office" of the Messiah. Even in chaps. vii.–xii. the figure of the Messiah is still only that of a king; but according to chaps. xlii., xlix., l., the Servant of Jehovah is first of all a Prophet, and as the one who proclaims a new law, as the Mediator of a new covenant, he is another Moses; at the close of his appointed work, however, he receives the homage of kings; while between, there lies, as disclosed in chap. liii., his self-sacrifice, on the ground of which he rules above, a Priest after the order of Melchizedek, *i.e.* as a Priest and likewise a victorious Ruler. From this point, two elements are superadded to the Messianic idea,—the two-fold state, and vicarious satisfaction. David indeed had also become a type of the two states seen in his Antitype, for it was through suffering that he had reached the throne; yet where, in direct Messianic prophecy, up to this point, could be found any delineation of the *Ecce Homo* in his sufferings and death? But the Servant of Jehovah goes through disgrace to glory, and through death to life; he conquers when overthrown, he rules after being enslaved, he lives after being slain, he completes his work after he seemed to have been destroyed. His glory beams forth upon the dark ground of the deepest abasement, for the representation of which the dark colours are furnished by the pictures of suffering in the Psalms and the Book of Job. And these sufferings of his are not merely those of a confessor and martyr, like the experiences of the persecuted Church, but representative and atoning sufferings,—a sacrifice for sin, which theirs was not; for even the sufferings endured by the Church of the incarnate and exalted One (though, according to Col. i. 24, intimately connected with his), have no atoning power. Again and again does this 53rd chapter return to the mediatorial suffering, never tiring of resuming the same strain. "Spiritus Sanctus," says Brentius, "non delectatur inani *βαττολογίᾳ* et tamen quum in hoc capite videatur *βαττολόγος καὶ ταυτολόγος* esse, dubium non est, quin tractet rem cognitu maxime necessariam." The banner of the cross is here set up. That faith which penetrates into the inner sense of prophecy abides in patient hope not merely for the Lion of the tribe of Judah, but also for the Lamb of God that beareth the sin of the world. And in prophecy itself is

shown the reflex influence of this gigantic step in advance. Zechariah prophesies of the Messiah (vi. 13), but no longer merely as a king; not only does he rule upon his throne, but he is also Priest upon his throne; royalty and priesthood in him join hands in peace. And in Zechariah, chaps. xii. and xiii., he is the kind divine Shepherd whom his people pierce, though thereby fulfilling the counsel of God, and on whom they afterwards look back with longing and bitter lamentation and weeping. "Qui longe caret," says Augustine, "magis gaudet." Isaiah's pen has then described beforehand the repentance and confession yet to be made by Israel,— "sad at heart and sorrowful that it has loved so late."

Sixth Discourse of the Second Part, Chap. LIV.

Restoration of Jerusalem to Grace and Glory.

After the Servant of God has expiated the sin of his people by the sacrifice of himself, and Israel has acknowledged its sin against him whom it failed to recognise, and has entered into possession and enjoyment of the salvation procured by him, the glory of the Church, which through repentance and faith has become a partaker of salvation, is ready to burst forth. Hence the prophet can now call aloud to it, ver. 1: "*Shout for joy, O barren one that didst not bear! burst forth into shouting and rejoice, O thou who didst not travail with child; for more numerous are the children of the solitary one than the children of the married woman, saith Jehovah.*" The direct address refers to Jerusalem, which resembled Sarah in her early barrenness and later fruitfulness (li. 1–3). She is not called עֲקָרָה לֹא תֵלֵד (Job xxiv. 21), but עֲקָרָה לֹא יָלָדָה (Judg. xiii. 2), not, however, as if she had not already had children, but during the exile she had been robbed of her children, and as a holy city bare no more (xlix. 21). She was שׁוֹמֵמָה (left solitary, 2 Sam. xiii. 20, with allusion to her devastation as a city), whereas she had formerly been בְּעוּלָה, *i.e.* enjoyed communion with Jehovah, her husband (בַּעַל). But that state of barrenness is not to continue (for Jehovah has not given her the letter of divorce, l. 1); she is to shout aloud and rejoice, for the

number of the children which she, the desolate one, now gets, is greater than the number of those which she had as a married woman.

With such a prospect before her, her dwelling-places need enlargement. Ver. 2: "*Widen the space of thy tent, and let them stretch out the curtains of thy habitations,—hinder not! lengthen thy ropes, and fasten thy pins!*" She is to widen the space inside her tent, and they (יַטּוּ, with no subject specified, as is frequently in cases where one must think of subordinate persons acting as servants) are to spread far out the coverings of the framework of her dwelling, which, on account of its spaciousness and magnificence, is called מִשְׁכְּנוֹת (plural); she is not to oppose it, possibly thinking, in her littleness of faith, "it is enough now; it is getting too wide." The ropes which, when drawn tight, keep the walls upright, she is to lengthen; and the pins to which the ropes have been fastened, she is to drive firmly into the earth,—the former, because the tent (*i.e.* the city, Jer. xxxi. 38–40, and the habitation of the community generally, xxvi. 15) has to receive a large number of inhabitants,—the latter, because it will not soon be broken up again (xxxiii. 20).

The tent will be large, and firm withal. Ver. 3: "*For to the right and to the left shalt thou break forth, and thy seed shall take possession of nations, and desolate cities shall they populate.*" "Right and left" are equivalent to "north and south" (Ps. lxxxix. 13), or, in current speech, "on all sides." Jerusalem, breaking through all that has hitherto confined her, will now spread out (פָּרַץ, as in Gen. xxviii. 14; from the root פר, to break out by cleaving), and her seed will take possession of nations (יָרַשׁ, or יָרֵשׁ, *capessere, occupare,* especially in the sense of *κληρονομεῖν*, synonymous with נָחַל), and they (*i.e.* the children born to her) will populate cities that had been laid waste (הוֹשִׁיב the causative from יָשַׁב, "to be inhabited," xiii. 20).

The encouraging promise is continued in ver. 4: "*Fear not, for thou wilt not be put to shame; and defy dishonour, for thou dost not need to be ashamed: no! the shame of thy youth thou wilt forget, and the reproach of thy widowhood thou wilt remember no more.*" Now, when the redemption is at hand, Israel is not to fear, or (as is indicated by the Niphal

נִכְלָם) let herself be overpowered by the feeling of the disgrace which her state of punishment brings with it,—not to let her mind be so possessed that there is no room for hope. For there is now beginning a state of things in which she will have no cause for being ashamed (regarding בּושׁ and חָפֵר or הֶחְפִּיר, see the remarks on i. 29), but which rather (כִּי, *imo*, as in x. 7, lv. 9) will be so glorious that because of it she forgets the shame of her youth (*i.e.* the Egyptian bondage; for at that time the community of Israel, as a nation, was still like a young virgin, עַלְמָה, that, redeemed by Jehovah, became a bride, and through the marriage-covenant —marriage being a בְּרִית—of the law of Sinai, became His youthful wife, Jer. ii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 60),—so glorious that she thinks no more of the shame of her widowhood (*i.e.* the Babylonian captivity, in which she, the wife whom Jehovah had wedded, was like a widow whose husband had died).

It was not a real widowhood, however, but only a seeming one (Jer. li. 5), for the husband of Jerusalem is living still. Ver. 5: "*For thy Creator is thy husband; Jehovah of hosts is his name; and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel,—God of the whole earth is he called.*" The plural forms בֹּעֲלַיִךְ and עֹשַׂיִךְ (cf. the remarks on xxii. 11) are to be regarded in the same way as the plural אֱלֹהִים, and its construction both with plural attributes (see Josh. xxiv. 19; 1 Sam. xvii. 26; Ps. lviii. 12; cf. x. 15, מְרִימָיו) and with plural predicates (Gen. xx. 13, xxxv. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 23). He who entered into the conjugal relation with Jerusalem (בֹּעֲלַיִךְ, not בְּעָלַיִךְ, i. 3) is the very same through whom she came into existence, the God who has the power and means to help her, and who will help her in accordance with the loving relation which He now renews.

Ver. 6: "*For as a wife forsaken and deeply distressed, Jehovah calleth thee; and as a wife of youth when once she is despised; saith thy God.*" We quite give up all attempts to render the play upon words in עֲזוּבָה וַעֲצוּבַת; "distressed in spirit" is equivalent to "distressed in the very depths of one's soul." The term קָרָא, which is usually employed in these discourses to indicate the call of grace on the ground of the election of grace, is here meant to signify the call into

the relation which already exists, but appears to be dissolved; the form קְרָאָךְ, here found, is not in pause (cf. lx. 9), but stands irregularly for קְרָאֲךָ usual in other passages (Judg. iv. 20; Ezek. xx. 27). וְאֵשֶׁת ("and [as] a wife") is equivalent to וּכְאֵשֶׁת. The hypothetical clause כִּי תִמָּאֵס belongs to the figure: Jehovah calls his Church back to himself, as the husband takes back his wife whom he loved in youth, though he once was angry with her. Rashi rightly notes on this passage: שתמאס פעמים שכועס עליה מעט. The form נִמְאֲסָה has been intentionally avoided: the imperfect declares what happens, but does not become a completed fact: he is angry at her, but has not a settled aversion towards her.

Thus also does Jehovah's displeasure towards Jerusalem quickly pass away, and the consequence of his merely momentary anger is a manifestation of love which is all the more intense. Vers. 7, 8: "*During a little moment have I forsaken thee, and with great compassion will I gather thee. In an outpouring of wrath have I hidden my face for a moment from thee, and with everlasting grace I have pity on thee, saith thy Redeemer, Jehovah.*" The words "for a small moment" take us back into the time of the Exile, which is a small moment (Zech. i. 15) as compared with the duration of compassionate and tender love with which Jehovah again takes back the Church into fellowship with him, in the person of its members. רֶגַע, in the first part of ver. 8, is not an adverb ("momentarily," as in xlvii. 9), but an accusative of duration ("a moment long"). קֶצֶף (properly "breaking," from קָצַף, قصف) signifies anger, as something breaking out violently. The term שֶׁצֶף, which rhymes with it, is explained by Alb. Schultens in accordance with the Arabic شظف (to be hard and rough); following this, Hitzig renders the expression "in hard harshness." But one expects an antithesis to וּבְחֶסֶד עוֹלָם; accordingly, it is to be assumed that שֶׁצֶף represents the idea of something transitory. The old translators had a feeling of this kind when giving renderings like that of the LXX, ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ; and Ibn Labrât (in his controversial treatise against Menahem ben Zerûk, who makes חֳרִי, "burning anger," his gloss to שֶׁצֶף) translates it by מְעַט (see *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxxvii.

281), as Kimchi and others afterwards did; but, as Jacob Tam remarks on the other side, this makes the whole clause tautological. It is likely that שֶׁצֶף is a side-form chosen for its resemblance to שֶׁטֶף (like נְשַׁב in xl. 7, and נָשַׁף in xl. 24; also קָמַט in Job xvi. 8, like קָמַץ), which in meaning are correlated as bubbling over is to flowing over: so that the expression is not to be rendered, as is done by Umbreit, "in the overflow of glowing heat," which is the equivalent of בְּשֶׁטֶף (קֶצֶף) אַף (Prov. xxvii. 4), but, as Meier puts it, "in the ebullition of displeasure, the overflowing of indignation." The קֶצֶף is but a שֶׁצֶף, a vanishing moment (Jerome: *in momento indignationis*), in comparison with the essential nature of Jehovah's disposition towards Jerusalem, which is "everlasting kindness."

This expression, "with everlasting kindness," has its ground or reason now assigned. Ver. 9: "*For it is now as in the case of the waters of Noah: when I sware that the waters of Noah should no more pass over the earth; so have I sworn not to be wroth against thee, and not to threaten thee.*" The textual reading in the beginning of this verse has been uncertain from the earliest times: the LXX translators (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος) must have read מִמֵּי; the Targum, Symmachus, Theodotion, Jerome, Syriac, and Saadiah read כִּימֵי; and even the Codices (see Norzi) sometimes present the reading כִּי־מֵי, sometimes כִּימֵי (cf. Matt. xxiv. 37, ὥσπερ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε, οὕτως κ.τ.λ., an expression which seems to receive its form from the passage before us, with the reading כימי, and is explained in Luke xvii. 26). If we read כימי, then זאת is the present, as the turning-point from wrath to grace; if we read כי־מי, then זאת refers to the pouring out of wrath in appointing the Exile. Both readings are admissible, but כִּימֵי has preponderating testimony in its favour, including that of the Babylonian Codex. אֲשֶׁר is *ubi, quum* (as in Num. xx. 13; Ps. xcv. 9, etc.), though it may also be taken as the correlative of the following כֵּן (as in Jer. xxxiii. 22; cf. xlviii. 8); we prefer the former alternative, which follows the division of the verse indicated by the accents. The present turning-point in time, in the eyes of Jehovah, is like the days of Noah, when he sware that a similar flood would not (מִן being used as in v. 6; cf. ix. 7, 8, xvii. 1) again come upon the earth (see our

remarks on Gen. viii. 21): now also, his purpose, confirmed by oath, is of such a character that no manifestation of anger and utterance of threatening like what has now been endured will again befall Jerusalem. גָּעַר is used of a judicial utterance which at once transforms itself into actual result, as in li. 20: instead of וּמִגְּעָר־ there is also found the reading וּמִגֱּעָר־, like וּטֳהָר־ in Job xvii. 9, the Shevâ regulating its vowel-sound in accordance with that of the guttural letter following (see *Michlol*, § 154*b*, and Norzi). The promise, confirmed by oath, applies to the converted Israel of the last days, whose Jerusalem will not be destroyed again: but, in accordance with the character of all prophecy, these last days are viewed by the prophet in connection with the close of the Exile (cf. Hag. ii. 9).

But there comes a time when God's covenant of peace will form a heavenly arch like the covenant of Noah after the Flood, with its rainbow as the token of the covenant. Ver. 10: "*Although the mountains give way, and the hills totter, yet my grace will not depart from thee, nor will my covenant of peace totter, saith Jehovah, who hath compassion on thee.*" Regarding כִּי, "supposing that" = "although," see our remarks on xlviii. 2; it is more likely that this particle introduces the protasis of a compound sentence than that it introduces a ground or reason. The grace of Jehovah and his covenant of peace (cf. Num. xxv. 12) stand firm like God's mountains (Ps. xxxvi. 7), without giving way from Jerusalem (מֵאִתֵּךְ, instead of מֵאִתָּךְ, which is used elsewhere), and without tottering; and they are fulfilled, not by force or enchantment, but rather through suffering, which the Church, in its onward course to glory, must endure until such time as it attains the form corresponding to the glory promised to it on oath.

But this will also take place; the old Jerusalem will come forth from the smelting of suffering as a new Jerusalem. Vers. 11, 12: "*O thou distressed one, tempest-tossed, not comforted! behold, I lay thy stones in stibium, and lay thy foundation with sapphires. And I make thy battlements of ruby, and thy gates into carbuncles, and all thy boundary into jewels.*" At present, the Church of which Jerusalem is the metropolis is sunk in suffering, storm-tossed like chaff of the threshing-floor (Hos. xiii. 3), not comforted, because she has hitherto

waited in vain for any act of comfort from God, and by men not comforted, but rather insulted: סֹעֲרָה is the participle of the Qal, not the Pual; and נֻחָמָה is the third pers. sing. fem. of the perfect, like נֶאֱלָמָה in liii. 7, נֶעֱזָבָה in lxii. 12, and רֻחָמָה in Hos. i. 6, ii. 3. But a change is going on: Jerusalem is rising from her ruins as a glorious building erected by God. Jerome, on ver. 11, appropriately remarks: "'*in stibio,*' *in similitudinem comptae mulieris, quae oculos pingit stibio, ut pulchritudinem significet civitatis.*" For פּוּךְ is black paint for the eyes (*Kohl*, cf. כָּחַלְ, Ezek. xxiii. 40), *i.e.* a black, metallic, shining powder (cf. فكّ, to dissolve, analyse) of antimony, *στίβι, στίμμι, stibium* (besides which, lead-glance, lead-ashes, black-lead, and graphite, and black lead-ore, were also used instead of antimony), with which women in the East colour the eyebrows and especially the eyelids, both above and below the eyes (2 Kings ix. 30), in order to "increase the lustre of the eyes, and to give them a deeper fire;"[1] the classical *φῦκος, fucus,* has the meaning of "rouge" (for the cheeks), originally peculiar to the Aramaic סיקרא (see the remarks on iii. 16); on the other hand, *κολλύριον* (synonymous, as *ξηροκολλύριον*, with كُحْل) denotes the mineral powder serving as *πλατυόφθαλμον, ὀφθαλμόγραφον* (*scil. φάρμακον*). If, then, antimony (stibium) serves for mortar in the building of Jerusalem, the stones of her walls (not her foundation-stones, אֲדָנַיִךְ, as Hitzig and Ewald would read, but the visible stones of her lofty town-walls) look like the eyes of women set in eyelid-paint (the phrase being שִׂים בַּפּוּךְ), bordered with shining black, hence shining out from a dark background. The בְּ in בַּסַּפִּירִים is that of the means employed in laying the foundation. Sapphires serve as foundation-stones, for the foundations of Jerusalem stand as immovably firm as God's covenant: the sapphire-blue is the colour of heaven, of revelation, and of the covenant.[2] But the שְׁמָשׁוֹת (*i.e.* projections on the tops of the walls, which look like rays of the sun) as well as the

[1] See Hille, on the Composition and use of Oriental Eye-paints, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, v. 236 ff.

[2] See my article, "Colours in the Bible," in Herzog's *Encyclopaedia*: [also *Iris*, English translation, Edinburgh 1888, p. 9 ff.]

gates, have a red appearance. Red is the colour of blood, hence also of life and of eternity: it is likewise the colour of fire and of lightning, hence also of anger and victory. Jehovah makes the battlements of "ruby;" such is the rendering we have given of the word in the original, but merely because "ruby" indicates what is red: the old translators show hesitation and uncertainty in their renderings (see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*), but in any case the name כַּדְכֹּד[1] (from כַּדְכַּד, cf. כִּידֹד, a "spark") points to a sparkling red appearance. The arches of the gates He forms out of אַבְנֵי אֶקְדָּח, "stones of fiery lustre," hence "carbuncles" (from *carbunculus*, a coal of fire: see Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*, under the article "Edelsteine," No. 13. Jerome here incorrectly renders the terms by *lapides sculptos*, following Symmachus, whose translation is λίθοι γλυφῆς (from קָדַח, קָדַח, to pierce through ?). The predicative accusative כַּדְכֹּד is first exchanged for לְאַבְנֵי אֶקְדָּח, and then for לְאַבְנֵי־חֵפֶץ, to indicate the material. The whole district (גְּבוּל signifying both a "boundary" and what is bounded, *i.e.* a territory, region, or district) of Jerusalem is made by Jehovah into precious stones; it looks as if it were paved with these,—just as in Tobit xiii. 17 it is said ἐν βηρύλλῳ . . . ψηφολογηθήσονται. The passage now before us forms the basis of Tobit xiii. 16, 17 and Rev. xxi. 18–21.

The outward glory of the city, however, is but the sense-representation of the spiritual glory of the Church that dwells therein. Ver. 13: "*And all thy children are taught of Jehovah, and great is the peace of thy children.*" לִמּוּדֵי יְהוָֹה are "the disciples of Jehovah," but (as in l. 4) with the secondary notion of docility and learning. The children of Jerusalem will need no human instruction, but will bear about with them the heavenly teaching, as those who are "taught of God" (διδακτοὶ θεοῦ, John vi. 45; θεοδίδακτοι, 1 Thess. iv. 9). Substantially the same thing is promised in Joel iii. 1, 2; Jer. xxxi. 34, and in 1 John ii. 20 ("Ye have the anointing of the Holy One, and know

[1] The first כ has Dagesh, the second has Raphé: see Norzi. According to the Massorah, the word is one of the eighteen which have a Dagesh when they follow a word ending with a vowel-sound. The ground of this peculiarity (as in the case of הֲלֹא כְּכַרְכְּמִישׁ, x. 9, which presents another of the eighteen) is euphonic or orthophonic.

all things"), it is declared to be already fulfilled. In place of previous distress, within and without, there now comes שָׁלוֹם, peace within and peace without. רַב is an adjective; for it cannot be proved that the form is a syncopated 3rd pers. perfect from רָבַב, like שַׁח, חַי (=חָיַי). The reading בֹּנָיִךְ in *Berachoth* 64*a* is a mere fancy, not a various reading. The verse concludes palindromically.

Jerusalem then stands absolutely invincible, in a condition which corresponds to this grace through righteousness. Vers. 14, 15: "*Through righteousness shalt thou be established; be thou far from anxiety, for thou hast nothing to fear,—and from terror, for it will not come nigh thee. Behold, people gather together in crowds, but not with my will: who crowds against thee?—he will desert to thy side.*" Righteousness now pervades the thought and actions of Jerusalem, and thereby she acquires stability: תִּכּוֹנָנִי is the pausal form of the imperfect Hithpalel (Prov. xxiv. 3), with the ת of the prefixed syllable assimilated (Gesenius, § 53, 2*b*). הֵן (at the beginning of ver. 15), pointing to an action as possible (as in Job xii. 14, xxiii. 8; Hag. ii. 12), has almost the force of a conditional particle (Ewald, § 103*g*). The similarly hypothetical clause in the parallel member is put in the form of a question. That the verb גּוּר (allied to אָגַר) means "to gather together, assemble," especially to combine with hostile intent (cf. συνάγεσθαι in Rev. xix. 19, xx. 8), is vouched for by Ps. lvi. 7, lix. 4: of course it may also have the meaning of גרה (גֵּרָה), to "stir up," provoke (the opinion of Ewald, Hitzig, and Cheyne), but only when construed in the same way as in Ps. cxl. 3 (like Prov. xv. 18). אִתָּךְ has the force of "against thee," as in the case of verbs with the sense of fighting. The purport of the first apodosis is "this takes place quite apart from me," *i.e.* without and against my will; אֶפֶס has Tiphcha, giving the word a special emphasis, and מֵאוֹתִי is equivalent to מֵאִתִּי (like אוֹתָם for אִתָּם in lix. 21), in accordance with the increasing tendency in the later stages of the language to interchange the preposition את with the accusatival sign: cf. early instances even in Gen. xxxiv. 2; Josh. xiv. 12. The second apodosis, "he will fall to thee" (like נָפַל לְ in Ps. xvi. 6), or better, "he will fall away to thee," go over to thee (like נָפַל עַל as in Jer. xxi. 9,

xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 9; cf. Isa. xlv. 14), not "he will fall upon thee," *i.e.* founder, be wrecked (as I formerly explained the expression, following Knobel), but rather, perceiving the hopelessness of the combination, he will surrender to thee at discretion.

Thus invincible will Jerusalem be, for her protector is Jehovah, the Omnipotent. Vers. 16, 17: "*Behold, I have created the smith who bloweth the coal-fire, and bringeth forth a weapon in accordance with his trade; and I have created the destroyer for destruction. No weapon that is formed against thee will succeed, and every tongue that riseth up with thee to the judgment thou wilt condemn: this is the inheritance of the servants of Jehovah, and their righteousness from me, saith Jehovah.*" The armourer is not likewise regarded as one who fights with them (as Knobel and others imagine, translating לְמַעֲשֵׂהוּ, "for his own use"); for, that the warrior should forge his weapons for himself may sometimes happen, but this is not usual. The workman is one who "brings forth" just because he prepares weapons. The expression "to blow the fire" is the same as in Ezek. xxii. 21, cf. xxi. 36. If Jehovah created the armourer who forges a weapon לְמַעֲשֵׂהוּ (*i.e.* according to his trade, or, according to what he purposes to prepare, whether an arrow, or a sword, or a spear, which is to be used against Jehovah in the army of the enemy),—then He has at the same time already created a destroyer to destroy (לְחַבֵּל): the very same creative power to which, as its primary cause, the origin of the weapon is to be traced, has already opposed to the latter a defender of Jerusalem. יוּצַר must be regarded as the Hophal from צוּר with the same meaning as יָצַר, but not as the Hophal of the latter. And as every hostile weapon fails, so will Jerusalem, in the consciousness of its divine right, also show every accusing tongue to be guilty and worthy of condemnation (הִרְשִׁיעַ being used as in l. 9; cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 47, where it signifies the punishment of the guilty). The epilogue in the latter part of ver. 17, with the retrospective זֹאת and the confirmatory "saith Jehovah," undoubtedly concludes the prophecy: this is the state or condition in which Jehovah has placed His servants as the heirs of the future salvation; and this the righteousness

which, bestowed by Him as His gift to them, has become their own, and which makes them strong within and victorious without. The collective idea of the Church, called "Jerusalem," and which is elsewhere personified as "the Servant of Jehovah," or "the people in whose heart is my law" (li. 7), or "my people that sought me" (lxv. 10), is here developed and expanded into "the servants of Jehovah" (as in lxv. 8, 9, cf. lix. 21 with li. 16). The figure of the One Servant of Jehovah, from whose self-surrender the salvation of Israel and of the heathen proceeds, was in process of development up to chap. liii., but from that point remains distinct and apart, without being placed in relation to what follows (for chap. lxii. is doubtful). It is like what meets us in the trilogy of Messianic prophecies, chaps. vii.–xi., which present no dominant reference to later addresses; and still more like Mal. iii. 1, in which the advent of the "messenger of the covenant" is predicted, without any further reference being made to him. The prophet does not shape things like an ordinary author, but, as one inspired, follows the divine impulses of varying strength and clearness.

Seventh Discourse of the Second Part, Chap. LV.

Come and take the sure salvation of Jehovah.

Everything is ready, the guests are invited, and nothing is required from them but that they should come. Vers. 1, 2: "*Ho all ye thirsty ones, come to the water! and ye who have no silver, come ye, buy and eat! Yea come, buy wine and milk without silver and without payment! Wherefore do ye weigh silver for that which is not bread, and the fruit of your labour for that which satisfieth not? O do hearken to me, and eat the good, and let your soul delight itself in fat.*" Hitzig, Hendewerk, and Knobel understand water, wine, and milk as the rich material enjoyments which the exiles have in prospect on returning to their fatherland, whereas they are now paying tribute in Babylon, and rendering personal service to their masters without deriving any benefit therefrom. But the prophet knows of a water even higher than natural water

(xliv. 3; cf. xli. 17), and a higher than the natural wine (xxv. 6); he knows of an eating and drinking surpassing mere material enjoyment (lxv. 13); and though the idea presented in the expression "the goodness of Jehovah" includes temporal blessing (Jer. xxxi. 12), this is not all (lxiii. 7; cf. Ps. xxvii. 13); so also הִתְעַנֵּג in lviii. 14 (cf. Ps. xxxvii. 4, 11) does not mean a feeling of worldly, but of spiritual joy. As shown by the very fact that water is placed first, water, wine, and milk are not the products of the Holy Land, but figures of spiritual revival, refreshing, and nourishment (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 2, τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα). When Jehovah summons the thirsty ones of His people to come to the water, the reference must be to something more than the water to which the water-carriers in Cairo and elsewhere call the public with the cry, *yâ ʿaṭschân môye* ("O thirsty ones, water!"). And as buying without money or any other medium of exchange is a representation which finds no place in the sphere of natural things, "wine and milk" in this passage are blessings and gifts of divine favour which are obtained by grace (*χάριτι*, *gratis*, Rom. xi. 6), their reception being conditioned by nothing more than the sense of want, and willingness to accept. Moreover, the mere use of the term שִׁבְרוּ (a denominative verb from שֶׁבֶר, like ܡܚܪ, to buy, from ܡܚܪܐ, corn, grain), which is elsewhere commonly employed only in connection with the purchase of grain, shows that the reference here is not to natural things, but to what may be compared to cereals. But the bread and the victuals which Israel, in its present state of punishment, procures by means of money and the result of their labour, are called לוֹא־לֶחֶם, "not-bread," and לוֹא לְשָׂבְעָה, "what does not satisfy;" because what truly satisfies the soul comes from above, and, not being of an earthly nature, may be had even by one who is the most destitute of earthly things. Even the word הוֹי (see remarks on xviii. 1) expresses sorrow for the unsatisfied thirst, and the toilsome labour which nevertheless affords but seeming satisfaction. The way to true satisfaction is indicated in the words "hearken unto me:" it is the path of the obedience of faith; only on this path can the soul find satisfaction, and this not a mere satisfaction of the barest wants, but one which

brings superabundant and delightful enjoyment, and overflowing fulfilment of the promise.

Vers. 3–5: "*Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and let your soul live; and I will make with you an everlasting covenant,—the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have set him as a witness for nations, a prince and a commander of nations. Behold, a nation that thou knowest not thou shalt call, and a nation that knoweth thee not will hasten to thee, for the sake of Jehovah thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, that He hath made thee glorious.*" It is not always of the higher person in relation to the lower that the expression כָּרַת בְּרִית לְ is employed (cf. on the other hand, Ezra x. 3); but in this case the twofold aspect of an agreement is limited to one side alone, in the sense of making a promise, but one in which the promiser binds himself with all the force of a covenant (lxi. 8; cf. 2 Chron. vii. 18, where כָּרַת in itself signifies "to make a promise having the force of a covenant"); but there is also included the idea of a spontaneous offer of a covenant, as in Ezek. xxxiv. 25, and here, where "the sure mercies of David" is an expression appended, as the closer specification of the object, to the idea of offering or vouchsafing implied in the expression, "I will make with you an everlasting covenant." Nothing is required on the part of Israel but hearing and coming and taking: through these, it becomes pervaded by new life, and Jehovah presents it with an everlasting covenant, namely, the unchangeable mercies of David. The main point of difficulty here is whether ver. 4 is to be regarded as looking back on the history of David, or prophetically, pointing to something future. In the latter case "David" may either (as in Hos. iii. 5; Jer. xxx. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 24) be understood as applying to the second David (the view of Stier, Nägelsbach, etc.), so that the reference would be to the mercies vouchsafed in the Messiah (as declared in ix. 5 f.) enduring "from henceforth and even for ever;" or "David" means the son of Jesse, and "the mercies of David" are the favours bestowed upon him, which, as referring to the future (Ps. lxxxix. 50; 2 Chron. vi. 42), are called "the true" or sure mercies; on this view, ver. 4 declares what Jehovah will make David in the person of his antitype, the second David: such is the view of Oehler and

Bredenkamp. Against the directly Messianic interpretation of the name "David" stands the fact that the Messiah is never designated in this way, but always with some qualifying addition; and against the indirect Messianic view of ver. 4 (David in the Messiah), several objections present themselves: (*a*) the change of tense in vers. 4, 5, in accordance with which we must assume that ver. 4 points back to the past, while ver. 5 looks forward into the future:[1] (*b*) the fact that the choice of the expression in vers. 4, 5 aims at representing what Israel has to expect in the future as surpassing what was historically realized in the life of David; for, to the לְאֻמִּים there corresponds, in ver. 5, the mass of the heathen world designated by גּוֹי, which has hitherto stood outside of all relation to Israel; (*c*) the fact that the conjunction of the Messiah and Israel is opposed to the character of these discourses in the latter part of Isaiah; the older stereotyped representation of the Messiah is there resolved into the idea of the "Servant of Jehovah," and from this returns to its former self only by means of a higher development of this idea. The personal "Servant of Jehovah" is, of course, no other than the "Son of David" in the older prophecies; but the premises from which, in the case of our prophet, this conclusion is reached, are not that the "Servant of Jehovah" is of the seed of David, and the complete realization of the promised kingdom, but that He is of the people of Israel, and the full realization of the calling of Israel in relation to the world. Accordingly, vers. 4 and 5 will stand to each other in the relation of type and antitype; and the "mercies of David" will be called (perhaps with an allusion to 2 Sam. vii. 16; cf. Ps. lxxxix. 29 f.) "the sure," or faithful, as being inviolable,—such as proved true in the experience of David, and must continually be fulfilled until they have reached the summit upon which they will for ever remain unchangeable. It is David the son of

[1] Ferd. Philippi remarks that "הֵן, which, in ver. 5 at any rate, refers to the future, must, in the immediately preceding verse, be referred to the same sphere of time." But הֵן points sometimes backwards (l. 1, lxiv. 4), sometimes forwards; and where one הֵן follows another, the one pointing backwards the other forwards, the perfect follows the former, while the imperfect goes with the latter (l. 1 f.): if they both point to the future, the imperfect follows in both instances (l. 9).

Jesse of whom Jehovah say, in ver. 4: "I have made him a witness of nations, a prince and commander of peoples:" לְאֻמִּים is also connected in meaning with נָגִיד, just as, in liii. 4*b*, אֱלֹהִים is also conjoined in meaning with וּמְעֻנֶּה. In designating David עֵד (which, throughout these discourses, simply means "a witness"), the prophecy shows its spiritual character and tendency. David subdued nations by force of arms, but his true and highest greatness consists in the fact that, as one who acknowledged Jehovah and contended for His supremacy, he was a witness of the nations. What he expresses in the Psalms as a resolution and vow—that he will proclaim the name of Jehovah among the nations (Ps. xviii. 50, lvii. 10)—he accomplished, at least in so far as he endeavoured to prove, by actual fact, the supremacy of the God of Israel, and to make them persons who were called by the name of Jehovah (Amos ix. 12). If "David" be understood (with Cheyne, following Hengstenberg) to mean the royal house of David, then ver. 4 would be a retrospect directed to this, but with an ignoring of the degenerate Davidic kings who brought people and kingdom to the verge of the abyss. But this cannot be: ver. 4 either points to David or to the Messiah. The boast which David the son of Jesse can make in Ps. xviii. 44, "a people whom I knew not served me," will, as declared in ver. 5, be fulfilled to a much wider extent towards Israel. Endowed with the promised and absolutely certain "mercies of David," Israel will spiritually overcome the heathen world, even those nations that have hitherto stood outside of all relation to it; and will gain them for itself, but for the sake of Jehovah whom it has as its God, and for the Holy One of Israel (לְ being used to indicate the object with reference to which, or on account of which, anything happens), "because He hath glorified" His people (פֵּאֲרָךְ not being a pausal form for פֵּאֲרֵךְ, as in lx. 9, but for פֵּאֶרְךָ, פֵּאַרְךָ, and hence equivalent to פֵּאֲרָךְ; cf. עָנָךְ in xxx. 19); so that attachment to Israel is the same as attachment to God and to the Church of the God of revelation; cf. lx. 9, where the latter portion of ver. 5 is repeated almost *verbatim*.

As Jehovah now graciously presents Himself to His people, so does He promise them great things,—royal glory like that

of David, and rule over the world by virtue of the religion of Jehovah. Hence the exhortation in vers. 6, 7: "*Seek ye Jehovah while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return to Jehovah, and so he will have pity on him, and to our God, for he will abundantly forgive.*" They are to endeavour to press into fellowship with Jehovah (דָּרַשׁ signifying to obtain experimental knowledge, intimate acquaintance with anything), now when He lets Himself be found, or may be found (lxv. 1; cf. Jer. xxix. 13, a passage which forms a parallel both in expression and substance); they are to call upon Him (viz. for a share in that superabounding grace) now when He is near (*i.e.* when He draws near to Israel and offers it). In the exhortation to repentance which follows in ver. 7, both sides of the μετάνοια find expression,—the forsaking of sinful selfishness, and return to the God of salvation. With וִירַחֲמֵהוּ begins the apodosis containing the promise: "then will He have compassion on" such an one: whence also, the words "for He will abundantly pardon" are not to be taken in a general sense (Ps. cxxx. 4, 7; cf. Neh. ix. 17), but individually, and to be translated in the future (cf. on the expression, xxvi. 17).

The reason for the call to forsake their own way and their own thoughts, and to submit to God the Redeemer and to His word, is now derived from the wide difference between the ways and thoughts of this God as compared with the perplexed thoughts of men (xl. 27, xlix. 24), and their hopeless erring and straying. Vers. 8, 9: "*For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith Jehovah: nay, rather,—as high as the heaven is above the earth, so are my ways high above your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts.*" With כִּי, *imo*, there is posited an undeniable statement of sense-experience, in order to make immediately apparent the relation between the ways and thoughts of God and those of man. There is no need for supplying כַּאֲשֶׁר ("as") after כִּי (as Hitzig and Knobel urge): it is omitted as in lxii. 5; Judg. v. 15; Hos. xi. 2; Ps. xlviii. 6; Jer. iii. 20, and just as (conversely) כֵּן is omitted in Prov. xxvi. 11, etc.

The side from which, in this case, the immense difference comes into view is shown in vers. 10, 11: "*For, as the rain cometh down, and the snow, from heaven, and returneth not thither, until it hath thoroughly moistened the earth and fertilized it, and made it green, and offered seed to the sower and bread to the eater,—so will be my word which goeth forth out of my mouth: it will not return unto me fruitless until it hath accomplished that which I wished, and prosperously carried out that for which I sent it.*" Rain and snow come down from heaven, and do not return thither without being the means of producing increase of seed, and thereby harvest, enjoyment of what has been reaped, and new seed-corn. The perfects after כִּי אִם are all to be understood as such (see Ewald's *Syntax*, English translation, § 356*a*). Rain and snow return to the heavens as vapour, but not without having previously fulfilled the purpose of their coming down. So is it with the word of Jehovah, which goeth forth from His mouth (יֵצֵא, not יָצָא, xlv. 23, because it is viewed as presently happening in prophetic preaching): it will not return without having accomplished its object,—without having carried out the counsel of Jehovah, without having prosperously effected that for which it was commissioned and sent by Jehovah (the construction being the same as in 2 Sam. xi. 22; 1 Kings xiv. 6). The word is elsewhere also viewed as the messenger of God (ix. 7; Ps. cvii. 20, cxlvii. 15 ff.): after having gone forth out of the mouth of God, it acquires shape, and in this form conceals divine life; and so it runs, with living power from God, endued with divine power, supplied with divine commissions, as a swift messenger through nature and the world of men, there perchance to melt the ice, and here to heal and save. The figures chosen abound in analogies, but the proper point of comparison is the energy with which the word is transformed into an effectively operating power.

Surely and irresistibly will the work of redemption be fulfilled. Vers. 12, 13: "*For with joy will ye go out, and in peace will ye be led forth; the mountains and the hills will break out before you into shouting, and all the trees of the field will clap their hands. Instead of the thorn-bush will cypresses shoot up; and instead of the flea-bane will myrtles shoot up;*

and it will be to Jehovah for a name, for an everlasting memorial that will not be destroyed." "With joy," *i.e.* without anxious hurry (lii. 12), "in peace," *i.e.* without having to fight one's way through, or to flee. In the term תּוּבָלוּן, the idea of the leader is less prominent than that of a festal procession (Ps. xlv. 15 f.). In the case of כַּף, it is the boughs (כַּפּוֹת) of the trees that were before the mind of the prophet;[1] the Psalmist (Ps. xcviii. 8) transfers the figure created by this prophet to the waves of the streams. נַעֲצוּץ (from נָעַץ, to prick, pierce) is perhaps no special kind of thorny plant, such as the fuller's thistle, but (as in vii. 19) thorn-bushes generally. Regarding סִרְפָּד (*Michlol* 207*a*) or סִרְפַּד, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus;* in our translation we have followed the rendering of the LXX (*κόνυζα*). The rejoicing of the mountains and the clapping of hands by the trees show that the transformation of vegetation here described is as little to be understood literally as in xli. 17–20; on the other hand, however, the prophet says something more than that Israel will return with a joy which will, as it were, make everything appear in glorious form. Promises such as are found here and in xli. 19, xxxv. 1, 2, and exhortations like those in xliv. 23, xlix. 13, lii. 9, proceed from the certain conviction that the whole creation is destined hereafter to share in the liberty and glory of the children of God (Rom. viii. 21). This thought is clothed sometimes in one dress and at other times in another: the post-exilic psalmists derive from our prophet the colours they employ for their pictures (see our remarks on Ps. xcvi. and xcviii.). וְהָיָה, which is used with a neuter meaning (cf. בְּרָאתִיו, xlv. 8), refers to this festal transformation of the outer world on the occasion of the joyful return of the redeemed. Both שֵׁם (from שׁמה or שׁמו, to be prominent, strike the eye) and אוֹת have here (cf. lvi. 5) the meaning of a monument or memorial: the latter is treated in the attributive clause as a masculine, though it is a contraction from *ăwăyat,* and hence is originally feminine.

[1] Cf. Spindler, *The Jew*, book 3, chap. v.: "And it came to pass, once on a time, that the almond-tree began to bend, and the top nodded in a friendly way, while its boughs rustled and beat together, as merry people are wont to do with their hands, and the roots hopped and jumped like the feet of one dancing heartily."

EIGHTH PROPHETIC DISCOURSE OF THE SECOND PART
LVI. 1–8.

Admonitions regarding the Sabbath, and consolation for proselytes and eunuchs.

The note of exhortation sounded in the preceding discourse is here continued, the obligation to observe the Sabbath receiving special prominence in the sphere of ordinary righteousness of life. Vers. 1, 2: "*Thus saith Jehovah, Keep ye judgment and practise righteousness; for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to reveal itself. Blessed is the mortal who doeth this, and the son of man who layeth hold on it; who keepeth the Sabbath so as not to profane it, and keeps his hand from doing any kind of evil.*" Both Jehovah and Israel have an objective standard in the covenant-relation into which they have entered: מִשְׁפָּט is the actual state of things in accordance with this standard; יְשׁוּעָה is the performance promised by God; צְדָקָה, on both sides, is personal action in conformity with the covenant-relation (or, what is the same thing, the plan of salvation). The nearer, on the side of Jehovah, the full realization of what He has promised, so much the more faithful should Israel be in that to which it is bound by its relation to Jehovah. As in Ps. vii. 4, זאת ("this") together with בָּהּ, which refers to it, points to what follows. Instead of שָׁמוֹר or לִשְׁמֹר, there is used שֹׁמֵר, the זאת being described as if a person rather than his action were regarded. In vers. 2 and 6, שַׁבָּת is used as a masculine, though the word is not formed on the model of the form קָטֹל, but rather contracted from שַׁבֶּתֶת (a "solemn festival,"—like the form דַּלֶּקֶת, a "fever,"—there being no need to supply the noun עֵת, "time" [1]); hence it is originally feminine (with an *a* that may be shortened), and the Sabbath is accordingly personified in the language of religious worship as a queen and a bride. But the prophet here is thinking of שַׁבָּת as יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, and assigns to it the gender of יוֹם.

The application of the word אַשְׁרֵי of ver. 2 is now extended to those who might fancy that they had no right to console themselves with the promises contained in it. Ver. 3:

[1] See Lotz, *Quaestiones de historia Sabbati* (1883), p. 7.

"*And let not the foreigner, who hath attached himself to Jehovah, speak thus, 'Assuredly Jehovah will cut me off from his people,' and let not the eunuch say, 'Behold, I am but a dry tree.'*" As נִלְוָה has the vowel-points of the 3rd pers. singular, and is not pointed as the participle (viz. נִלְוֶה), the ה at the beginning of the form הַנִּלְוָה is equivalent to the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר: see similar cases in li. 10; Josh. x 24; Gen. xviii. 21, xxi. 3, xlvi. 27; 1 Kings xi. 9 (see Gesenius, § 138. 3*b*). As to the eunuchs, we must understand those of Israelitish descent, as this attributive clause is not in their case repeated. Heathens, who professed the religion of Jehovah and had joined themselves to Israel, might be apprehensive lest, when Israel had been restored to their native land, and again become independent, Jehovah would not tolerate them in the new-formed commonwealth, *i.e.* refuse them the full rights of membership. יַבְדִּילַנִי has the union-vowel *a* before the pronominal affix, instead of the usual *ē*, which it preferred especially after a full and clear vowel (Job ix. 18; see Böttcher, § 881*b*, *e*). And the Israelitish eunuchs, who, without becoming unfaithful to Jehovah, had been made eunuchs against their will, in order to serve at heathen courts and heathen masters of high station, might be apprehensive that they might, as unfruitful trees, be found unworthy to stand in the congregation of Jehovah. The anxiety of the latter had better foundation than that of the former; for the law in Deut. xxiii. 4–7 wholly prohibits only Ammonites and Moabites from being received into the more intimate union with the congregation, and this on account of their unbrotherly behaviour towards the Israelites after they had come out of Egypt; Edomites and Egyptians were refused admission till the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 8, 9); while there was no law against other nationalities, such as the Babylonians. On the other hand, the law in Deut. xxiii. 2, in order to bear witness to His abomination of such mutilation of natural powers, and to prevent it, expressly declares that no emasculated person is to be admitted into the congregation of Jehovah. But prophecy breaks through these limitations of the law.

Vers. 4, 5: "*For thus saith Jehovah to the eunuchs: Those who keep my Sabbaths and have decided for that in which I*

take pleasure, and keep hold of my covenant,—I give to them in my house and within my walls a portion and a name better than sons and daughters; an everlasting name I give to such an one, which shall not be destroyed." The second condition, after the sanctification of the Sabbath, relates to the regulation of life in accordance with the revealed will of God; the third, to faithfulness in keeping profession made regarding the covenant of circumcision. The noun יָד offers several meanings suitable in this passage. It signifies a "monument" or "memorial" (equivalent to מַצֶּבֶת), as a lofty indicator or pointer (Ezek. xxi. 24), as a finger-post pointing to the person for whom it has been erected: see 2 Sam. xviii. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 12: in this sense, however, the word would declare more than the promise permits one to expect. The Semitic term יָד also signifies a "place" (Num. ii. 17; Deut. xxiii. 13; Jer. vi. 3), and a "share" or portion (2 Sam. xix. 44; cf. Schultens on Prov. xi. 21). That they will not be excluded from the more intimate connection with the congregation is declared by the words "in my house and within my walls;" and as abundant compensation for the want of posterity there is promised to them (לָהֶם, followed by the individualizing לוֹ) a continued remembrance of them by later generations, that will be unable to forget their attachment to Jehovah and His people, maintained under circumstances of strong temptation.

In the same way, the anxiety of the proselytes from the heathen are removed. Vers. 6, 7: "*And the foreigners who have joined themselves to Jehovah, to serve him, and to love the name of Jehovah, that they may be servants to him, whoever keeps the Sabbath not to desecrate it, and those who hold fast to my covenant,—I bring them to my holy mountain, and make them to rejoice in my house of prayer: their whole-offerings and their slain-offerings are well-pleasing upon mine altar; for my house,—an house of prayer shall it be called for all nations."* The proselytes who have attached themselves to the God of Israel (עַל־יְהוָה being equivalent to אֶל־יְהוָה), with the simple view of serving Him in love, are not to remain behind in the foreign land. Jehovah brings them with His people to the holy mountain, upon which His temple rises anew; there He bestows joy on them, and what they lay upon His altar finds gracious acceptance. To no prophet of the Old Testa-

ment was it possible to think of the worship of the future without sacrifice; but the temple is here called "my house of prayer," from the prayer which is the soul of all worship (cf. 1 Kings viii. 41–43): even here the spirit of the law strives to free itself from its bondage.

That ver. 8 also declares something of importance, and, because it might possibly seem strange, something to be solemnly confirmed, is shown by the expression נְאֻם יְהוָה, which is in itself solemn, and is here placed at the head of the declaration. So far is it from being the case that Gentiles who love Jehovah will be excluded from the congregation, that it is rather the design of Jehovah to gather some from among the Gentiles and add them to the gathered diaspora of Israel. Ver. 8: "*Declaration of the Lord, Jehovah: gathering the outcasts of Israel, I will further gather beyond it to its gathered ones.*" Except here and in Zech. xii. 1, the expression נְאֻם יְהוָה nowhere occurs in this way at the head of a sentence. The double name of God, אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה, likewise points to something important. Regarding נִדְחֵי (without Dagesh), see the remarks on xi. 12. עָלָיו refers to Israel, and לְנִקְבָּצָיו is either an explanatory permutative, equivalent to עַל־נִקְבָּצָיו, or עַל indicates that the gathering will exceed the limits of Israel (cf. Gen. xlviii. 22), while לְ signifies that the additional gathering will be superadded to the gathered ones of Israel; but the meaning remains the same on either view. The word of Jehovah is thus expressed in the words of Jesus (John x. 16), "Other sheep I have, which are not of this flock; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one flock, one shepherd," or, as it is elsewhere given, "Jehovah is one, and His name One" (Zech. xiv. 9). Such are the views and hopes which grew up and blossomed out of the state of chastisement endured in the Exile. God made this a preparation for New Testament times: it has further been made to serve for widely extending the limits imposed by the law, for setting free the spirit of the law, and for establishing friendship between Israel and the Gentiles as those who are called to the same salvation.

NINTH DISCOURSE OF THE SECOND PART, LVI. 9–LVII.

Forgetfulness of duty by the leaders of Israel, and errors of the people.

If chap. lvi. 9 ff. were the counterpart to chap. lvi. 1–8, then we might expect that the prophets and rulers of Israel, whose want of conscience and morality is here so severely scourged, would be threatened with destruction in the heathen land, while faithful proselytes and eunuchs were brought to the holy mountain. But we do not meet with such an antithesis till we reach chap. xlvii. 13, where we plainly find ourselves within the sphere of another discourse. And at what other place should this begin than at lvi. 9, from which point onwards there begins that hard, dark, and concise language of deep displeasure, reminding one of the Psalms written "in thundering style" and of Jeremiah's reproving discourses, and resolving itself once more (in lvii. 11 ff.) into the lofty and perspicuous language peculiar to this book of consolation?

The new discourse begins, like lv. 1, with a summons. Ver. 9: "*All ye beasts of the field, come hither! to devour, all ye beasts in the forest!*" According to the usual accentuation (לאכל with *Mercha*, כל־חיתו with *Tifcha*), the beasts of the field are summoned to devour the beasts in the forest. But there is also another mode of accentuation, according to which לאכל has *Tifcha*, כל־חיתו has *Mercha*, and ביער accordingly has ב with *Raphé*. Even with the latter method of accentuation, the interpretation favoured by the Jewish expositors—viz. the devouring of the beasts of the field by the beasts of the forest—would still be admissible, provided it gave a suitable sense (cf. Meyer, for instance, who renders, "ye enemies, devour the degenerate ones of my congregation"), and were not opposed by the synonymous parallelism of "the beasts of the field" and "the beasts in the forest." But there remains another view possible, according to which "all beasts in the forest" is a second vocative corresponding to "all beasts of the field." Israel has prophets and shepherds who are blind to every approaching danger, and dumb in giving warning, because they are sunk in selfish-

ness and debauchery: it is thus like a flock unwatched, exposed to danger (Ezek. xxxiv. 5); and the call, which is addressed to the nations of the world, to the enemies of the people of God on all sides, means this, "Do but come, you can devour as much as you please, undisturbed." Such is the view of most modern expositors. In Jer. xii. 9 also ("Assemble all ye beasts of the field; bring them hither to devour"), which is derived from this passage, it is Jerusalem which is pointed out as the food to be devoured by the Gentiles. I do not find that the pre-exilian standpoint of the prophet betrays itself here, immediately after the discourse in lvi. 1–8, addressed to the people of the Exile. Even vers. 10–12, a contemporary illustration of which is afforded by the apocryphal history of Susanna, refer to the representatives of the people in Babylon, who, though fallen before the Gentile power, had not been devoured by it. But the representatives of the nation did nothing to preserve it from that ruin among the Gentile nations which was actually experienced by the people of the Assyrian Exile. The parallel in ver. 9 is synonymic and at the same time progressive: the author aims after strange forms, because a strange inversion of the proper state of things is to be depicted: חַיְתוֹ is the ancient construct form which might be used even with the succeeding בַּיָּעַר (cf. v. 11, ix. 1 f.; 2 Sam. i. 21). Regarding אֵתָיוּ (= אֱתוּ), see on xxi. 12; cf. 14.

The prophet now proceeds, resuming with the word צפו (*Qeri* צֹפָיו): the suffix refers to Israel, which was also the object to לֶאֱכֹל. Vers. 10, 11: "*His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs that cannot bark: raving, lying down, loving to slumber. And the dogs are exceedingly greedy, they know not satiety,—and such are shepherds! They know no understanding; they have all turned to their own way,—each one to his own profit,—all of them.*" First of all, צֹפָיו, as everywhere else (lii. 8; cf. xxi. 6; Hab. ii. 1; Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17), means the prophets. The prophet is like a watchman set upon the watch-tower, who, when he sees the sword coming upon the land, has to sound the trumpet and warn the people (Ezek. xxxiii. 1–9). But as Jeremiah (xxix. 1–32) knew of base

prophets among the Exiles, and as the Book of Ezekiel is full of reproving addresses directed against the neglect of duties by watchmen and shepherds in those days, so also is the complaint here made that the watchmen ("seers") of the nation, in contradiction to their name and calling, are wholly devoid of knowledge and the capacity of acquiring knowledge (לֹא יָדַע being used as in xliv. 9, xlv. 20, etc.): they should be like watchful sheep-dogs (Job xxx. 1), which bark when the flock is threatened; but they are dumb, not being able to bark (נָבַח, the Bedouinic نبّ), and abandon the sheep to the danger. Instead of being חֹזִים, "seers," they are הֹזִים (cf. xix. 18, where הַהֶרֶס is a play upon הַחֶרֶס), *i.e.* "delirious talkers," ravers, from הָזָה (= هذا, هذى, the root of which is هذ, as shown by هذر, which has the same meaning), to rave in sickness: the *nomen actionis* in Arabic is *hadayan* (which, according to Kimchi, means to talk in one's sleep): hence the Targum נָיְמִין; LXX, ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι; Aquila, φανταζόμενοι; Symmachus, ὁραματισταί; Jerome, *videntes vana.* With the term הֹזִים, which gives the leading idea, are co-ordinated the succeeding predicates, which more exactly define it. Instead of watching, praying, and wrestling, to make themselves in the highest possible degree capable of seeing divine revelations for the good of their nation, and holding themselves in readiness to receive these, they are lazy, lovers of comfort and ease, talkers in their sleep. And the dogs (viz. those prophets who are like the worst of the dogs) are עַזֵּי נֶפֶשׁ, *i.e.* of bold and intractable disposition, insatiable: their soul is utterly selfish and avaricious, greedy and self-indulgent, violently passionate, restless; and yet ever revolving on itself. With the words, "and they are shepherds," the horizon of the prophet's view is enlarged so as to include the leaders of the nation generally; for when he adds, by way of exclamation, "and they (*hi = tales*) are shepherds!" he refers the glaring contrast between the duties demanded by the calling and the conduct actually displayed, to teachers and rulers alike. For, not to speak of the accentuation, it is contrary to the mode of employing this personal pronoun to refer הֵמָּה to other persons than those just described (*i.e.* in some such way as, "and those ones,

who are supposed to be shepherds, do not know." . . .). But neither is it practicable to begin a subordinate adversative clause with וְהֵמָּה (as Knobel does), making it read "whereas they are shepherds;" for the main proposition has "the dogs" as its subject, and there would thus result a heterogeneous commingling of two figures,—sheep-dogs and shepherds. Hence we take וְהֵמָּה רֹעִים as an independent clause, meaning, "and it is men of this kind on whom lies the duty of watching and caring for the people!" These רֹעִים (instead of which the Targum erroneously has רָעִים) are then further described; "they know not to understand," *i.e.* they are devoid of mental capacity for passing an intelligent judgment (cf. the converse construction of the two verbs in xxxii. 4): instead of caring for the common good, they have all turned "to their own way" (*i.e.* to their own selfish interests), every one seeking his own advantage (בֶּצַע from בָּצַע, to "cut off"): מִקָּצֵהוּ, "from his outmost limit" (*i.e.* from the position of every one among all their associates), hence (קָצֵה, as in Gen. xix. 4, xlvii. 21, Jer. li. 31, meaning "the end," not as the final point of a line, but as the circumference) "in the whole extent of their company."

Such a dignitary as has just been described is now introduced as speaking, and indication given of what he might say. Ver. 12: "*Come hither, I will fetch wine, and let us carouse with mead; and to-morrow will be like to-day,—great, very abundant.*" He gives a banquet, and promises to the guests that, like to-day, to-morrow will be spent grandly, and even much more gloriously. יוֹם מָחָר is "to-morrow," the day of the morrow, *τὸ ἐπαύριον* (for מָחָר never takes the article): hence the sense is *et fiet uti hic* (dies) *dies crastinus*, viz. *magnus supra modum valde;* יֶתֶר (or יֵתֵר, according to Kimchi) signifies "abundance," or superabundance, but is here used adverbially, so as to mean "beyond measure," extraordinarily (different from יוֹתֵר, "more," or "particularly," in the Book of Ecclesiastes).

While watchmen and shepherds, prophets and rulers of the people, unconcerned about the flock which they should have been watching and feeding, give themselves up in this way to their selfish desires, and spend their life in debauchery, the righteous man is delivered by early death from the judgment

which, in view of such corruption, cannot fail to come. Chap. lvii. 1, 2: "*The righteous one perisheth, and no man taketh it to heart; and pious men are carried off, without any one considering that the righteous one is carried off from misfortune. He entereth into peace, they rest on their beds, whoever walks straight before him.*" With the mention of "the righteous one," there is introduced, in sharp contrast with this free living on the part of the rulers of the people, the standing figure showing the fate of the better men among the nation. In view of this prevailing demoralization and worldliness, the righteous one succumbs to the grinding weight of external and internal sufferings: אָבַד, "he perishes," dies before his time (Eccles. vii. 15), from the midst of his contemporaries,[1] disappearing from this life (Ps. xii. 2; Micah vii. 2), and no man lays it to heart, *i.e.* no one considers the divine accusation and threatening implied in this early death. Men of piety (חֶסֶד being used of both divine and human love, Ps. cxliv. 2, Hos. vi. 7, and thus in a wider sense than in Prov. xi. 17) are carried off, in spite of the fact that there is no one who understands or observes that (כִּי, unfolding the object to be observed and laid to heart) the righteous one is swept away, מִפְּנֵי הָרָעָה, *i.e.* (as rightly rendered by the Targum, Saadia, and Luther) in order to escape the penal evil coming on (מִפְּנֵי being used as in xx. 6; Gen. vii. 7; cf. 2 Kings xxii. 20). For the prevailing corruption calls for divine punishment; and one must first of all expect heavy judgments which will form the path of the salvation about to draw near. It is declared in ver. 2 that the righteous man and the pious ones do not lose the blessings of salvation in being lost to this present life; for while, as is stated in the refrain of the prophet, "there is no peace for the wicked," it is said, on the other hand, regarding the righteous one at his death, "he enters into peace" (שָׁלוֹם being the accusative of direction: see Gesenius, § 118. 2), "they rest upon their beds," viz. the bottom of the grave, which has become their מִשְׁכָּב (Job xvii. 13, xxi. 26), "whoever has walked (*quisquis ivit*, the participle הֹלֵךְ being a

[1] Cf. the proverb צדיק אבד לדורו אבד, *Megilla* 15*a*, which is explained by the following comparison: if any one has lost a pearl, it retains the worth of a pearl wherever it happens to be, but to its possessor it is lost.

collective singular, referring to the plural verb-form יָנוּחוּ) in the one straight and plain path which he had once set before him (נְכֹחוֹ, is the accusative of the object, as in xxxiii. 15, l. 10; see Ewald, § 172*b:* it comes from נָכֹחַ, signifying what lies straight before a person; on the other hand, נֹכַח and נֵכַח,—suffixed form נִכְחוֹ,—are used as prepositions; cf. Prov. iv. 25, לְנֹכַח, straight or exactly before one). The grave, compared with the unrest of this present life, is therefore "peace." He who has died in faith rests in God, to whom he has entrusted himself, and committed his future. Here is a glimmering of the consolation in the New Testament,—that the death of the righteous man is better than the present life, because it is the entrance into peace.

The language of reproof, still continued, is now turned against the mass of the people, who have incurred that "evil" from which the righteous one is swept away, viz. the generation opposed to the servants of Jehovah, that shamelessly carries on those sins of idolatry which caused the exile. Vers. 3, 4: "*And ye,—draw hither, children of the enchantress, seed of the adulterer and of her who committed whoredom! Over whom do ye make yourselves merry? Over whom do ye distend the mouth, stretch out the tongue? Are ye not a brood of apostasy, a seed of lying?*" They are to draw hither (הֵנָּה, as in Gen. xv. 16, etc.), come nearer to the place where God is speaking through His prophet, that they may let themselves be painted and hear their sentence pronounced. Just as, in other cases also, the moral character of a person is wont to be directly indicated by a reference to his father (2 Kings vi. 32), or his mother (1 Sam. xx. 30), or his parents (Job xxx. 8); so here, the generation that lived during the Exile, so far as it continued to addict itself to the idolatry through which their forefathers had brought on themselves the catastrophe, is called *first,* בְּנֵי עֹנְנָה (or עֹנֵנָה), "sons of the sorceress" (perhaps "the cloud-maker" or "storm-maker;" see the remarks on ii. 6: Jerome, *auguratricis*), who made a trade of heathen and superstitious customs and practices: this was the pre-Exilian Church, which, on account of the glaring contradiction between its calling and its actual course of life, deserves no better name: *secondly,* it is called זֶרַע מְנָאֵף וַתִּזְנֶה, "the seed of an adulterer and (con-

sequently also of one who) gave herself up to whoredom" (on the use of "waw consecutive" with the imperfect in a relative clause, see xlix. 7; Dan. viii. 22; Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, Eng. translation, § 351*b*). The direct address refers throughout to the individuals forming the whole mass, so that there is no room for the offered explanation, *et quod* (which, referring to seed, would require the text to read וַיִּזְנֶה or וַיִּזֶן), or *et quae scortaris* (for which, one would require to say, more precisely, וַתִּזְנִי). In suggesting that we should read מְנָאֶפֶת וְזֹנָה, Klostermann does violence to the text and reduces the clause to a dull and prosaic level.

The prophet now asks, "Over whom do you find your pleasure? For whom are your contemptuous gestures meant?" The objects of this mischievous delight (Ps. xxii. 8 f., xxxv. 21) are the servants of Jehovah; and the question (as in xxxvii. 23) is one of astonishment at their impudence, for those over whom they are making themselves merry rather deserve esteem, while they themselves are the refuse of Israel: "Are ye not the progeny of apostasy, a seed of lying?" Apostasy and lying, represented as parents, can produce only what is like themselves: the genitives of origin are likewise genitives of attribution. Instead of יַלְדֵי (ii. 6), there is here found יִלְדֵי, before Maqqeph, with shortening of the *a* into *i*, but retention of the loose connecting-syllable.

The participles now following are in apposition to אַתֶּם, and confirm the predicates applied to them; they soon, however, give place to independent clauses. Vers. 5, 6: "*Ye who inflame yourselves by the terebinths under every green tree; ye who slay children in the valleys under the clefts of the rocks. In the smooth stones of the brook was thy portion: they, they were thy lot: to them also thou didst pour out libations, didst offer meat-offerings: should I be contented regarding these?*" The people of the Exile are addressed, and the idolatry inherited from their fathers is depicted: the prophet, looking back from the standpoint of the captivity, takes his colours possibly from the time at the beginning of Manasseh's reign, when the long-repressed Gentile nations burst forth anew with all their force, and the measure of iniquity became full (2 Kings xxi. 2–9). The Niphal participle הַנֵּחָמִים is formed like נֵחַן in Jer. xxii. 23, if the latter means *miserandum esse*:

the original form נִחָם, with dagesh at the beginning, (like נִגַּר from נָגַר, Job xx. 28), and this has become נֵחָם, through the resolution of the latent reduplication: Stier derives it from יָחַם; but even if formed from this, נֵחָם would still need to be explained from נִחָם, after the form נֵצַּת. As in i. 29, there is for אֵלִים a choice of meaning to be made between "gods" (idols) and "terebinths." But though the term, according to Ex. xv. 11, Dan. xi. 36, might mean false gods (as here rendered by LXX, Targum, Jerome, Luther), yet it never occurs directly in this sense, and in the Book of Isaiah it is employed only as the name of a tree (see i. 29, lxi. 3). As in i. 29, the terebinths here appear as the objects of idolatrous lust ("who inflame themselves at the terebinths"), בְּ being used to indicate that at which the lust is kindled. In tree worship, the terebinth (אֵלָה) occupied an important place, perhaps as the tree sacred to Astarte, just as the Samura-acacia among the heathen Arabs was the sacred tree of the goddess 'Uzza.[1] The expression which follows, viz. "under every green tree," is a permutative of "at the terebinths," so that it means, "yea, under every green tree,"—a stereotyped expression from Deut. xii. 2 and afterwards; cf. Hos. iv. 13; Ezek. vi. 13. From tree-worship, with its orgies, which was widely diffused throughout antiquity,[2] the prophet passes to the great sin of the Canaanites, adopted by Israel, viz. human sacrifices: besides שֹׁחֲטֵי there is also found the false reading שׁחטי, which is explained as referring to onanism. As shown by the locality mentioned, "under the clefts (סְעִיפֵי, cf. סְעִפֵּי in ii. 21) of the rocks," the reference is not to the slaughtering of children devoted to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, but to those sacrificed to Baal on the בָּמוֹת, or "high-places" erected for his worship (Jer. xix. 5; Ezek. xvi. 20 f., xxiii. 39; Hos. xiii. 2; Ps. cvi. 37 f.). As we here learn, from the *chronique scandaleuse*, regarding the religious history of Israel, many things which cannot be made out from the historical books, the stone-worship denounced in ver. 6 need not seem strange. The singular of חַלְּקֵי (with Dagesh dirimens) is

[1] See Krehl, *Religion der vorislam. Araber*, p. 74 ff.; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums* (1887), pp. 35, 101.

[2] Cf. Baudissin, *Studien*, ii., Abh. 2: "Heilige Gewässer, Bäume und Höhen bei den Semiten, insbes. bei den Hebräern.

either חֲלָקִי (like the form חַכְמֵי; cf. עַצְּבֵי in lviii. 3) or חֵלֶק (like the form יַלְדֵי). But חֵלֶק, "smoothness," does not occur, and the explanation, "in the smoothnesses" (*i.e.* smooth places) "of the valley is thy portion" (which is offered by Hahn and others), has this also against it, that it does not suit the construction חֵלֶק בְּ (cf. Ps. l. 18), in which the preposition has a partitive sense, and further, it leaves the emphatic repetition הֵם הֵם unexplained. The latter expression does not point to places, but to objects of worship which were put in place of Jehovah, concerning whom the true Israelite has to say חֶלְקִי יְהוָה (Ps. cxix. 57, etc.), or even חֵלֶק לִי בַּיהוָה (Josh. xxii. 25), and אַתָּה תּוֹמִיךְ גּוֹרָלִי ("thou makest my lot splendid"), Ps. xvi. 5. Such expressions as these are in the prophet's mind, perhaps also the primary meaning of גּוֹרָל = κλῆρος, which may be conjectured from the rare Arabic *ǵaral*, "gravel," stones worn by rolling in water, when he says, "in the smooth things of the valley is thy portion: they, they are thy lot." In Arabic also, *ahlak* (= חָלָק, "smooth," which here forms a word-play with חֵלֶק, *halâk*), is a favourite term employed in speaking of stones and rocks; as shown by 1 Sam. xvii. 40, however (where the intensive form חַלּוּק, like שַׁכּוּל, עִזּוּז, is used), חַלְּקֵי־נַחַל are stones which the stream flowing through the valley has through time washed smooth, rounded, and made into a pleasing form. Further, the mode of worship indicated —the presentation of libations and meat-offerings—confirms this view. In Carthage such sacred stones were called *abbadires* (אבן אדיר?); and among the ancient Arabs, the *aṣnâm* or idols were mostly *anṣâb*, or stone blocks of this character, which represented the deity. Herodotus (iii. 8) tells of seven stones which the Arabs anointed, and invoked as the god Orotal: Suidas (*s.v.* Θεῦς ἄρης) states that the idol of Ares in Petra was a black stone of square shape; and the black stone of the Ka'ba, according to a tradition, was originally an idol of Saturn (*zuhal*).[1] Such stone worship was also practised before the Exile by the Israelites, whose heathen practices were inherited by the Exiles. The question, "am I to comfort (console) myself regarding these?" (אֶנָּחֵם being

[1] See Krehl, in his work already mentioned, p. 72; and on stone-worship generally by heathen Arabs, see Wellhausen, in his work already quoted, p. 99 f.

Niphal, not Hithpaël), means that descendants who are thus like their fathers cannot possibly remain unpunished.

The discourse is now continued in perfects like שַׂמְתְּ and הָעֲלִית (addressed to the mass of the people in general, the Church viewed as a woman), and the description is mainly retrospective. Vers. 7, 8: "*Upon a high and lofty mountain didst thou place thy bed; there also thou didst ascend to sacrifice slain offerings. And behind the door and the door-post didst thou place thy memorial-mark: for away from me thou didst uncover and didst ascend; thou didst make broad thy bed; thou didst make agreement for thyself* [regarding what was to be given] *by them: thou lovedst their nuptials, manhood sawest thou.*" The lovers whom she solicited are the gods of the heathen. On high mountains, where these were wont to be worshipped, she set up her bed, and also (גַּם referring to עָלִית, not to שָׁם; see xxx. 33; Hos. vi. 11; Zech. ix. 11) did what was necessary to gain their favour. The זִכָּרוֹן (*i.e.* the declaration that Jehovah alone is God, which the Israelites were to write upon the door-posts of their houses, and upon the entrances, as a continual reminder; see Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20) they have put behind the door and the door-post, that they may not be reminded of their unfaithfulness, to their shame. That the passage is to be explained in this way is proved by the following כִּי מֵאִתִּי, according to which זִכְרוֹנֵךְ is something which might be an inconvenient reminder of Jehovah, and was intended to be such. מֵאִתִּי means "away (far) from me," as in Jer. iii. 1, and like מִתַּחְתַּי, which is more frequently employed. It is unnecessary to take גִּלִּית with עֶרְוָתֵךְ, understood (Ezek. xxiii. 18) as equivalent to "thou makest thyself naked," or (with reference to the clothes) as equivalent to ἀνασύρεις. מִשְׁכָּבֵךְ is the object common to all the three verbs, even to וַתַּעֲלִי (with double Metheg), like Gen. xlix. 4. On the form וַתִּכְרָת־ for וַתִּכְרְתִי (cf. Jer. iii. 5, iv. 14; Ezek. xxii. 4), see *Michlol* 9*b*, and Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar*, § 191*b*. The proposed explanations (of Knobel and others), "thou didst associate," and (Ewald's) "thou didst choose to thyself [some] from them," are contrary to the usage of the language, according to which כָּרַת לְ means *spondere* (2 Chron. vii. 18), כָּרַת עִם means *pacisci* (1 Sam. xxii. 8), in both instances with בְּרִית

understood; hence מִן (בְּרִית) כָּרַת means *stipulari ab aliquo, i.e.* to obtain from any one a solemn promise having the force of a covenant. What she stipulated to obtain from them is either (as Hitzig and others think) the wages of adultery, or rather, satisfaction of her lustful desires. This view is confirmed by what follows, which states that the lovers to whom she offered herself fully satisfied this lust of hers: *adamasti concubitum eorum* (מִשְׁכָּב meaning both *cubile*, as in Prov. vii. 17, and *concubitus*, as in Ezek. xxiii. 17), *manum conspexisti.* The Targum, Syriac, and Jewish expositors explain the clause as meaning *loco quem delegisti*, or (*postquam*) *locum delegisti*: the accentuation also seems to have been made in accordance with this view, which is further held by most modern expositors, taking יָד in the sense of "place" or "side." But by this interpretation we obtain only a limping and meaningless expression. Doederlein was one of the first to conjecture that יָד here meant ἰθύφαλλος, an explanation which has since been adopted by Hitzig, Ewald, Cheyne, Orelli, and others. The Arabic and Persian afford illustrations in support of this view. יָד (which in Arabic also takes the form يَدْى, not وِدْ) points to a verb פ״י, viz. ידה, with the primary form of ידי (see *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xli. 637 f.), to which הרה (xi. 8) is radically related. Looking at Ezek. xvi. 26, xxiii. 20, where the same thing is stated in still plainer terms, the picture here drawn cannot appear strange: it means that the Church of Jehovah, after turning away from its God to the world and the lust of the world, became ever fonder of this lust afforded by idolatry, and fully indulged its taste.

In closest mutual relation with this courting of heathen gods stands their courting of the heathen world-power. Vers. 9, 10: "*And thou didst go to the king with oil, and didst make thy spices in abundance, and didst send thy messengers afar, and didst deeply bow thyself, even to Hades. With the greatness of thy way thou didst become weary, yet thou saidst not, It is unattainable; thou didst obtain revival of thy strength, therefore thou didst not feel pain.*" It is especially to be observed that we have here before us a historical retrospect, and that the prophet therefore, in this passage also, has his standpoint in the time of the Exile. Then

again, a glance at ver. 11 shows that what is spoken of is a courting which arises from the fear of man, hence a courting of human favour; accordingly "the king" does not mean Baal or any heathen god whatever (viii. 21; Zeph. i. 5), but the Asiatic ruler of the world. Precedents like those mentioned in 2 Kings xvi. 7 ff. and 10 ff. are here set forth in the figure representing Israel as travelling with oil to the king, and taking with it abundance of fine spices in order to gain his favour; and further sending messengers (צִרַיִךְ, not צְרָיִךְ; for צֳרִי, "balsam," has no plural) far away, not merely bowing itself to the earth, but even stooping to Hades, hence as it were standing on its head in the most extreme servility, in order to obtain allies. It is certainly very natural to take בַּשֶּׁמֶן as equivalent to "anointment with oil," so that the meaning of the clause might be, "thou wentest in oil (*i.e.* dripping with ointment), and didst apply many spices to thyself;" but בְּ after verbs of going signifies to go "with" something, to take it with one and bring it; and oil and spices are hence (see Hos. xii. 2) viewed as presents which Israel takes with it as stimulants for the senses, to be used with the object of obtaining amorous enjoyment (Ezek. xxiii. 41). In Jer. xiii. 18, הִשְׁפִּיל means to go deep down; here it signifies to bind one's self low, or even to abase one's self. By "the greatness (or breadth) of thy way" (an expression like what occurs in Josh. ix. 13) is meant the number of heavy sacrifices to be made in order to purchase the favour of the heathen potentate. Though these were a severe drain on her resources, yet she did not say, "it is hopeless" (נוֹאָשׁ, the Niphal from יָאַשׁ, signifies, reflexively, as in 1 Sam. xxvii. 1, to betake one's self to a thing in doubt regarding its result; the participle occurs in Job vi. 26, where it signifies one in doubt or despair, while Jer. ii. 25 and xviii. 12, it has the neuter sense of "given up," or absolutely hopeless). Instead of אָמַרְתְּ, the Babylonian punctuation has אָמַרְתִּי with the archaic *i* of the feminine. She did not give up hope, though the offerings almost exhausted her strength; she rather gained חַיַּת יָד, "life," *i.e.* (in accordance with the use of חָיָה, as meaning "to revive," and הֶחֱיָה, to "make alive again") new life "of her arm," *i.e.* "renewing of her strength" (as Hitzig explains the expression), *recentem vigorem virium*

suarum (Maldonatus), which gives a better sense than the proposed reading (conjectured by Lagarde, and accepted by Klostermann) חַיַּת יָדֵךְ: in this way, without attending to the sighs and groans extorted by her heavy toils, but ever plucking up fresh courage, she pursued her plan of strengthening herself through alliances with the heathen. Ezekiel's picture of the sins of Aholah and Aholibah (see Ezek. xxiii.) is like a commentary on vers. 3–10.

From fear of man, Israel, and especially Judah, had given up the fear of Jehovah. Ver. 11*a*: "*And of whom art thou terrified and afraid, that thou becamest a liar, and didst not remain mindful of me, or take it to heart?*" It was human beings—merely mortal men with a show of might—whom Israel needlessly feared (li. 12), so that (כִּי, *ut*, in the interrogative sentence, as in 2 Sam. vii. 18; Ps. viii. 5) it turned to lying (*i.e.* unfaithfulness to Jehovah: כִּזֵּב is to be understood as in xxx. 9, lxiii. 8; Ps. xliv. 18); purchasing the favour of man through the fear of man, and throwing itself into the arms of false tutelary deities, it banished Jehovah, its true safety, from memory, and did not take it to heart (viz. did not consider the sinfulness of this faithlessness, and the momentous consequences through which it brought punishment on itself; cf. xlvii. 7, and especially xlii. 25).

With the latter part of ver. 11, the reproving address turns to the present. The faithlessness of Israel has brought its own punishment in the catastrophe which resulted in the Exile, but did not improve the people: the mass of the nation is still as forgetful of God as before, and are not inclined to be led to repentance by the patient forbearance of God which has hitherto spared them the infliction of new and well-merited chastisements. Ver. 11*b*: "*Am I not silent, and that for a long time, whereas thou hast no fear of me?*" Instead of מחשה ומעולם it has been suggested that we should read מַחֲסֵהוּ מֵעוֹלָם, "his (*i.e.* Israel's) refuge from of old;" but a glance at xlii. 14 (הֶחֱשֵׁיתִי מֵעוֹלָם) shows that the discourse here returns to its usual style: the ו here has the same force as in Amos iv. 10, "and that, too, in your nose." The LXX and Jerome translate as if the reading before them were מַעְלִם (viz. עֵינַי, "hiding mine eyes," παρορῶν, *quasi non videns*), and this is preferred by Lowth: the original text

presented the "defectively" written form ומעלם. עֹלָם (see on xlii. 14) is the name given by the prophet to the Exile, which had now already lasted long,—a time of silence on the part of God, and this, too, in relation to the servants of Jehovah, a silence so far as help is concerned,—but as regards the mass of the people, a silence that showed His wrath.

Since the Exile, Jehovah has refrained from inflicting new judgments on the nation, though the apostasy, of which the Exile is the punishment, still continues. But this silence will not last for ever. Vers. 12, 13: "*I, I will declare thy righteousness; and as for thy works,—they will not profit thee. When thou criest, let thy collections* [*of idols*] *deliver thee; but a wind carries all of them away,—a breath takes them off; but he who putteth trust in me will inherit the earth, and will take possession of my holy mountain.*" According to the context, "thy righteousness" cannot here be synonymous with "salvation;" but (as Meier and Hahn explain the passage) it is the designation here applied to what Israel in its blindness considered righteousness, whereas a proper self-knowledge must have made it glaringly appear the repulsive opposite: this lying righteousness of Israel brings Jehovah to make a convicting judicial utterance. וְאֶת־מַעֲשַׂיִךְ is not (as Stier thinks) a second accusative to אַגִּיד, for in such a case the expression would have been אֶת־צִדְקָתֵךְ וְאֶת־מַעֲשַׂיִךְ; but it forms the beginning of a second proposition, as the accents also indicate. When Jehovah actually speaks in this way, the impotence of the false gods which His people have made for themselves will become apparent: "and as for (this being the force of וְאֵת: cf. Jer. xxiii. 33, אֶת־מַה־מַּשָּׂא, 'as for [the question], What is the burden?' . . . In the present passage, there is an emphatic prominence assigned to the subject; cf. the remarks on liii. 8, וְאֶת־דּוֹרוֹ, and Ewald's *Syntax*, English translation, § 277) thy works (*i.e.* idols, xli. 29: cf. פֹּעַל as used in i. 31),—they will not profit thee" (וְלֹא, here having וְ to mark the apodosis, though the Babylonian reading has simply לא): see xliv. 9 f. Weir conjectures that instead of קִבּוּצַיִךְ, we should read שִׁקּוּצַיִךְ, but the former is more significant; it is the designation applied to the heaps of different idols (Baudissin, *Studien*, i. 99) with

which Israel has been providing itself as objects of worship, even on into the Exile (cf. קִבְּצָה in Micah i. 7). In vain will they turn, crying for help, to these pantheons of theirs; a wind (רוּחַ) carries them all away together, a breath (הֶבֶל) sweeps them off, for they themselves are nothing but a breath and wind (xli. 29). With the promise, "he who trusts me will inherit the earth" . . . , this discourse reaches the thought with which the previous discourse (lvi. 7 f.) concluded; and it is possible that what is here stated regarding קִבּוּצַיִךְ forms an intentional contrast to the promise there made in the words עוֹד אֲקַבֵּץ עָלָיו לְנִקְבָּצָיו. When Jehovah gathers His faithful ones out from the dispersion, and further gathers others unto them (from among the heathen), then will the plunder which the faithless ones have gathered together among the heathen be scattered like dust before the wind: the faithless will be left alone, forsaken by their helpless handiworks, while the faithful will again be settled in the inheritance of the promised land.

Here ends the first half of the discourse. It is all reproof, and concludes with a brief promise, which, however, is but the obverse of the threatening. The second half pursues the inverse course. Jehovah will redeem His people, provided it has been truly humbled through the sufferings appointed; for He has seen the errors into which it has fallen since He withdrew His mercy from it. . . . "But the unrighteous," etc. This discourse concludes with threatening, but this is the obverse of the promise. The transition from the first to the second half is formed by the latter portion of ver. 13.

This promise is followed by the call to prepare the way which the redeemed people have to take. Ver. 14: "*And He saith, Heap up, heap up; clear a way! remove every obstruction from the way of my people!*" This is the call which occurs once in all the three books of these discourses (xl. 3 f., lvii. 14, lxii. 10). As in xl. 3, 6 (cf. xxvi. 2), the subject of the verb in וְאָמַר is purposely left obscure by the prophet: the call is from heaven.

The primary reason for this voice being heard is that the Holy One is likewise the God of compassion, and is not merely present in glory above, but also present in mercy

below. Ver. 15: "*For thus saith the High and Lofty One, the eternally-dwelling One, whose name is Holy: I dwell on high and in the holy place, yet with the contrite one, and him who is of humbled spirit, to revive the spirit of humbled ones, and to revive the heart of contrite ones.*" He appoints penal suffering in His wrath; but to those who are taught and disciplined by repentance and the desire for salvation, He is most heartily and actively near with His grace. For the heaven of heavens is not too great for Him to dwell in, nor is a human heart too small; nor does He who dwells upon Cherubim and among the praises of Seraphim disdain to dwell among the sighs of a poor human soul. He is called רָם ("high"), as the One who is high and lofty; נִשָּׂא ("exalted"), as the One who towers over all. Further, He is called שֹׁכֵן עַד, not as the "inhabitant of eternity" (the view of Stier and Hahn),—a thought which is outside the sphere of Biblical representations,—but, seeing that the relation of עַד to שֹׁכֵן is not objective but attributive (as in ix. 5), or adverbial (cf. Prov. i. 33), and because שָׁכֵן, as the opposite of being torn from an inhabited sphere of living and working (cf. Ps. xvi. 9, cii. 29), signifies life that is enduring and rooted in itself, Jehovah is thus named as the eternally (עַד being thus equivalent to לָעַד) dwelling One, *i.e.* He whose life endures for ever, and who is always the same. He is called קָדוֹשׁ as the One who is separated from all impurity and imperfection of the creatures, the Being who is absolutely pure and good: this term is not to be translated *sanctum nomen ejus*, but *Sanctus*, the Holy One,—a name which is the factor in the revelation of Himself as the Redeemer; and this revelation is accomplished in love and wrath, grace and judgment. This God inhabits מָרוֹם וְקָדוֹשׁ, "the height and the holy place" (object-accusatives, like מָרוֹם in xxxiii. 5, and מְרוֹמִים in xxxiii. 16): both together are equivalent to φῶς ἀπρόσιτον, 1 Tim. vi. 16, קָדוֹשׁ (a neuter substantive, as in Ps. xlvi. 5, lxv. 5) corresponding to φῶς, and מָרוֹם to ἀπρόσιτον. But He likewise dwells with (אֵת being used as in Lev. xvi. 16) the crushed or contrite (דַּכָּא, like the form אַיָּל) and lowly in spirit: to their hearts He is near, and this, too, for a saving and gracious purpose—to revive. הַחֲיָה and חַיָּה always signify either to preserve a living being in life, or to reanimate what

had died. The spirit is the seat of pride and humility, the heart the centre of all feeling of joy and sorrow; hence the expressions, the "spirit of the humble" and the "heart of the contrite:" the selfish egotism which is broken by repentance has its roots in the heart; and the self-consciousness from whose false height repentance brings down, has its support in the spirit (see *Psychology*, p. 235, Eng. transl.); but by this it is not meant to be affirmed that רוּחַ and לֵב, though with less precision (cf. lxvi. 2 with Dan. v. 22) might not also have been put in inverse order.

That compassion, in virtue of which God has His dwelling-place and His work of grace in the spirit and heart of the penitent, is founded in that same free and prevenient love which called man and his self-conscious spirit-soul into being. Ver. 16: "*For I do not contend for everlasting, nor am I angry for ever; for the spirit would pine away before me, and human souls which I have created.*" The old translators (LXX, Syriac, Jerome, and perhaps also the Targum) assign to יַעֲטֹף the meaning *egredietur*, though this cannot be proved. With כִּי is given the reason for the self-limitation of the divine anger (as in Ps. lxxviii. 38 f.; cf. ciii. 14): if God laid no restraint upon His wrath, this would bring destruction to the life of man, which nevertheless was His creative work. The verb עָטַף, from the radical signification of bending round, means sometimes to bend over and cover one's self, sometimes to veil one's self with something light, *i.e.* to become faint or weak: cf. עָטוּף, fainting, swooned, Lam. ii. 19; הִתְעַטֵּף, Ps. cxlii. 4, in the same sense as the Qal here, and applied to the spirit; also the synonymous עֻלַּף, Isa. li. 20. כִּלְּפָנַי is equivalent to "in consequence of the wrath proceeding from me." נְשָׁמוֹת (only here in the plural form), according to the uniform usage of the Old Testament (see ii. 22, xlii. 5), are human souls, the origin of which is in the attributive clause (with emphatic אֲנִי) characterized (precisely as in Jer. xxxviii. 16) as a creation (cf. Zech. xii. 1). The *Tiphcha* attached to וּנְשָׁמוֹת leaves undecided the question whether the accentuation takes אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי in this attributive sense or not. The prophet, who in other places also refers to the Deluge (*e.g.* in liv. 9), possibly has in his mind the promise made after the Flood, according to which God will not

make the existing and constantly inherited moral corruption the occasion for utterly destroying the human race.

This general law observed in His dealings is also especially that of His conduct towards Israel, in whom such evil consequences—not intended by God—of the well-deserved penal suffering have now already become evident, that God in His mercy and compassion feels constrained to put an end to this infliction of punishment, for the good of all who are capable of receiving salvation. Vers. 17, 18: "*On account of the iniquity of its selfishness I was angry and smote it; hiding myself and being angry; then it went on, turning aside in the way of its own heart. Its ways have I seen, and I will heal it, and lead it, and bestow comforts on it and its mourning ones.*" The primary and chief sin of Israel is here called בֶּצַע, "gain" (properly a "cutting," piece cut off; cf. the Arabic), lvi. 11; then (like *πλεονεξία*, which, according to Col. iii. 5, is *εἰδωλολατρία*, and like *φιλαργυρία*, which, according to 1 Tim. vi. 10, is *ῥίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν*) eagerness after worldly possessions, selfishness, worldly-mindedness in general. The imperfect וְאַכֵּהוּ is here a co-ordinate past tense; and וְאֶקְצֹף stands in precisely the same character (cf. the aorist in 1 Sam. xix. 23, and the perfect in Josh. vi. 13) instead of a second gerund (see Gesenius, § 113. 3*b*), the clause signifying *abscondendo* (viz. פָּנַי, liv. 8) *et stomachando.* Nägelsbach wrongly understands the first part of ver. 17 as describing God's constant mode of dealing: the main proposition, formed by the latter part of ver. 17, and introduced by the former, demands historical meaning for this part also. When Jehovah had thus in anger hidden His gracious face from Israel, and withdrawn from the nation His gracious presence (Hos. v. 6, חָלַץ מֵהֶם), it went faithlessly turning away from Him (שׁוֹבָב being a collateral form with שׁוֹבֵב, like עוֹלָל in relation to עוֹלֵל, with tone-long *ā*; cf. the vacillation in writing רוֹמָם or רוֹמַם, in Ps. lxvi. 17) on its own ways, like the world of nations left to themselves. But Jehovah has not seen these wanderings without feeling compassion (the imperfects which follow necessarily indicate promises): He will heal His wounded (i. 4–6) and sick people, He will lead on the right path those who are going astray, and bestow comforts on them as a recompense for their long sufferings (נִחוּמִים being derived from

the Piël נִחַם, not from the Niphal הִנָּחֵם, as in Hos. xi. 8, where the word signifies "feelings of sympathy"),—on them, and these (the וְ being epexegetical, as in וּמֵעוֹלָם, lvii. 11), their mourning ones (lxi. 2 f., lxvi. 10), *i.e.* those whom the penal suffering has rendered sad and penitent, and thereby also desirous of salvation.

But when the redemption comes, it divides Israel into two halves, each with a very different fate in store. Vers. 19–21: "*Creating fruit of the lips, 'Peace, peace to those who are far off and those who are nigh,' saith Jehovah, 'and I heal it.' But the wicked are like the sea, that is cast up; for rest it cannot, and its waters cast out mire and mud. There is no peace, saith my God, for the wicked.*" The words of God in ver. 19 are introduced by the words "saith Jehovah," but these inserted after some others (cf. xlv. 24, and the ellipsis in xli. 27); and what Jehovah effects by speaking in this way is placed at the beginning in a defining participial clause. In creating fruit (נוב, *i.e.* ניב or נוֹב, Prov. x. 31, *Qerî* נִיב) of the lips (καρπὸν χειλέων, LXX, and Heb. xiii. 15),—*i.e.* not of His own lips (as Hitzig and Hahn imagine, a view which does not harmonize with בּוֹרֵא), but the confession of praise and thanksgiving springing from human lips (cf. *Biblical Psychology*, Eng. transl. p. 214, regarding this figure),—Jehovah says, "Peace, peace," *i.e.* let ever-enduring and perfect peace (as in xxvi. 3) become the portion of those of my people who are scattered far and near (xliii. 5–7, xlix. 12; cf. the application to Gentiles and Jews in Eph. ii. 17, in accordance with which Nägelsbach explains this passage), and I heal it (viz. the nation, which, though scattered, is like one person in the eyes of God). But the unrighteous, who continue in the alienation from God inherited from their fathers, are incapable of receiving and enjoying the peace which God brings to His people: they are like the sea which has been driven and stirred up by the storm (נִגְרָשׁ—not נִרְגָּשׁ, as Lagarde suggests, or נִגְרַשׁ, as G. Hofmann thinks; cf. Amos viii. 8—is the pausal form of the 3rd person sing., used as an attributive clause). As the sea cannot rest (הַשְׁקֵט, the infin. absolute is here a virtual object), so they cannot endure peace-imparting grace; and as the waters of the sea cast out mire and filth, so is their natural state one in which impure thoughts, words, and works are constantly

being brought forth. Thus there is for them no peace, saith my God. With these words, which have here a more touching sound than in xlviii. 22, the prophet puts the seal to the second book of these prophetic discourses.

The transition from the first to the second half of this closing discourse is formed by וְאָמַר in lvii. 14. In the second half, from lvii. 11*b*, we perceive the usual style of our prophet; but in the portion extending from lvi. 9 to lvii. 11*a*, the style is so very different that Ewald affirms the prophet has here incorporated in his book a piece from a predecessor in the time of Manasseh. But this supposition is not necessitated by what is stated about the prophets and shepherds: the Book of Ezekiel shows that the prophets and shepherds of Exile times had actually become thus degenerate. Still less is the hypothesis required by what is stated concerning the early death of the righteous, for the fundamental idea peculiar to the second Book (chaps. xlix.–lvii.), viz. the suffering Servant of Jehovah, is shadowed forth in it. Nor again is the view necessitated by what is said of the idolatrous conduct of the nation, for in the midst of this description (ver. 4) the mass of the people are reproved for their insolent dealings towards the servants of Jehovah. Neither does the language compel us to adopt this conjecture, for even chap. liii. forms a contrast with the style in other parts, and must, nevertheless (though likewise regarded by Ewald as a borrowed piece, of an earlier date), have been composed by the author of the whole, inasmuch as his grandest idea therein reaches its culminating expression. It may be assumed, however, that the prophet, in depicting the idolatry of the people, may have wrought under the influence of earlier models. As li. 18 ff. gives the ring of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, so lvii. 3 ff. reminds us in many ways of the earlier complaining discourses of Jeremiah: cf. the Book of Jeremiah from v. 7 to ix. 29, ix. 8 ("should I be satisfied with this?"), ii. 25 (נוֹאָשׁ), ii. 20, iii. 6, 13 ("upon high mountains and under green trees"); also the night-scene depicted in Ezek. xxiii.

First Discourse of the Last Part, Chap. LVIII.

The false worship and the true, with the promises connected with the latter.

As the last and immediately preceding discourse in the second Book contained all the three elements of prophetic address,—reproof, threatening, and promise,—so this first discourse of the third Book can but begin with the resumption of one of these elements. The prophet receives the commission to appear as a preacher announcing punishment; and in giving the reason for this commission, Jehovah also at once begins the discourse itself. Vers. 1, 2: "*Cry with the throat; hold not back, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare to my people their transgression, and to the house of Israel their sins. But me they seek daily, and they desire to know my ways, like a nation which hath practised righteousness, and hath not forsaken the law of its God: they ask me for judgments of righteousness, and they desire the drawing nigh of God.*" As the second discourse of the first part is based on a text taken from Micah (ii. 1–4), so there is here also an echo from Micah (iii. 8) in the latter part of ver. 1. Not with lisping lips (1 Sam. i. 13), but with the throat (Ps. cxv. 7, cxlvii. 6), and hence with all the strength of the voice, raising this (cf. Hos. viii. 1, אֶל־חִכְּךָ שׁוֹפָר) like the שׁוֹפָר (the signal-horn, or bugle, as it is blown on New Year's day: see the remarks on Ps. lxxxi. 4), and thus so loud that the sound cannot but be heard, he is to set before the people, publicly and unsparingly, the deep moral sores which they are concealing with their hypocritical *opus operatum*. The ו of וְאוֹתִי attaches something adversative: . . . "their transgression, . . . their sins; and yet"—though they are to be punished for these—"me they seek daily" (יוֹם יוֹם, with *Mahpach* under the first of these, and, according to the rule of Ben-Asher, with *Pasek* between the two like words), that He may be pleased now speedily to interpose. They desire also to know the ways which He intends to take for their deliverance and guidance: here we are reminded of what took place between Ezekiel and the elders of the Captivity (Ezek. xx. 1 ff.; cf. also Ezek. xxxiii. 30 ff.). As if they were a nation that had nothing

but good to expect, on account of their doing what was right, and their faithfulness in relation to the requirements of their God, they ask from Him (in prayer and in inquiries through the prophets) מִשְׁפְּטֵי־צֶדֶק (here used in a different sense from what is pretty frequently found in Ps. cxix.), *i.e.* "righteous manifestations of judgment" (*i.e.* saving them, but destroying their enemies), קִרְבַת אֱלֹהִים (an expression with a different meaning from what it has in Ps. lxxiii. 28), "the drawing near of God," *i.e.* they desire His advent as a Judge to decide between the evil and the good (cf. Mal. ii. 17, iii. 1). The "imperfect" forms יִדְרֹשׁוּן, יֶחְפָּצוּן correspond, in the incidence of the tone, with their self-righteous insolence, and the latter form is repeated, palindromically, at the end of the verse.

There now follow the very words of the self-righteous ones themselves, who hold up their fasting before God, and complain that He takes no notice of it,—but how could He? Vers. 3, 4: "'*Wherefore do we fast, and thou seest not,—afflict our soul, and thou considerest not?' Behold, on the day of your fasting, ye carry on your business, and all your labourers ye oppress. Behold, ye fast in the presence of strife and contention, and in view of smiting with a fist wickedly closed: ye do not fast now to make your voice be heard on high.*" Along with צוּם we have here the older Pentateuchal expression עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ, to do violence to the natural life. According to Zech. vii. 3 and viii. 19, the anniversaries of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem (10th Tebeth), its capture (17th Tammuz), and its destruction (9th Ab), as well as that of the murder of Gedaliah (3rd of Tizri), were observed as fast-days: it is sufficient to think of these. Perhaps, however, the fasting on the day of Atonement, on the 10th day of the seventh month (Tizri), is meant: this, which is the only day prescribed by the Law (Lev. chap. xvi.) as a fast-day, is certainly not mentioned outside of the Pentateuch till we come to Sirach l. 5; Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii. 10. 3; Acts xxvii. 9; but the *argumentum e silentio* would give, for the origin of this great fast-day, a date improbably late.[1] The Exiles here boast of this fasting, but it

[1] Michael Sachs, in *Kerem Chemed* vii. 124 ff., sees in chap. lviii. a discourse delivered by the prophet on the day of Atonement in the year of Jubilee—a plausible supposition which has since been pretty fre-

is a heartless and therefore, in the eyes of God, a worthless dead work: their conduct on the fast-day stands in the sharpest contrast with the object of the fasting, for they then carry on their business as on working-days, they are on that day especially against their work-people (that the service of the master should not cease through attention to the service of God) true taskmasters; and because, when fasting, they are doubly irritable and ill-humoured, the fasting is kept with contention and quarrelling going on (לָרִיב, not לְרִיב, "to contend"), a result of which is smiting with a fist of wickedness (בְּאֶגְרֹף from גָּרַף, to sweep together, form into a ball): in their present state, the proper object of fasting is a strange thing to them,—viz. to be thereby enabled to devote one's self to importunate prayer to God who sits enthroned on high (lvii. 15). The only difficulty here lies in the expression מָצָא חֵפֶץ: in view of ver. 13, it can only mean to reach out after business, carry on business, engage in it,—חֵפֶץ (from חָפֵץ, cf. خفض, "to bend," hence properly "inclination") combining in itself the meanings of "earnest application" and "concern" (or "matter," "affair"), "striving" and "business" or occupation; while מָצָא maintains its primary meaning of "laying hold," seizing (cf. x. 14). With this also agrees what follows,—whether we derive עַצְּבֵיכֶם (with Dagesh dirimens, as in חַלְּקֵי, lvii. 6) from עֶצֶב, making the clause mean, "and all your burdensome labours ye rigidly exact" (Meier, Gesenius), so that נָגַשׂ (from which we have here the form תִּנְגֹּשׂוּ for תִּגֹּשׂוּ, Deut. xv. 3; see Gesenius, § 19. 2*a*), as in 2 Kings xxiii. 35, is construed with the accusative of the thing peremptorily demanded; or (as we prefer to view the case) from עָצֵב (or rather, עָצָב like עָמֵל), making the clause mean, "all your work-people ye drive (compel)," so that the accusative joined with נָגַשׂ (as in Deut. xv. 2, where the word is used of the oppression of a debtor) would signify the persons oppressed. In this passage the reference is not to persons who owe money (Symmachus, Theodoret, Jerome, and perhaps also LXX), but, as has been acknowledged since Gesenius pointed out the truth, to those who owe labour,

quently (*e.g.* in the New York magazine, *The Peculiar People*, for 1888, No. 8) applied in defence of the pre-exilian (Mosaic) origin of the day of Atonement.

or to obligations to labour: עָצֵב does not by any means signify a debtor,—an idea quite foreign to the meaning of this verb-root in Semitic,—but a labourer, such an one as eats the "bread of bitter toil" (Ps. cxxvii. 2). The prophet throughout this passage points from the life.

Through the people's continuation of their secular business in a selfish spirit on the fast-day, the fast becomes perverted for selfish ends: it is regarded as having intrinsic value and merit. This work-righteous delusion, which hides a self-righteous and unrighteous spirit, is opposed by the message from God. Vers. 5–7: "*Can the like of this be a fast that I regard with pleasure,—a day when man afflicts his soul? To bend his head like a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him—dost thou call this a fast, and a day acceptable to Jehovah? Is not this a fast that I regard with pleasure,—to unloose the coils of wickedness, to untie the bands of the yoke, and to send away the oppressed as free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not,—to break thy bread to the hungry, and that thou shouldest bring home the wretched, homeless ones; when thou seest a naked man, that thou shouldest cover him, and that thou shouldest not deny thyself before thine own flesh?*" With ver. 5 begins the second part of the discourse, which contrasts the false worship now described with the true, and sets forth the grand promises associated with the latter. הֲכָזֶה points back: "is such a fast as this according to Jehovah's mind,—a day of which it can be truly said that a man then afflicts his soul (Lev. xvi. 29)?" The interrogative sign הֲ in הֲלָכֹף is resumed in הֲלָזֶה; the second לְ in this last word marks the dative object of תִּקְרָא, which, again, more exactly gives the force of the first לְ, whose infinitive, as usual, passes over into the finite verb (see Gesenius, § 114. 3. 1). To hang down the head (see the remarks on אַגְמֹן in ix. 13) and to sit in sackcloth and ashes—this does not in itself deserve to be called fasting and a day of gracious acceptance (lvi. 7, lxi. 2) by Jehovah (לַיהוָה being used instead of a subjective genitive). Vers. 6 and 7 now declare that the fast with which Jehovah is pleased consists in something quite different, viz. in the liberation of the oppressed and acts of kindness to the helpless,—not in the mere abstinence from food, but in sympathetic activity of that self-denying

love which leads one to give up one's bread, and generally one's own possessions and comforts, for the good of the needy. Hence the early Christian Church prescribed that almsgiving should be conjoined with fasting. The people of the prophet required this lesson. When, during the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, a general liberation of the bondmen of Israelitish descent (who were to be freed, according to the law, every seventh year) had been decided and carried out, the masters retained the liberated slaves in bondage after the departure of the Chaldeans (Jer. xxxiv. 8–22). This selfish and tyrannical disposition had not been laid aside by the people, even in a foreign land, as ver. 6 shows. The term חַרְצֻבּוֹת (from חַרְצֹב, an intensive form, derived from חצב, to fasten together by cords), "coilings," forms a figurative representation of painful circumstances, and רֶשַׁע is a subjective genitive indicating their cause. The word "this," pointing onwards, unfolds itself into a number of absolute infinitives, which in turn are continued in the form of finite verbs. The palindromically repeated מוֹטָה (in both places signifying a "yoke") is properly the cross-bar (L. *vectis*) which forms the main portion of the yoke, and which, fastened on to the neck, was thus connected with the plough by a cord or strap (ἱμάς, Sir. xxx. 35, xxxiii. 27)—to which the term אֲגֻדּוֹת, "knots," refers: cf. x. 27, xlvii. 6. We are not to think (as Hitzig suggests) that instead of מֹטָה the reading should be מֻטֶּה, this indicating a condition of perverted justice (Ezek. ix. 9). רְצוּצִים are persons unjustly and forcibly—even cruelly—oppressed; רָצַץ is the stronger synonym related to עָשַׁק, as seen in Amos iv. 1. Ver. 7 breathes a humane spirit like that seen in Job xxxi. 13–23 and Ezek. xviii. 7 f. פָּרַס לֶחֶם (פָּרַשׂ), "to break bread," is the usual phrase for κλᾶν (κλάζειν) ἄρτον. מְרוּדִים is an adjective attached to עֲנִיִּים, and therefore, it seems, must be derived from מָרַד (as Hitzig thinks): it signifies "unhappy" ones who have become refractory towards tyrannical masters. The suggestion that we have here a recommendation to receive political refugees is a modern idea, and the parallels in Lam. i. 7, iii. 19 clearly show that the word is meant to be regarded as a derivative of רוד, "to wander about," and in this sense it has been rendered by the LXX, Targum, and Jerome (who has *vagos*). Ewald (§ 131*d*, Anm.)

thinks we may take מְרוּדִים as the Hophal participle, instead of מוּרָדִים, "hunted ones" (like הממותים in Kings xi. 2, *Qerî* הַמּוּמָתִים); but this violent transposition of a vowel-sound cannot be substantiated. We must either (with Cheyne) read מוּרָדִים, or take מְרוּדִים, "strayed ones," as equivalent to אַנְשֵׁי מְרוּדִים,—just as הֵלֶךְ in 2 Sam. xii. 14 is equivalent to אִישׁ הֵלֶךְ, and קָצִיר in Isa. xvii. 5 to אִישׁ קָצִיר. Moreover, the second part of ver. 7 is still the virtual subject of צוֹם אֶבְחָרֵהוּ. The apodosis to the clause introduced by the hypothetical כִּי begins with וְ consecutive prefixed to the perfect, which then changes into the imperfect (in pausal form) תִּתְעַלָּם. In the expression "from thine own flesh" it is assumed that mankind, being of the same flesh and blood, owe sympathetic love to one another (Neh. v. 5).

The prophet now sets forth the divine reward of grace bestowed on such a fast, reminding the nation anew, while engaged in uttering the promise, of this love as the condition of the fulfilment of what is promised: the promises are thereby divided into two parts. The middle promise is attached to the first,—the perfect clearness of noon being seen in prospect from the morning-dawn (Prov. iv. 18). The first series of promises is set forth in vers. 8, 9*a*: "*Then will thy light break forth like the morning-dawn, and thy healing will sprout speedily, and thy righteousness will go before thee; the glory of Jehovah will form thy rear-ward. Then wilt thou call, and Jehovah will answer; thou wilt cry for help, and He will say, "Here am I!"*" When it is night within and around a man, but he suffers himself to be moved by the love of God to return that love, then does the divine love, like the rising sun, break forth and shine out, yet gradually, so that the sky within is at first but tinged as it were with the red of the dawn, the harbinger of the sun. Then follows another figure filled with promises. The man is sick unto death, but if he lets himself be moved by the love of God to show returning love, new strength pervades his whole nature, and his healing springs up speedily; he feels within him a new life working everywhere with energy, like a miraculous springing of verdure, and growth, and bloom. The noun אֲרוּכָה occurs, outside of this passage, only in the Books of Jeremiah, Chronicles, and Nehemiah: it signifies

"healing," recovery (LXX here giving the rendering τὰ ἰάματά σου ταχὺ ἀνατελεῖ, in which an old error is presented by *ἱμάτια, vestimenta*), and then also, in a more general way, "prosperity" (2 Chron. xxiv. 13); but it is always joined with the predicate עָלְתָה (causative הֶעֱלָה; cf. the Targum on Ps. cxlvii. 3, אַסֵּק אַרְכָא, for which another reading is אֲרוּכִין). Hence it follows that the primary idea is a concrete one: the word, however, does not mean a bandage for a wound, a ligature (as Gesenius and others affirm), but rather "what is restored," put right again, *i.e.* healed flesh; really, however, as shown by the Arabic أَرِيكَة, it means "what is stretched over," viz. the new covering of skin that forms itself as a covering over a wound that is healing up; hence אֲרוּכָה occurs, outside of the Bible, in the sense of a "scar;" and the expression מַעֲלָה אֲרוּכָה, applied to a wound, is explained by Buxtorf, in a substantially correct manner, by (*vulnus*) *obducit cicatricem.*[1]

The third promise is, "thy righteousness will go before thee; the glory of Jehovah will gather thee," *i.e.* keep thee together, be thy rearguard (אָסַף here having the same meaning as in מְאַסֵּף, lii. 12). When Israel busies itself with works of compassionate love, then it is like an army on the march, or a caravan, for which the righteousness that has become its own shows the way and makes a road, and which the glory of God protects and brings to its goal.

The fourth promise treats of immediate hearing of every cry to God, every cry for help. But before the prophet brings the promises to their culmination, he once more lays down the condition of their fulfilment. Vers. 9*b*–12: "*If thou removest from the midst of thee the yoke of oppression, the putting forth of the finger, and uttering of wickedness; and offerest to the hungry one what thy soul desireth to eat, and satisfiest the soul that is bowed down,—then thy light shall beam out in the darkness, and thy deep darkness become like the noon-day brightness. And Jehovah will guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in*

[1] The Turkish Kamus says, "*Artka* is the designation given to the flesh of a wound that is healing, which, after the suppuration has ceased, grows up and makes its appearance in a fresh and healthy state, so that there is only need for skin to grow over it."

droughts, and refresh thy bones, and thou wilt become like a well-watered garden, and like a springing fountain, whose waters never deceive. And thy people will build ancient ruins, foundations of long-past generations wilt thou erect, and thou wilt be called a repairer of breaches, a restorer of habitable roads." The term "yoke" is here, as in ver. 6, where it is combined with "wickedness," equivalent to "oppression." שְׁלַח־אֶצְבַּע (the first term being the construct-form for שְׁלֹחַ, like גְּוַע in Num. xx. 3) means the scornful pointing with the finger (Prov. vi. 13, *δακτυλοδεικτεῖν, porrigere digitum*) at those in humbler condition, and especially the godly (lvii. 4): דַּבֶּר־אָוֶן means "uttering of wicked things," hence sinful conversation. The old expositors endeavoured to find something more under נַפְשְׁךָ, than is intended; and even Stier continues to do the same, translating it "thy whole sympathies," etc.; but the term "soul," which is here viewed as eagerly desiring (lvi. 11), is used, as in Deut. xxiv. 6, instead of what nourishes it, and so here instead of what it eagerly desires, *i.e.* the longing (*appetitus*), instead of the object of the longing (see *Biblical Psychology*, Eng. translation, p. 242). This is evident from the choice of the verb תָּפֵק (the voluntative form, in the conditional clause; see Gesenius, § 109. 2*b* [and Driver on the *Hebrew Tenses*, § 152, 155]), which, starting from the primary meaning *educere*, signifies not only to work out, get, obtain (Prov. iii. 13, viii. 35, etc.), but also to take out, furnish, offer, L. *expromere* (as here and in Ps. cxl. 9, cxliv. 13; cf. [the Aramaic] אַפֵּק, أَنْفَقَ, from נְפַק). The "bowed down" soul is in this passage one who is oppressed through want. With the "consecutive perfect" זָרַח the apodoses begin. אֲפֵלָה is the darkness produced by complete absence of light (cf. the Arabic *afalat eš-šemsu*, "the sun has become invisible," see our remarks on Job x. 22): this becomes like the noon-day.

A new promise refers to the fact that such a man may uninterruptedly enjoy the gentle but safe guidance of divine grace (an idea for which the usual word is נָחָה; Hi. הִנְחָה; Syn. נִהֵל); another promise speaks of the communication of the most abundant fulness of strength. The ἅπαξ. γεγρ. בְּצַחְצָחוֹת does not say (בְּ being used as in Ps. ciii. 5) with

what God will satisfy the soul (as Hahn thinks, following Jerome, who has *splendoribus*), but (as shown by צְחִיחָה in Ps. lxviii. 7, and such promises as are found in xliii. 20, xlviii. 21, xlix. 10) the kind of satisfaction, and the circumstances under which it is bestowed,—viz. in the scorching heats of the sun (cf. ضاحية, a region exposed to the sun), and hence, in extreme droughts (Targum: "years of drought"). Instead of the "consecutive perfect," the imperfect is next introduced: the change to this form renders it possible to give prominence to the object, and the sentence thus continues, "and thy bones will He make strong" (יַחֲלִיץ, instead of which we might easily and naturally read יַחֲלִיף, "he will rejuvenate," but this is unnecessary: the Hiphil הֶחֱלִיץ—which is not necessarily denominative—means to "make [another person] unencumbered, prepared, ready, active," as the Qal חָלַץ, חָלֵץ signifies to set loose, disengage, and خلص, *intr.* to be loose, free, pure, *i.e.* unmixed: the expression is fitly glossed in *Yebamoth* 102*b* by זרוזי גרמי, "invigoration of the bones"). This idea of refreshing is developed in two figures: that of a well-watered garden sets forth the abundance received, while that of the well shows abundance possessed. Objects from the realm of nature are promised, but these as the gift of grace; for while, in the Old Testament, the natural strives to become spiritual, in the New Testament the spiritual raises the natural to its own plane.

The last promise is moulded by the longing of the exiles for their fatherland: "and thy people (מִמְּךָ) build" . . . Ewald (*Syntax*, Eng. translation, § 295*c*) and Böttcher (as Calvin had done before by his rendering *quidam*) would read וּבָנוּ מִמְּךָ; but this has not a Hebrew ring: מִמְּךָ is here equivalent to אֲשֶׁר מִמְּךָ (cf. Ps. lxviii. 27, cxviii. 26; Job xviii. 15), "those who are descended from thee, and who are connected with thee by descent;" perhaps this expression was employed for the very purpose of avoiding what has been proposed as the correct reading by Weir and Cheyne, viz. וּבָנוּ בָנַיִךְ. The members born to the congregation in the Exile, when they return home, will again build up (lxi. 4) what has long been in ruins, foundations of former generations, *i.e.* houses and cities of which only the foundation-walls remain standing;

and the Israel that has returned to its fatherland accordingly receives the honourable name, given in admiration, "builder of breaches" (גֹּדֵר, from the root גר, קר, to shut of, wall up), "restorer of roads" (formerly much-frequented places), לָשָׁבֶת, "for inhabiting," *i.e.* so that they which have hitherto been lying waste (xxxiii. 8) anew become habitable and populous.

The third part of the discourse now appends to the duties of love to mankind the sanctification of the Sabbath as a duty, to the fulfilment of which an equally grand promise is attached,—*i.e.* to the duties of the second table are added those of the first; for the service of God by works is sanctified by the service of divine adoration. Vers. 13, 14: "*If thou holdest back thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy business on my holy day, and callest the Sabbath a delight, the holy of Jehovah, worthy of honour, and honourest it, not doing thine own ways, not carrying on thy business, and speaking words; then wilt thou have delight in Jehovah, and I will make thee ride upon the high places of the land, and make thee enjoy the heritage of Jacob thine ancestor; for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.*" The duty of sanctifying the Sabbath is also inculcated by Jeremiah (xvii. 19 f.) and Ezekiel (xx. 12 ff., xx. 8, 26), and its infringement reproved: chap. lvi. has already shown how much importance is attached to it by our prophet. The observance of the Sabbath was certainly, more than other institutions laid down in the Law, the special means of combining and sustaining Israel as a religious community, particularly during the Exile, when a large portion of the other ordinances of worship, because these were connected with Jerusalem and the Holy Land, had fallen into abeyance; and though, as regards the legal enactments to be followed, it was a Mosaic institution, the careful observance of which was urged in Deuteronomy through a call to remember the liberation from the Egyptian bondage, yet it was primarily and fundamentally[1] a ceremonial copy of the Sabbath of creation: after God had created the world out of Himself, He entered into Himself again, that everything created might enter into Him. The legal enactments regard-

[1] Lotz, in his *Quaestiones de historia Sabbati* (1883), confounds the motive for the observance of the Sabbath with the basis of the Sabbath as an institution.

ing the observance of the Sabbath were a means of education to attain this end. The prophet does not here fence round the Sabbath law with new enactments, but he demands, for its observance, full reality corresponding to the spirit contained in the letter of the law. "If thou turnest away thy foot from the Sabbath" is equivalent to saying, "if thou dost not tread its holy ground with the foot of week-day work." The infinitive עֲשׂוֹת which follows (corresponding to מִשַּׁבָּת) is not equivalent to מֵעֲשׂוֹת, but is an explanatory permutative of the object רַגְלֶךָ (as pointed out by De Dieu, Stier, and Hahn), "thy foot" meaning the execution of thy business (חֲפָצֶךָ, a defectively written plural) "on my holy day." Moreover: "if thou callest the Sabbath a delight (not by eating 'mangold and large fishes,' as stated in *Shabbath* 118*b*, but because it leads thee to God,—not 'a burden,' because it leads thee from thine everyday life; cf. Amos viii. 5), and the holy one of Jehovah (on this masculine personification of the holy Sabbath, see lvi. 2), worthy of honour (L. *honorandus*, which is here the proper meaning of מְכֻבָּד), and if thou dost also really honour it," which Jehovah hath clothed with the splendour of His holiness (see Gen. ii. 3, where it is said He "sanctified it"), "not (מִן being equivalent to ὥστε μή) to perform thy ways (*i.e.* the usual courses that refer to self-preservation, not to God), not to carry on thy business (regarding מְצֹא חֵפֶץ, see the remarks on ver. 3), and to make words" (viz. useless words, void of meaning, and of needless number: the phrase דַּבֵּר דָּבָר, as in Hos. x. 4, is here applied to unspiritual gossip and bombast),[1]—then, just as the Sabbath is thy delight, so also will Jehovah have His delight in thee, *i.e.* enjoy delightful communion (the promise made being similar to that in Job xxii. 26); and for the renunciation of earthly advantage, He will reward thee with victorious

[1] Hitzig on this passage remarks that "the law regarding the Sabbath has here already received the Jewish addition, that 'speaking is work.'" But from the premiss that God's Sabbath-rest was a rest from His speaking the creative words (Ps. xxxiii. 6), the only conclusion drawn was that one must rest on the Sabbath, in a certain measure, from speaking as well as working; and when Rabbi Simon ben Jochai called to his talkative old mother on the Sabbath, "Sabbath-keeping is called silence," this was not meant to be understood as if speaking in itself were working, and all speaking on the Sabbath was therefore forbidden. The Rabbinical

dominion, unapproachable possession of the high places (*Kethib* בָּמוֹתֵי: cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 12) of the land, *i.e.* especially (Deut. xxxii. 13), though not solely (Deut. xxxiii. 29), of the land of promise restored to thee, and with the free and undisputed use of the heritage promised to Jacob thine ancestor (Ps. cv. 10 f.),—such will be thy glorious reward, for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it. In the same way, confirmation is given of what is promised in i. 20, xl. 25; cf. the remarks on xxiv. 3.

Second Discourse of the Last Part, Chap. LIX.

The dividing-wall hitherto standing, and the final breach.

This second discourse continues the convicting theme of the first, as laid down at the beginning of chap. lviii. In the former address, to the dead works on which the people founded their claim to redemption, there were set in contrast the virtues well-pleasing to God, and for which Jehovah promises redemption as a gracious reward; in this discourse, the sins which hinder the accomplishment of redemption are still more directly laid bare. Vers. 1, 2: "*Behold, the hand of Jehovah is not too short to help, nor is his ear too dull to hear; but your iniquities have become a dividing-wall between you and your God, and your sins have hidden the gracious face from you, so that he does not hear.*" The reason why the redemption tarries is not that the power of Jehovah was insufficient for that work (l. 2), or that He did not know of their desire for it, but that their iniquities have become separators,—have become a dividing-wall (cf. מַבְדִּיל in Gen. i. 6) between them and their God, and their sins (cf. Jer. v. 25) have hidden His face from them. As יָד in xxviii. 2 is the absolute "hand," so here פָּנִים used absolutely

explanation of the present passage is as follows: "Let not thy speaking on the Sabbath be the same as that on working days;" and when it is stated once in the Jerusalem Talmud that the Rabbins could hardly bring themselves to allow mutual greetings on the Sabbath, it follows that they certainly did not prohibit them. Even the author of the work entitled, "The two Tables of the Covenant" (שני לוחות הברית), with its excessively strict ceremonial requirements, goes no further than to affirm that on the Sabbath one has to keep from דברי חול.

in this way (as in Job xxxiv. 29) is the face that is present everywhere, whether uncovered or concealed, and which sees everything. Israel has deprived itself of the right of this face of God, and has raised a separating wall between itself and Him, so that He does not hear (מִשְּׁמוֹעַ), *i.e.* their prayer does not reach Him (Lam. iii. 44), and is not heard.

The sins of Israel are sins in words and deeds. Ver. 3: "*For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips speak falsehood, your tongue murmurs wickedness.*" The verb גָּאַל, to "stain" (see the remarks on lxiii. 3), is a later softening of גָּעַל (see *e.g.* 2 Sam. i. 21), and instead of the Niphal נִגְאַל (Zeph. iii. 1) we read here, as in Lam. iv. 14, the double passive form נְגֹאֲלוּ, compounded of Niphal and Pual (corresponding to the Arabic اُنْقُتِلَ); perhaps also נוּלְּדוּ in 1 Chron. iii. 5, xx. 8, is a like mixed form, compounded of Niphal and Pual; a similar phenomenon is the mixed form *Nithpaël* (compounded of Niphal and Hithpaël), which occurs not merely in the Mishna, but even so early as in Deut. xxi. 8; Prov. xxvii. 15; Ezek. xxiii. 48. The verb הָגָה (LXX, μελετᾷ) combines in itself the meanings of "thinking" (reflection) and its expression by speaking in low and gentle tones.

The description now enters the domain of judicial and social life. Vers. 4–6: "*There is no one who speaks in righteousness, and no one litigates in faithfulness; people trust in vanity, and speak deception; they conceive trouble and bring forth ruin. Basilisks' eggs do they hatch, and spiders' threads they spin; whoever eats of their eggs must die; and the one that is trodden upon breaks out into an adder. Their threads are of no use for clothing, and people cannot cover themselves with their works; their works are works of ruin, and the practice of injustice is in their hands.*" As קָרָא in these discourses has the general sense of κηρύσσειν (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 5), while the juridical meaning (supported by Cocceius, Meier, Knobel, and Nägelsbach) of *citare, in jus vocare, litem intendere,* cannot be proved, we must explain the opening words thus: "no one gives public evidence with righteousness" (LXX, οὐδεὶς λαλεῖ δίκαια). צֶדֶק is firm adherence to the standard of justice and truth; אֱמוּנָה is reliability that

awakens confidence; נִשְׁפָּט (with the reciprocal meaning, as in xliii. 26, lxvi. 16) signifies the beginning and carrying on of a lawsuit with any one. The abstract infinitives following in the latter part of ver. 4 express the general features of social life in those days, after the manner of the Latin "historical infinitive" (cf. xxi. 5): people trust in תֹּהוּ (viz. what is utterly devoid of all truth), and speak שָׁוְא (what is morally empty and worthless). The double figure הָרוֹ עָמָל וְהוֹלֵיד אָוֶן is taken from Job xv. 35 (cf. Ps. vii. 15): הָרוֹ (cf. the Poël in ver. 13) is but another mode of writing הָרֹה, and הוֹלֵיד (הוֹלֵד) is the usual form of the absolute infinitive Hiphil. What they plan and set in operation is (in the first part of ver. 5) compared to basilisks' eggs (צִפְעוֹנִי, *serpens regulus*, as in xi. 8) and spiders' threads (עַכָּבִישׁ, as in Job viii. 14;[1] from עָכַב, to stand or sit still, with the noun-ending ־ִישׁ; see *Jeshurun*, p. 228, and allied to عكس, from the root עך, to contract, gather one's self together;[2] and קוּרֵי, Targ. קוּרִין, "threads" (cf. Arabic قار, from which comes *kaur*, cotton thread, or something of spun cotton): basilisks' eggs they hatch (בִּקֵּעוּ like בִּקְּעָה, in xxxiv. 15, the perfect being used with reference to what has always happened hitherto, and hence is usual) and spiders' threads they weave (יֶאֱרֹגוּ, perhaps allied to ἀράχ-νη; the imperfect is here used of what continues to happen). The point of comparison in the first figure is the pernicious character of that in which they engage,—whether men rely on this ("whoever eateth of their eggs dieth"), or whether they are so bold or so unwise as to oppose their

[1] In Talmudic, the spider is not called עַכָּבִישׁ, or, as in the Targum, עַכּוֹבִית (cf. the Arabic *'ankabût*, plur. *'anâkib*), but שְׂמָמִית (*Sanhedrin* 113*b*) or בּוּבְיָא (*Succa* 52*a*).

[2] When applied to the spider, the meaning is intransitive: "she has drawn herself together," *i.e.* drawn up her feet to her body while she was weaving her net; then (the antecedent being taken for the consequent) she has woven her net. Such is evidently the derivation of the synonymous *ta'akkaśa*, regarding which we read in the Turkish Kamus: "When spoken of the spider, it means that when constructing her house she draws up her feet, as she does when weaving her net: people say *ta'akkaśat al-'ankabût* when, in weaving, she draws up her feet to herself." Hence the spider herself is called *'ukkâś*, *'ukkâśa*.—*Fleischer.*

plans and performances: "that which is crushed (viz. the egg, when trodden upon) splits open into an adder" (*i.e.* puts out an adder which snaps at the heel of him who disturbs its rest). זור has the same meaning as in Job xxxix. 15: the form here found is the past participle feminine (like סוּרָה in xlix. 21), but the usual ־ָה of the fem. has been shaded into ־ֶה (*ä* out of *ā*), as in לָנֶה (3rd pers. sing. perfect feminine, Zech. v. 5), and אָנֶה in 1 Kings ii. 36 (which certainly, with unaccented ־ָה, is more comprehensible than as in this form, with an accented syllable,—*Mercha* being attached to the last). The point of comparison in the second figure is the nothingness and deceitfulness of their works: what they weave and work serves no man for a covering (יִתְכַּסּוּ being here used with the most general kind of subject understood); it has but the appearance of utility; their works are wicked works, and their actions are aimed at injuring their neighbour in his rights and property.

This evil-doing of theirs rises even to hatred, the extreme opposite of that love with which God is well pleased. Ver. 7: "*Their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of wickedness; devastation and destruction are in their ways.*" This verse and the first part of the following (down to יָדָעוּ) has been interwoven by Paul, in Rom. iii. 15–17, into his description of universal moral corruption. The representation of life as a road, and of one's mode of action as a manner of walking, is a common feature in gnomic compositions, where its terminology has been fully developed. From the beginning of ver. 7, one may perceive that stedfast believers, during the Exile, were persecuted even to death by their fellow-countrymen who had forgotten God. The verbs "run" and "hasten" depict the delight felt in wickedness, when conscience is completely asleep. As in lx. 18 (cf. xiii. 6, xiv. 22), the similarity of sound in שֹׁד וָשֶׁבֶר produces something like rhyme.

Their whole nature has fallen into discord. Ver. 8: "*The way of peace they know not, and there is no justice in their tracks: their paths they make crooked: every one who treads in it knows no peace.*" With דֶּרֶךְ, the "way" upon which a man walks, interchange is here, and in ver. 7, made with מְסִלָּה, the "highway" formed by earth thrown up and

by embankment, מַעְגָּל (plur. in ־ִים and ־וֹת), the "track" into which the waggon rolls, and נְתִיבָה, the "path" formed by the footsteps of the traveller. A line of conduct inclined to peace, springing from a love of peace, and aiming at producing peace, is wholly strange to them: the recognition and practice of justice is not to be found in their course; their paths they make for themselves (לָהֶם being a reflexive dative, and signifying "intentionally," purposely) crooked and cross; and whoever treads on it (בָּהּ being used in a neuter sense, as in xxvii. 4) has utterly lost all inward and outward peace. Emphatic repetition of שָׁלוֹם is made at the end of the verse. The first part of this discourse ends here: it is not because of inability or unwillingness on the part of God that His people have not yet been helped: the fault lies in their sins.

In the second part, the prophet includes himself among the people, as one of them: he speaks as one who shares their experience, for even the better ones were involved in the guilt and consequences of the corruption which prevailed among the exiles, inasmuch as the people form an organized whole, and the delay in the accomplishment of the redemption likewise affected them. Vers. 9–11: "*Therefore judgment remains far from us, and righteousness does not overtake us; we hope for the light, and behold, darkness—for clear light,—we walk in thick darkness. We grope at the wall like the blind, and like eyeless men we grope; we stumble at noon as in the twilight, among the living like the dead. We all groan like bears, and like doves we moan deeply: we hope for judgment, and it cometh not; for salvation,—it remaineth far from us.*" At the end of this group of verses also, the thought with which it begins is palindromically repeated. The perfect רָחֲקָה speaks of a state of things reaching from the past to the present, while the imperfect תַשִּׂיגֵנוּ marks one that continues unchangeably in the present. מִשְׁפָּט here signifies the rectification of wrong relations existing, by a judicial decision of God; צְדָקָה is a manifestation of righteousness, which, after the state of punishment had already lasted a long time, and in accordance with the plan of salvation, brings upon Israel grace instead of strict justice, and deserved punishment upon the instruments employed to punish Israel.

Nägelsbach also takes מִשְׁפָּט in the sense of the right which the election and the covenant on the part of God had founded and established for Israel (see his Commentary), and this is possible. The standpoint of the prophet is the last decade of the Exile, when Cyrus was inflicting one successful blow after another, but had not yet turned to attack Babylon. The dark future which the prophet penetrates, in the light of the Spirit, was at that time pierced by rays of hope, but there was no breaking forth of light, no approach to full brightness (נְגֹהוֹת being an intensive plural from נְגֹהָה, like נְכֹחוֹת, xxvi. 10, from נְכֹחָה in ver. 14); darkness rather remained the prevailing condition of things, and the exiles were passing away in thick and deep darkness (אֲפֵלוֹת), without experiencing the promised and predicted release to be accomplished by the conqueror of the nations. "We grope about"—they here complain—"like blind people at the side of a wall in which there is no opening for egress, and like eyeless ones we grope:" גִּשֵּׁשׁ (which occurs here only) is synonymous with the older מִשֵּׁשׁ, Deut. xxviii. 29. The form נְגַשְׁשָׁה (dropping the reduplication, which could only with difficulty be made audible, but which reappears in the pausal form נְגַשֵּׁשָׁה) has the energic ־ָה, here indicating the impulse to self-preservation, which compels them to grope for a way out of this ἀπορία; and the condensed expression אֵין עֵינַיִם (cf. the remarks on xl. 29) is not quite identical in meaning with עִוְרִים,—for there is sometimes blindness with apparently sound and healthy eyes (cf. xliii. 8),—but it means actual absence of eyes through inborn malformation, or an actual loss of the organs through the infliction of a wound or through disease.

In the complaint which follows, "we stumble in the clear light of noon-day like twilight gloom (*i.e.* as if we were in it), and בָּאַשְׁמַנִּים as if we were dead men," it is to be inferred, even from the parallelism, that the last-mentioned Hebrew word, because it must express an antithesis to כַּמֵּתִים, cannot mean *in caliginosis* (Jerome, Luther, etc.), or "in the graves" (Targum, Saadiah, David Kimchi), or "in waste places" (Joseph Kimchi). Nor is there either (as Dietrici supposes) a Hebrew root אָשַׁם signifying "to be dark," or a form אָשַׁן with the same meaning; the Aramaic אַתּוּנָא, "furnace," or oven, indicates this as sending forth smoke (תְּנַן being equiva-

lent to עָשֵׁן; and the Syriac ܥܛܡܛܢܐ, "dense darkness," is connected with عتم (see our remarks on ix. 18): but the verb שָׁמֵן, "to be fat," is nowhere metaphorically applied, as Knobel supposes, to "fat (*i.e.* thick) darkness;" and the supposed meaning "wilderness," or desert (derived from אָשֵׁם=שָׁמֵם, as Hahn also thinks), is condemned by the improbability that there is such an ambiguous word. The form rather leads us to the verb-root שָׁמֵן, which affords a suitable antithesis to כַּמֵּתִים, whether we explain the word (with Hitzig, Meier, and others) as meaning "on luxuriant fields," or (with Dunasch, Aben Ezra, Ewald in § 162*b*) "among fat and strong ones," who boast of abundant health. We prefer the latter, inasmuch as the language has already stamped the other idea on מַשְׁמַנִּים (Dan. xi. 24; cf. Gen. xxvii. 28), and because words formed with א prosthetic rather, on the whole, point to an attributive than a substantival idea: אַשְׁמָן (like the forms אֵיתָן, אַכְזָב, אַכְזָר) is an elative from שָׁמֵן, Judg. iii. 29 (as Cheyne points out),[1] and אַשְׁמַנִּים has the same meaning as מַשְׁמַנִּים in x. 16 (see the remarks on that passage). Other offered explanations, such as *in opimis rebus* (supported by Cocceius, Vitringa, Stier, Segond, Bredenkamp), or "in fatness of body," *i.e.* fulness of life (Böttcher), are less likely—judging from the form of the word—to be correct; nor do they suit the circumstances indicated here, where all the people of the Exile are speaking. Hence the meaning of the passage is, "we stumble (stagger about) among fat ones (*i.e.* those who feast and lead a merry life) like the dead" (*i.e.* as if we were dead); "but what," as Döderlein remarks, "can be thought more sad than to wander about like a shadow, while others are fat and flourishing?" Growling and whining are expressions of impatience and pain caused by yearning. At one time, the people give way to impatience, and growl like bears (cf. Horace, *Epistles*, xvi. 51: *vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile*); at another, they give themselves up to melancholy, and moan (cf. הָמָה, applied to the cooing of the dove, in Ezek. xvii. 6) in a low and yearning tone, like doves (*quarum blanditias*, as Ovid says, *verbaque murmur habet*); because all their hoping and waiting

[1] Regarding the name אשמן 'Εσμοῦν, applied to the Phenician god of health and prosperity, see Baudissin, *Studien*, i. 276.

for justice and salvation ever prove disappointments, when they seem just on the point of coming.

As already stated in the beginning of ver. 9 (עַל־כֵּן), the ultimate reason is formed by the prevailing sins: to this the people now revert, in the outpouring of their hearts, and their cry becomes one of penitence: the prophet (as in Jer. xiv. 19 f., cf. iii. 21 ff.), like the leader in prayer, stands at the head of the people and makes confession. Vers. 12, 13: "*For many are our transgressions before thee, and our sins testify against us; for our transgressions are known to us, and as for our iniquities, we know them: apostasy and denial of Jehovah, and turning back from following our God; speaking oppression and untruth; conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood.*" The people acknowledge the multitude and magnitude (רַבּוּ) of their apostate deeds, which form the object of divine omniscience, and their sins which testify against them (עָנְתָה being the predicate of the neuter plural; cf. Jer. xiv. 7). The second כִּי is a resumption of the first: "our apostate deeds are with us" (אֵת being used as in Job xii. 3; cf. עִם in Job xv. 9), *i.e.* we are conscious of them; "and as for our misdeeds,—we know them" (יְדַעֲנוּם, instead of יְדַעְנוּם, as in Gen. xli. 23, cf. vi.; and with ַ, as always in the case of verbs ל״ע before נ, when a suffix is added: see Ewald's *Grammar*, § 60*a*). The sins are now enumerated (ver. 13) in abstract infinitive forms. At the head, indicated in a threefold manner, stands apostasy in thought and action: the term בַּיהוָה belongs both to פָּשֹׁעַ ("breach of faith," transgression, *e.g.* i. 2) and to כַּחֵשׁ, "denial" (Jer. v. 12); נָסוֹג also is an absolute infinitive (different from what is found in Ps. lxxx. 19). Then follow sins against one's neighbour: speaking which ends in oppression (Ps. lxxiii. 8), and סָרָה, "deviation," comprising what is opposed to the law and the truth (Deut. xix. 16); conceiving and speaking lying words out of the heart, where they have been conceived (Matt. xv. 18, xii. 35). הֹרוֹ and הֹגוֹ are the only examples of the infinitive Poël which occur in the Old Testament, as שׁוֹשֵׁתִי (x. 13) is the only instance of the perfect Poël, of verbs ל״ה: the Poël is a form suitable throughout this passage, inasmuch as the action expressed affects others, and is meant to do them injury,—for, as

Ewald points out, this verb-conjugation indicates an aim or purpose; *e.g.* לוֹשֵׁן means to slander, calumniate (*lingua petere*); עוֹיֵן, to envy (*oculo petere*).

After the confession of personal sins there follows acknowledgment of the sinful state of society. Vers. 14, 15*a*: "*And right is pushed back, and righteousness stands afar off; for truth has stumbled in the market-place, and uprightness cannot find an entrance. And truth became missed, and he who turns aside from evil is outlawed.*" Justice has been forced back from the position it ought to occupy (הִסִּיג is the legal term employed to signify the removal of land-marks, סוּג being inflected like הֵנִיחַ, הֵסִית, Jer. xxxviii. 22), and righteousness is obliged to look from afar at the unrighteous dealing, without being able to intervene and redress what is wrong. And why are equity and righteousness—this pair so pleasing to God and fraught with blessing to man—thrust out from the nation, and why do they stand thus without? Because there is no truth and honesty among the people. Truth has no certain dwelling-place, and no longer abides among the people; but on the broad and open square, where justice is administered, and where she, above all, ought to stand upright and be maintained in uprightness,—there has she stumbled and fallen headlong (cf. iii. 8); and while honesty (נְכֹחָה), in her straightforward course, would gladly enter within the limits of the forum, she cannot,—people and judges together form a fence that keeps her back. The result of this is stated in the first part of ver. 15: truth, in its many practical manifestations, remains behind (נֶעְדֶּרֶת is an instance of Niphal "tolerative," like xl. 26: it comes from עָדַר, غدر, to "leave behind," and thus means to let one's self be left behind, *i.e.* to remain behind, whether by one's own active assistance or by merely letting things take their course); and he who avoids vice is מִשְׁתּוֹלֵל (participle Hithpoël), *i.e.* one who is forced to let himself be plundered, stripped (Ps. lxxvi. 6), made a שׁוֹלָל (Micah i. 8), Arabic *maslûb* (as Saadiah here translates the word),—a passive turn being added to the reflexive meaning, as הִתְחַפֵּשׂ, to let one's self be spied out, *i.e.* disguise one's self, pretend.

With the latter part of ver. 15, or with ver. 16, begins the third part of the discourse, which opens with threaten-

ings but ends with promises. It is wholly descriptive of future history, which is viewed and described as if lying before the prophet in the past of historical reality (Cheyne). Considering that this corrupt state of things affords no prospect of improvement from within, Jehovah has already prepared Himself for judicial intervention. Vers. 15*b* to 18: "*And Jehovah saw it, and it was displeasing in his eyes that there was no equity. And he saw that there was nowhere a man, and he was astonished that there was nowhere an intercessor; then his arm helped him, and his righteousness — it became his support. And he clothed himself with righteousness as a coat-of-mail, and the helmet of salvation on his head; and he put on garments of vengeance as war-clothing, and covered himself in zeal as in a mantle. According to the deeds, in like manner will he repay,—burning anger to his adversaries, punishment to his enemies; to the islands will he requite punishment.*" The language of the prophet has now toilsomely wound its way through the thorn-bushes of cutting reproof, of dark pictures of character, of plaintive confession, which anew—because those ready to receive salvation are those who make confession—brought before his mind, in all the darker colour, the apostasy of the nation as a mass; but now, having reached the point at which he has to describe the judgment at hand, from the smelting-furnace of which the Church of the future proceeds, his language once more rises aloft, like a palm that has been forcibly bent to the ground, and shakes its leafy crown as if restored to the ether of the future. Jehovah saw it, and was displeased (lit. "it was evil in His eyes;" see also Gen. xxxviii. 1, 10), —this namely, that equity (which He loves, lxi. 8; Ps. xxxvii. 28) had disappeared from the life of His people: He saw that there was no man there,—no man of mental ability and energy (אִישׁ being here used as in Jer. v. 1; cf. 1 Sam. iv. 9, 1 Kings ii. 2, and in the old Jewish saying, "Where there is no man, I strive to be a man") who would be able to restrain this corruption; He was astonished that there was no מַפְגִּיעַ, *i.e.* no one who, intervening between God and the people as an intercessor (see liii. 12), laid to heart this disastrous condition of the people,—no one who (to use the language of Ezek. xxii. 30) formed a wall against the im-

pending ruin, and covered the breach with his body,—no one like Aaron (Num. xvii. 12 f.) or Phinehas (Num. xxv. 7) to appease the stormful wrath. What is expressed by the "consecutive imperfects" from וַתּוֹשַׁע (with *Mahpak* and *Metheg*, as in lxiii. 5; cf. נָבֵל in xl. 7 f.) and onwards, is not less future than what is found in ver. 18, where the view taken of the future is put into the form of an ideal past. Because the people are so wholly and so deeply corrupted, Jehovah has prepared Himself for judicial intervention. He saw no man upon His side who would be willing and able to aid Him in His right against the prevailing abominations, and to support His cause: then His own arm became His help, and His righteousness His support (cf. lxiii. 5), so that He did not stop in the execution of the judgment to which He saw He was constrained, until He had obtained full satisfaction for the honour of His holiness (v. 16).

The armour put on by Jehovah is now described. Just as, in Eph. vi., the manifold self-manifestations of the inner life of the soul are symbolized under each of the different pieces of armour, so, under the pieces of Jehovah's armour there are set forth the manifold self-manifestations of His holy nature, formed out of wrath and love combined. Righteousness He puts on as a coat-of-mail (שִׁרְיָן in half-pause, as in 1 Kings xxii. 34; 2 Chron. xviii. 33 in full pause for שִׁרְיוֹן, ŏ passing over into the broader ă, as almost always the case in יֶחְפָּץ, יֶחְבָּשׁ, and also in Gen. xliii. 14, שָׁכָלְתִּי; xlix. 3, עָז; xlix. 27, יִטְרָף), so that He appears on every side as righteousness. On His head He sets the helmet (כּוֹבַע with retracted tone; see Ewald, § 213 f.[1]) of salvation,

[1] The word here, and therefore possibly also in 1 Sam. xvii. 5 (cf. קוֹבַע, 1 Sam. xvii. 38), where one would suppose there has been retraction of the tone, has been treated as a "fully written" segholate form. On the other hand, in Ezek. xxvii. 10 (וְכוֹבַע with simple *Pashta*) and xxxviii. 5 (וְכוֹבָע in pause), it has the tone on the last syllable, and may therefore be regarded as having been formed like אוֹפַן, דּוֹנַג, from which such forms as חוֹתָם (خَاتَم), עוֹלָם (عَالَم) are distinguished only by a tone-long *a*. The plural follows this "Milra" form, becoming כּוֹבָעִים: cf. Kimchi's *Michlol* 174*a*, and Lexicon under כבע.

because the ultimate object for which He enters into the conflict is the redemption of the oppressed, salvation as the fruit of victory by righteousness. Over the coat-of-mail He puts on garments of vengeance as a military coat (LXX, *περιβόλαιον*, formed like the post-Biblical תַּגְבֹּרֶת, תִּשְׁחֹרֶת), and covers Himself with zeal as in a military cloak. Judiciously and beautifully is the inexorable justice of God compared to the impenetrable brazen coat-of-mail; His gladdening salvation to the protecting helmet (from כָּבַע, קָבַע, to over-arch), glittering afar; His vengeance, having many modes of inflicting effective chastisement, to the bright-coloured garments over the coat-of-mail; and His wrathful jealousy (קִנְאָה from קָנֵא, to be red-hot) to the fiery red military cloak. No weapon is mentioned—neither sword nor bow—for His arm, and this alone, procures Him help.

But what will Jehovah do now, after He has armed Himself thus with righteousness and salvation, with vengeance and jealousy? As declared in ver. 18, He will execute retributive judgment, and this at once strict and universal. גְּמוּל and גְּמֻלָה signify "accomplishment" (on the fundamental meaning, see the remarks at iii. 9), this term being a *ῥῆμα μέσον*: גְּמֻלוֹת, which, according as the context points, may signify manifestions either of love or of wrath, and these either retributive displays on the part of God, or forfeitures on the part of man, relates here to human works; and גְּמוּל, which likewise bears a double aspect, here signifies, not forfeiture (as in iii. 11), but repayment (as in xxxv. 4), and this in the sense of the infliction of punishment. כְּעַל ("as, on account of") is here employed just as in Ps. cxix. 14, and afterwards in these prophecies, lxiii. 7 (*uti par est propter*); cf. the remarks on i. 26. The second emphatically repeated כְּעַל (like לָכֵן in lii. 6) stands, without an object, as the correlative of the first. At the mention of "the adversaries and enemies," one is led by what precedes to think of the apostate Israelites; for these, the prophet names "the islands," hence the Gentile world,—concealing the special judgment on Israel under the universal judgment upon the nations. Judgment falls upon Israel, the salt of the earth that has become insipid, just as upon the whole ungodly world; the thoroughly purified Church is destined to take its

position within a world out of which flagrant unrighteousness has been swept away.

The prophet now depicts the salvation which is symbolized by the helmet upon the head of Jehovah. Vers. 19, 20: "*And they will fear the name of Jehovah from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun; for he will come like a river pent up, which a tempest of Jehovah drives along. And a Redeemer comes for Zion, and for those who return from transgression in Jacob, declareth Jehovah.*" Instead of וְיִֽירְאוּ (וְיִֽירְאוּ), Knobel by striking out *Metheg* would read וְיִרְאוּ, "and they will see;" but to "see the name of Jehovah" (instead of "to see His glory") is an expression which cannot be proved to occur elsewhere; nor does the relation between the former and the latter parts of ver. 19 recommend this alteration, for the latter founds the universal fear of the name of Jehovah (cf. Deut. xxviii. 58) and of His glory (Ps. cii. 16), which arises from the revelation of His judgment, on the manner in which this manifestation is made. The preposition מִן, both in "from the west" and "from the rising of the sun," indicates the *terminus a quo*. From all quarters of the earth, fear of Jehovah's name and of His glory becomes natural to the world of nations. For, if God, as during the exile in Babylon, withdrew His name and His glory from history, the re-entrance of both is so much the more intensive and extraordinary: and this is here represented in a figure which reminds us of xxx. 27 f., x. 22 f.; Ezek. xliii. 2. The accentuation, certainly, which assigns *Pashta* to כַּנָּהָר, appears to make צָר the subject,—either in the sense of "oppressor," adversary (as in Lam. iv. 12; and this is the view of the Targum, Syriac, Saadiah, Malbim, Stier, and Hahn); but, considering the expression חֵמָה לְצָרָיו which precedes, such a transition to human means in the execution of retributive judgment is not to be looked for,—or, in the sense of "oppression" (as in xxv. 4, xxvi. 16, xxx. 20: such is the view of Rashi and Hitzig), for which one may adduce xlviii. 18, lxii. 12, inasmuch as צַר is the opposite of שָׁלוֹם. But, judging from such parallel passages as xxx. 27 f., it is much more natural to take Jehovah (His name, His glory) as the subject: moreover, בוֹ, which in any case refers to כַּנָּהָר, is against the view that צָר is the subject-idea to which

בּוֹ would have the best claim to be referred: the latter is actually the view of Stier and Hahn, who refer to Ps. lx. 6, and render this clause "the Spirit of Jehovah lifts up a banner against him," viz. the adversary. But if Jehovah is the subject to יָבֹא, then כַּנָּהָר צָר are connected together (like מְכַסִּים . . . כַּמַּיִם, xi. 9; רוּחֲךָ טוֹבָה, Ps. cxliii. 10: see Gesenius, § 126. 5 [and Ewald's *Syntax*, English translation, § 293. 1]) without any need for reading the expression (as Seinecke does) כַּנָּהָר צָר; and the words either mean "a confining river" (*i.e.* one which, as it were, puts in a state of siege; on this view, the attributive is derived from צוּר, xxi. 2, xxix. 3); or, in accordance with the adjectival use of the word צַר (from צָרַר, and here pointed צָר, through the presence of *Zakeph*), as in xxviii. 20; Job xli. 7; 2 Kings vi. 1, the expression would signify "a narrow (confined) river," one to whose mass of waters the banks form a powerful dam, through which the stream, especially when a storm rages, breaks with force and carries all before it. Hence we explain the passage thus: "Jehovah will come like the river, one hemmed in, which a wind of Jehovah (*i.e.* a violent tempest) rolls along in rapid course (נֹסְסָה being *Pilel* from נוּס, construed with בְּ, and signifying to pursue, press upon, and put to flight). Then will all the world from west to east, from east to west, begin to fear Him. But the proper object of the love which breaks through that revelation of wrath is His Church: He comes (וּבָא being a continuation of יָבֹא) for Zion a Redeemer (*i.e.* as such, גּוֹאֵל being a more precise specification of the predicate), and for those who turn away from apostasy (שָׁבֵי פֶשַׁע; cf. i. 27, and on the genitival construction, see Micah ii. 8, שׁוּבֵי מִלְחָמָה, "those who are turned away from war"). The attachment of the second clause by means of the "specializing" ו is similar to what occurs in i. 27, lvii. 18: He comes as the Redeemer for Zion (*i.e.* His Church that has remained faithful), including those who turn again to Jehovah from their previous unfaithfulness. In Rom. xi. 26, this utterance of God is cited by the apostle as a Scripture proof for the future restoration of all Israel.

Coming as Redeemer to His people who have hitherto been lying under the curse, Jehovah concludes with them an everlasting covenant. Ver. 21: "*And I,—this is my*

covenant with them, saith Jehovah: My Spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, and out of the mouth of thy posterity, and out of the mouth of the posterity of thy posterity, saith Jehovah, from this time and for ever." In the words, "And I—this is my covenant with them," there is a renewal of those uttered by God to Abram (Gen. xvii. 4), "As for me, behold my covenant is with thee." Instead of אִתָּם, the form used here (and especially frequent in Jeremiah) is אֹתָם (cf. מֵאוֹתִי in liv. 15). The address which follows is directed to Israel, not to the prophet, as the person whose words and gifts will abide as the inheritance of later generations: the latter is the view of Klostermann, who says that if the address referred to Israel, the continuation of the discourse after אֹתָם would commence with עֲלֵיהֶם, etc. But he himself calls attention to the striking parallels presented in chap. i. to vers. 17, 18 and 20,—and why should not the same interchange of direct and indirect address be admissible here as in i. 29? The discourse concludes in the form of an apostrophe, which is addressed to Jehovah's Servant in the wider sense as meaning the people,—the remnant of Israel to which the multitude of all God-fearing ones out of the west and east attach themselves. The Spirit of God rests on this Church of the new covenant, and the words of God which bring comfort and salvation are not merely the blessed treasure of its heart, but also the confession of its mouth which diffuses salvation all around,—those words being meant which (as pointed out in li. 16) prove themselves to be the seed-corn of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jerusalem, the glorious centre of this holy community, forms the subject of the following discourse.

Third Discourse of the Last Part, Chap. LX.

The glory of the Jerusalem of the latter days.

It is night still,—the night of sin, of punishment, of suffering, of sorrow,—a long night of well-nigh seventy years. In this night, the prophet, in accordance with his divine commission, has been preaching about the coming

light. Now, in his inward experience of the contents of his own preaching, he has come very near the time when faith is to become sight; and in the strength of God, who has made him the mouth-piece of His creative fiat, he calls to the Church, in ver. 1, "*Arise, become light! for thy light hath come, and the glory of Jehovah hath risen over thee.*" The address is directed to Zion-Jerusalem, which (as in xlix. 18, l. 1, lii. 1 f., liv. 1) is regarded as a woman. Stricken down by the punitive judgment of God, brought down by inward prostration, she lies on the ground: then the cry reaches her ears—"Arise!" It is a strength-imparting word, which reanimates her frame, so that she can arise from the ground on which she is lying, as it were under the ban. The power-imparting word "Arise!" is supplemented by a second, "be light!" What power lies in these two trochees, קוּמִי אוֹרִי, which as it were hold on till the actual accomplishment of what they express! and what power of comfort lies in the two iambic words כִּי־בָא אוֹרֵךְ, which as it were impress upon the action of Zion the seal of the divine action, and to the ἄρσις add its θέσις! כִּי introduces the reason in positive form: Zion is to become light, because she can be light: she cannot of herself do this, but there is a light which seeks to communicate itself to her—the light which beams from God's holy nature; and this light has come, the glory of Jehovah has risen over her (the perfect זָרַח determines בָּא to be also the perfect: cf. on the other hand the order of words in lxii. 11, where בָּא is the participle). זָרַח is the usual term for indicating the rising of the sun (see Mal. iii. 20). The sun of suns is Jehovah (Ps. lxxxiv. 12), the God who surely comes (lix. 20).

The darkness of night now lies over the whole world, but Zion is the point in the east at which this sun of suns arises. Ver. 2: "*For, behold darkness covereth the earth, and deep darkness the peoples, but over thee Jehovah ariseth, and his glory will become visible over thee.*" The earth is still covered by the darkness (הַחֹשֶׁךְ),—darkness in its entire depth, the night of estrangement from God and of wretchedness,—and the nations by a night of clouds (עֲרָפֶל): it is still night as on the first day of creation, but a night which is destined to become light. While darkness still lies over the

peoples, it is light in the Holy Land, for a sun is rising over Zion, viz. Jehovah in His unveiled glory.

The result of this is that Zion herself becomes wholly light, but not for herself alone. Ver. 3: "*And nations walk to thy light, and kings to the shining of thy rays.*" In both instances the preposition לְ may be understood (as in Hab. iii. 11) as signifying "in the view of" (or "in the presence of,"—a meaning which is imperceptibly different from "in") the light, the shining of the rays; but the verb הָלְכוּ (not הִתְהַלְּכוּ) rather leads us to think of לְ as indicating the end or goal. According to the latter view, the meaning would be that Zion exercises such a power of attraction that nations flow to her light (הָלַךְ לְ being used as in הָלַךְ לְבֵיתוֹ, and similar expressions), and kings to the brightness of her rays, in order to share in them, and enjoy them with her.

As in xlix. 18, Zion is now summoned to lift up her eyes and look around on all sides: she is the object towards which a vast approaching multitude direct their steps. Ver. 4: "*Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: they all assemble together, they come to thee; thy sons come from afar, and thy daughters are carried hither upon arms.*" The multitudes assembling in hosts and approaching are her sons and daughters who have been far scattered (xi. 12), who bring with them the Gentiles now crowding to her, carrying them "upon the side" (an expression used in lxvi. 12), *i.e.* as is still seen in the East, carrying them (sitting) upon the haunch-bone of the bearer, the hand being used in helping to support them (see Orelli). The form תֵּאָמַנָה has been softened from תֵּאָמַנָּה, the pausal form for תֵּאָמֵנָּה (compare the softening in Ruth i. 13): it comes from אָמַן, to strengthen, support, from which are formed אֹמֵן, אֹמֶנֶת, an attendant, nurse, that has charge over a child to keep it safe.

When this takes place, Zion is seized with the greatest delight, joined with trembling. Ver. 5: "*Then wilt thou see and be bright, and thine heart will tremble and expand; for unto thee will be turned the abundance of the sea, the wealth of the nations cometh unto thee.*" It is doubtful whether we should read תִּרְאִי, תִּרָאִי, תִּירְאִי (all three forms pointing to יָרֵא) or תִּרְאִי (from רָאָה): the latter was the reading taken by

LXX, Targum, Syriac, Jerome, Saadiah, and all the older Jewish expositors except Aben Ezra; it is also that of the Masoretic text. Apart from this, תִּרְאִי ("thou wilt see") seems the more likely and natural (judging from lxvi. 14; Zech. x. 7), especially because יָרֵא is not (like פָּחַד and רָגְזוּ, Jer. xxxiii. 9) a suitable word to use in the sense of trembling for joy. Hence the proper rendering is, "then wilt thou see and shine with splendour," *i.e.* when thou seest this, thou wilt shine (*i.e.* thy face will lighten up with joy). נָהַר is used as in Ps. xxxiv. 6. Jerome and Luther thought of נָהַר, "to stream," overflow; but the verb has here its original meaning of shining brightly, from which also a river is called נָהָר, as being like a streak of silver. Moreover, the impression produced by this complete change will thus be so overpowering that the heart of Zion trembles, but yet so elevating that the heart which has hitherto been oppressed now heaves (or, as it is here expressed, expands, וְרָחַב—LXX, *καὶ ἐκστήσῃ*, following the reading וְרָהַב found in Chajug and Isaac Nathan's *Concordance*) for joy; because the "abundance of the sea" (*i.e.* all the costly things belonging to the islands and coast-lands,—הָמוֹן signifying groaning, a roaring multitude, especially of possessions; see Ps. xxxvii. 16, etc.) will be turned to her; and "the strength of the nations," *i.e.* (with reference to the plural form of the predicate which follows,—just as in Hag. ii. 7) the riches (viz. gold, silver, etc., Zech. xiv. 14) of the Gentiles are brought into her, that she may henceforward dispose of them for the honour of her God.

The nations occupied with commerce, and those engaged in rearing cattle, vie with each other in enriching the Church. Vers. 6, 7: "*A multitude of camels will cover thee, the young camels of Midian and Epha,—they all come from Sheba; gold and incense they bring, and the praises of Jehovah they cheerfully make known. All the flocks of Kedar are gathered together for thee, the rams of Nebaioth will serve thee; they will ascend mine altar with acceptance, and I will adorn the place of my adornment.*" The nations engaged in commerce bring their wares to the Church; the tribe of Midian, descended from Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), and of which the Ephaeans (Targum הולר, the Hudhelites?)

formed a branch, dwelling on the east coast of the Elanitic Gulf in the town of Madyan, lying five days' journey south from Aila (according to the Arabic geographers),—these come in caravans so numerous and so long that the country round Jerusalem swarms with camels. The term שִׁפְעַת is used as in Job xxii. 11; and בִּכְרֵי (which is parallel to גְּמַלִּים) is from בֵּכֶר (the Arabic *bakr* or *bikr*), which signifies a young male camel, or a camel's foal generally (not older than nine years: see Lane's *Lexicon*, i. 240). All these, Midianites and Ephaeans, come from Sheba, of which Virgil (*Georgics*, ii. 117) says, *solis est turea virga Sabaeis*, and which, according to Strabo (xvi. 4. 19), was a populous country of ample resources, producing myrrh, incense, and cinnamon. There (viz. in Yemen [1]), where spices, precious stones, and gold are found, they have brought gold and incense; and these valuable gifts they now bring to Jerusalem, not as unwilling tribute, but with cheerful proclamation of the glorious doings and attributes of Jehovah, the God of Israel. As the trading nations come, so also do the nomad tribes: Kedar, *i.e.* the Kedarenes, armed with bows (xxi. 17), and dwelling in חֲצֵרִים (xlii. 11), or fortified settlements, in the desert between Babylon and Syria; and Nebaioth (likewise of Ishmaëlitish origin, according to Gen. xv. 23), a nomad tribe, which though still of no importance during the Israelitish monarchy, rose in the first century before Christ to eminence as a civilised nation, whose territory extended from the Elanitic Gulf to the country lying east of the Jordan, across Belka and as far as Hauran,—for the monumental inscriptions they have left behind reach from Egypt to Babylon, though Arabia Petraea is the chief place where they are found.[2] The

[1] As סְבָא (xliii. 3, xlv. 14) are Nubians, Wetzstein looks for שְׁבָא on the west coast of the Red Sea; according to the common view, which we follow, this is the name given to the leading tribe in Southern Arabia, and particularly of that part in which the chief town is Marib (*Mariaba*), where, according to an Arabic legend, was the residence of Bilḳîs, "the queen of Sheba."

[2] The Arabs call the first-born of Ishmael نَبِيت, and the nation نَبَط; but on Nabatean coins we find נבתו and נבטו written; in the Targums and the Talmuds also the name is written sometimes with ת, at

Kedarenes drive their flocks of small cattle, when collected, to Jerusalem, and the rams of the Nabateans, brought by this nation, are placed at the service of the Church (יְשָׁרְתוּנֶךָ, a verb-form with toneless suffix, as in xlvii. 10), and ascend, for good pleasure (עַל־רָצוֹן, like לְרָצוֹן in lvi. 7), the altar of Jehovah (עָלָה being used as in Lev. ii. 12, here with object-accusative, as in Gen. xlix. 4; Num. xiii. 17). None of the prophets of the Old Testament is able to think of the worship of God by the Israel of the latter days without the offering of sacrifices; but it would be a return to the limited conceptions of the Old Testament if one were to conclude that animal sacrifice will ever be restored. The dividing-wall of national particularism and ceremonial observances forming shadows of things to come will never be re-established; and with the cessation of sacrificial worship since the fiery judgment fell upon the second temple, there has for ever passed away the restriction of worship to any one central spot on earth (John iv. 21), but the stream of salvation which proceeded from Jerusalem will nevertheless ultimately empty its waters there, and make the city once more a fountain of blessing. As the prophet has said (in lvi. 7), the house of God in Jerusalem will become a "house of prayer" for all nations: Jehovah here calls it בֵּית תִּפְאַרְתִּי ("my house of glory"), as that which was built for His honour and filled with His gracious presence. He will make its internal glory like the external, by adorning it with the gifts brought in homage by the world of converted Gentiles.

From the land to which caravans and flocks are coming, the look of the prophet is now turned towards the sea. Vers. 8, 9: "*Who are these that fly hither like a cloud, and like doves to their windows? Verily, the islands wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish come first, to bring thy sons from afar, their silver and their gold with them, to the name of Jehovah thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because He*

other times with ט; in the Assyrian inscriptions, the name "Nabateans" is written with ת (not ט) both when mentioned in connection with Arabia and when associated with Syria: see Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, English translation, vol. i. p. 133; also Fried. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 297.

hath adorned thee." Upon the sea appear ships, dashing along like light clouds driven by the wind, like doves that fly to their dove-cots (as Ovid says, *celeres cavis se turribus abdunt*), *i.e.* into the round towers provided with holes and erected for their covering. The feminine plural of the verb referring to אֳנִיּוֹת shows that the ships are recognisable as such, but that there is uncertainty regarding the place from which they have come and that to which they are going: the question is addressed to Zion, and in itself leads us to anticipate the answer that there is before these swift-sailing vessels a haven as dear and desired as the dove-cot is to the doves (יוֹנִים from יוֹנָה[1]). The following כִּי introduces the reason. Luzzatto thinks that the pointing and pronunciation of the form יקוו were intended to be יִקָּווּ, and that the meaning is—"for me (in order to belong to me) the islands assemble together;" but instead of "islands," one would in that case expect "the nations" (Jer. iii. 17). The "hoping" of the islands is meant to be understood in the same way as indicated in li. 5, and like the "expectant waiting" (יִחֵל) of the islands in xlii. 4: hoping and waiting always mean a firm and constant expectation of something to be experienced in the future. If Jehovah is the object (as in viii. 17; Ps. xxxi. 25, etc.), then the hoping points to His bearing witness of Himself to the one who hopes, and His revelation of the fulness of His grace. Thus the hoping of the islands here is their faith, confidently directed to Jehovah. The hastening is grounded on the fact that they are placing themselves at the service of Jehovah from whom they expect every good thing; while לְהָבִיא expresses the object of the active exercise of their faith. The things that fly past like clouds and doves are ships,—at their head (בָּרִאשֹׁנָה, with *Munach* instead of *Metheg*, in the same sense as in Num. x. 14,—LXX having ἐν πρώτοις, and Jerome *in principio*, in the first clause) being the ships of Tarshish, coming from the extreme end of the European island-region, as the leaders of the fleet bringing Zion's children from afar, besides the gold and silver of the shipmasters themselves, to the name of thy God (לְשֵׁם being a true dative, not like lv. 5, equivalent to לְמַעַן;

[1] See top of p. 262 of this volume, and the footnote there: the Talmudic יוֹן (male pigeon) is an arbitrarily formed word.

LXX, *διά*), whom they honour, and to the Holy One of Israel because He hath adorned thee, and thereby instilled in them reverence and love towards thee (פֵּאֲרָךְ instead of פֵּאֲרֵךְ, as also, out of pause, in liv. 6).

But the converted Gentiles not only present their possessions to the Church: they also offer themselves with their kings. Vers. 10–12: "*And the sons of the strangers build thy walls, and their kings serve thee; for in my wrath have I smitten thee, and in my favour have I had compassion on thee. And thy gates remain open continually, day and night, they shall not be shut, to bring in to thee the wealth of the nations, and their kings in triumphal train. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee will perish, and those nations will certainly be laid waste.*" The walls of Zion rise out of their ruins—foreigners, quite overcome through the interposition of Jehovah, rendering personal service in the work (cf. with Cheyne, lxi. 5, xiv. 2), while foreign kings are ready to help Zion (xlix. 23); of this assistance, the arrangements made through the decrees of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes Longimanus were but a prelude to what continued pointing to the latter days, though, in the view of the prophet, the time after the Exile is itself the time of the end. Of the two perfects in the latter part of ver. 10, הִכִּיתִיךָ relates to the more remote past, while רִחַמְתִּיךָ refers to the nearer and that which reaches down to the present (cf. liv. 8). Regarding פִּתַּח, see the remarks on xlviii. 8, where it is used of the ear, as in Cant. vii. 13 it is applied to a bud. In ver. 11 the first member of the sentence ends with וָלַיְלָה: *Tiphchah* divides more firmly than its subordinate *Tebhîr;* however, as in Rev. xxi. 25 f., which is derived from the present passage, *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός* may be conjoined with *οὐ κλεισθήσονται.* The gates of Zion may always remain open, for a hostile attack is no longer to be feared; and they must remain open that the wealth of the Gentiles may be brought in through them,—and this goes on incessantly. The clause וּמַלְכֵיהֶם נְהוּגִים does not mean "and their kings led," *i.e.* attended by a retinue following (Kimchi, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, etc.), but "and their kings conducted" (as rendered in LXX and Jerome), *i.e.* judging from xx. 4, 1 Sam. xxx. 2, led as captives (Targum, זְקִיקִין, *i.e.* בְּזִקִּים, in chains),—led, though not by their peoples who (as Hitzig and

others suppose) are disgusted with their rule, and deliver them up, but by the Church which irresistibly enchains them, *i.e.* conquers their hearts (cf. xlv. 14 with Ps. cxlix. 8), so that they let themselves be brought, as God's captives, in triumphal procession to the holy city. Ver. 12 attaches itself to this participle נְהוּגִים, for the condition of every people and kingdom is henceforward determined by its subjection to the Church of the God of redemption,—by entrance into this Church: this is the very same thought as is carried out by Zechariah (xiv. 16 ff.). The article in הַגּוֹיִם has a retrospective force, and the intensive infinitive חָרֹב confirms the threat.

From the thought that everything great in the world of men will become subject to the Holy One and His Church, the eye of the prophet passes to what is great in the world of nature. Ver. 13: "*The glory of Lebanon will come to thee, cypresses, plane-trees, and sherbin-trees all together, to adorn the place of my sanctuary, and the place of my feet I will make glorious.*" The magnificent cedars of Lebanon and the most beautiful trees generally will be brought to Zion, not as felled trunks, to be employed as building-material, but dug out with their roots, to adorn the holy place of the temple (Jer. xvii. 12), and in order that Jehovah may glorify the place of His feet, *i.e.* the place in which He, the Supermundane One, has, as it were, to plant His feet: the temple is frequently called His "footstool," with special reference to the ark of the covenant (Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2) as the centre (cf. lxvi. 1) of the gracious presence of God upon earth. Those trees, therefore, which tower above the rest of the vegetable world as if in royal splendour, are to adorn the environs of the temple, so that avenues of cedars and plane-trees lead into it,—a proof that there is no longer need for taking care lest there be a falling back into idolatry. Regarding the names of trees, see the remarks on xli. 19, where seven are named,—three here: the words "cypress, plane-tree, and sherbin-tree together" are repeated from that passage.

The prophecy quickly reverts to the world of men. Ver. 14: "*And the children of thy tormentors go bowing low to thee, and all thy despisers stretch themselves at the soles of thy feet, and call thee, 'the city of Jehovah,' 'Zion of the Holy One of*

Israel.'" Those who persecuted the Church by deed (מְעַנַּיִם) and by word (מְנַאֲצַיִם) are no more (xxvi. 14), and their children feel themselves disarmed: they are seized with shame and regret on seeing the persecuted Church so highly exalted: they come, שְׁחוֹחַ (an infinitival noun of the form טְחוֹן, Lam. v. 13, here used as an accusative of closer specification, just as such nouns are frequently joined with the verb הָלַךְ: see Ewald's *Syntax*, Eng. translation, § 279*c*), [with] "bowing," *i.e.* bowing themselves (the opposite of רוֹמָה, Micah ii. 3), and stretch themselves "at the soles of thy feet," *i.e.* pressing themselves suppliantly on thee, as if they wished to lay themselves under thy feet, and were unworthy of lying anywhere else than there (see a similar passage in xlix. 23); and whereas they formerly assailed thee with nicknames, they now address thee with titles of honour, "city of Jehovah," Zion of the Holy One of Israel" (not "sanctuary of Israel," as Meier thinks; for קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, throughout the Book of Isaiah, is a name of Jehovah, and the expression forms a genitival construction, like "Bethlehem of Judah," "Gibeah of Saul," etc.).

A glorious transformation of the Church takes place, both in reality and in the estimation of the nations. Vers. 15, 16: "*Whereas thou wast forsaken and hated, and no one passed through thee, I now make thee an everlasting splendour, a joy for generation after generation. And thou wilt suck the milk of nations, and the breast of kings thou wilt suck, and thou wilt learn that I am Jehovah, thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.*" Of the two intertwined modes of viewing Zion, viz. as the Church (or mother of Israel) and a city (metropolis), the latter predominates in ver. 15, the former in ver. 16; for, although the terms "forsaken" and "hated" apply equally to a city and a church (lvi. 4, 11), the expression "no one passing through" (see the remarks on xxxiv. 10) is suitable only to the city as laid waste; the fusion of the two modes of view in ver. 15 is similar to what is found in xlix. 21. Jerusalem now becomes a splendour throughout, and an everlasting splendour too, a ground of rapture to generation after generation throughout this world's history. The nations and their kings now give up to the Church their vital substance, as a mother or nurse gives to the

child the milk of her breasts; and the Church thereby has rich nourishment for prosperous growth, ever fresh material for joy and thanksgiving. We can by no means think of enrichment by plunder (as Hitzig does); the sucking is not that of a child, not a vampire. One would have expected to read "queens" (מְלָכוֹת, xlix. 23) instead of "kings" (מְלָכִים); but by the intentional employment of the latter term, together with שֹׁד (lxvi. 11) instead of שְׁדֵי, the literal and natural interpretation of the statement is shown to be impossible, and a spiritual meaning indicated: the figure shows itself to be but a figure, and requires that an ideal view shall be taken of the words. The Church sees in all this the gracious arrangement of her God; she perceives therein that Jehovah, her Saviour, He, her Redeemer, He, the Mighty One of Jacob (as in xlix. 26*b*), is the One who has conquered for her, and now causes her to triumph.

The beauty of the new Jerusalem, without and within, is now depicted by mentioning the materials of which she is built, and the forces which prevail within her. Vers. 17, 18: "*Instead of copper, I bring gold; and instead of iron I bring silver; and instead of wood, copper; and instead of stones, iron; and I make peace thy government, and justice thine officers. Oppression will no more be heard in thy land, devastation and destruction in thy borders; and thou callest salvation thy walls, and renown thy gates.*" Wood and stone are not employed at all in the construction of the new Jerusalem. As, in the time of Solomon, silver was counted for nothing (1 Kings x. 21), and had merely the value of stones (1 Kings x. 27), so Jehovah provides her with gold instead of copper, silver instead of iron; while copper and iron, in view of this abundance of precious metals, have become so depreciated that they take the place of wood and stone as building materials. The city accordingly becomes massive, wholly constructed of metal, indestructible by the elements, and by all kinds of foes. That the prophet does not mean his words to be taken literally is shown by the continuation of the prophecy in allegorical form. LXX, Saadiah, Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Knobel give the incorrect rendering, "I make thy government peace," etc.; שָׁלוֹם and צְדָקָה are not predicative accusatives, but object-accusatives; such personifications

are common in this prophet (see xxxii. 16 f., lix. 14; cf. xlv. 8). Jehovah makes peace her "oversight" (פְּקֻדָּה, like גְּבוּרָה, "bravery," for "heroes," in iii. 25, and עֶזְרָה, "help," for "helpers," in xxxi. 2), *i.e.* government, and righteousness her officers of justice. The plural נֹגְשַׂיִךְ is not opposed to the figurative meaning; righteousness is to Jerusalem what the whole body of officers of the executive and officers of the public safety are in other cases, *i.e.* righteousness takes the place of the entire staff of officials who maintain law and order. Under such a magistracy and such civil administration, nothing is heard within the country and district of which Jerusalem is the capital, of חָמָס (*i.e.* coarse and unjust attack by the stronger upon the weaker),—nothing of שֹׁד (devastation) and שֶׁבֶר (destruction). She has walls (ver. 10), but in reality "salvation," the salvation of her God, is to her an impregnable fortification (חוֹמָה from חָמָה, *Arab.* حمى, *Neo-Syriac* ܢܛܪܐ, to keep, preserve): she has gates (ver. 11), but in reality all gates, whether for maintaining her in safety or for adornment, are for her rendered needless by the תְּהִלָּה (*i.e.* fame that brings fear and reverence) with which Jehovah has invested her. וקראת (at end of ver. 18) forms a part of the direct address, and is therefore (see König's *Lehrgebände*, i. 606) to be written וְקָרָאתְ (not וְקָרָאת, as in vii. 14).

The prophecy now returns to the thought from which it set out, and which has maintained the leading place throughout, —that Jerusalem will become light. Vers. 19, 20: "*The sun will no longer become a light to thee by day, nor will the moon give light to thee for brightness: Jehovah will become an everlasting light to thee, and thy God become thine ornament. Thy sun will no more set, nor will thy moon be withdrawn; for Jehovah will be to thee for an everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning are completed.*" Though, in the view of the prophet, the Jerusalem of glorious times in this world, and the Jerusalem of the coming eternity are commingled, the meaning of these prophecies of his is not that sun and moon will no longer exist: even of the Jerusalem that is not built by Israel with the assistance of converted Gentiles, but comes down from heaven to earth, the seer (Rev. xxi. 23) merely says that the city does not need the light of either sun or

moon,—and this is the view of our passage taken in the Targum. Hofmann correctly remarks that "there will still be sun and moon, but the holy place will be continually lighted by the manifestation of the presence of God which irradiates everything." The prophet has here found the most complete expression for that to which the prophecies in iv. 5, xxx. 26, xxiv. 23, have already been pointing. The second clause in ver. 19 must not be translated thus, "and when the moon shines, it does not become clear to thee," for הֵאִיר does not mean to become bright, in this neuter sense; but neither do the words mean (as supposed by Hitzig and Knobel), "and as to the shining of the moon, it does not give thee brightness," for it is not וּלְנֹגַהּ הַיָּרֵחַ, but לְנֹגַהּ alone that is used to mean, "for the lightening up of the night" (cf. נָגַהּ applied in xiii. 10 to the shining of the moon, and נֹגַהּ, in Joel ii. 10, to the glittering of the stars) in contrast with לְאוֹר יוֹמָם. Hence we must either (with Bredenkamp and others) render the expression "and for illumination, the moon will not shine on thee," or even (in accordance with the accentuation, which would have given *Tiphchah*, and not *Zakeph gadol* to וּלְנֹגַהּ, if the latter were meant to indicate the purpose or object), "and as to illumination" (לְ being used as in xxxii. 1*b*). The glory of Jehovah which hovers over Jerusalem and has descended into her, is henceforward her sun and her moon,—a sun that never sets, a moon that is not taken away (לֹא יֵאָסֵף) like a lamp that is taken in towards morning (cf. נֶאֱסַף in xvi. 10, "drawn in," disappeared). The triumph of light over darkness, which is the object of the history of this world, is concentrated in the new Jerusalem. How this is meant to be understood is indicated in the closing words of ver. 20: the number of the days of sorrow measured out to the Church is full; the darkness of the corruption of sin and the state of punishment has been overcome; the Church is nothing but holy and blessed joy, without change or disturbance.

We are now shown how deeply conscious the prophet was of the connection between darkness, wrath, and sin. Ver. 21: "*And thy people, they are all righteous; they for ever possess the land, a sprout of my plantings, a work of my hands, for glorification.*" The Church of the new Jerusalem consists of none but righteous ones, who, purified from the guilt of sin,

henceforward keep themselves free from presumptuous sin, and therefore occupy the promised land for ever, without needing to fear that they shall again be destroyed and banished : "a sprout (נֵצֶר, as in xi. 1, xiv. 19) of my plantings" (מַטָּעַי, *Kethîb*,—wrongly מַטָּעוֹ or מַטָּעָיו), *i.e.* creative acts of grace (cf. v. 7), "a work of my hands (cf. xix. 25) to glorify myself" (*i.e.* wherein I have that of which I may boast, לְהִתְפָּאֵר being used as in lxi. 3).

The life of this Church, created through judgment and grace, expands from an almost invisible centre outwards, to the widest extent. Ver. 22*a*: "*The smallest one will become a thousand, and the most diminutive a powerful nation.*" The small and diminutive, or, as the idea is a relative one (Gesenius, § 133. 3), the smallest and most diminutive, means an individual, one without a family: such an one becomes the centre and starting-point of a numerous race. A similar expression is found in Micah v. 7; cf. v. 1.

The whole of the prophetic address is now sealed with the promise in the end of ver. 22: "*I, Jehovah, will hasten it in its time.*" The neuter affix ־ֶנָּה (as in xliii. 13, xlvi. 11) refers to all that has been predicted from ver. 1 and onwards. Jehovah will accomplish it speedily, for the point of time (*καιρός*) which He has fixed for it will have come. As this point of time is known to Him alone, this glory will come with sudden surprise upon those who have faithfully waited for its appearing.

That chap. lx. forms a self-contained whole is evident from the very fact that the direct address to Zion-Jerusalem is sustained throughout. If we compare such passages as li. 17–23 ("Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem!"), lii. 1, 2 ("Awake, awake! clothe thyself with thy strength, O Zion!"), and chap. liv. ("Shout aloud, O thou barren one!"), which are closely related as regards their contents, we shall find that these addresses to Zion form an ascending series of which chap. lx. is the summit to which they lead up,—the whole being a complete counterpart to the address to the daughter of Babylon in chap. xlvii.

FOURTH DISCOURSE OF THE LAST PART, CHAP. LXI.

The glory of the office with which the Servant of Jehovah is invested.

The address of Jehovah here passes over into that of another whom He has appointed Mediator for the execution of His gracious counsel. Vers. 1–3: "*The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is over me, because Jehovah hath anointed me to bring glad tidings to sufferers, to bind up broken-hearted ones, to proclaim liberty to captives, removal of blindness to the prisoners; to proclaim a year of grace of Jehovah, and a day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all mourning ones; to put upon the mourners of Zion, to give to them a head-ornament instead of ashes, oil of joy instead of mourning, a covering of praise instead of an expiring spirit, that they may be called terebinths of righteousness, a planting of Jehovah, for glorification.*" Who is the speaker here? The Targum prefaces the passage with the words, "The prophet says," and, except a few, all modern expositors (even Klostermann and Bredenkamp) make the author of this book of consolation to be the speaker, who, after having (in chap. lx.) let the Church behold the summit of her glory, now, with grateful look directed to Jehovah and rejoicing in spirit, extols his grand commission. But this view is objectionable, for the following reasons: (1) Nowhere has the prophet yet spoken of himself as such in lengthy utterances, but rather (except in the closing words, "saith my God," in lvii. 21) everywhere studiously kept himself in the background. (2) On the other hand, whenever another than Jehovah began to speak, and made reference to the work of his calling and his experiences connected therewith (as in xlix. 1 ff., l. 4 ff.), it was in such cases this self-same Servant of Jehovah of whom and to whom Jehovah speaks (see xlii. 1 ff., lii. 13 on to end of chap. liii.). (3) All that the person here speaking says of himself is again met with in the picture of the one unique Servant of Jehovah; he has been endowed with the Spirit of Jehovah (xlii. 1); Jehovah has sent him, and with him sent His Spirit (xlviii. 16); he has a tongue that has been taught of God, to assist with words him who

is wearied (l. 4); those who are almost despairing and destroyed he goes to spare and save, preserving the broken reed and expiring wick (xlii. 3); "to open blind eyes, to lead prisoners out of the prison, those who are sitting in darkness out of the house of confinement,"—this is what, above all, he has to do in word and deed for his people (xlii. 7, xlix. 9). (4) After the prophet has represented the Servant of Jehovah, of whom he prophesies, as speaking in such dramatic directness as in xlix. 1 ff., l. 4 ff., and also xlviii. 16*b*, one could not expect that he would now place himself in the foreground and claim for himself official attributes which he has set down as characteristic features in the picture of the predicted One, who (as Vitringa well says) not merely proclaims but dispenses the new and great gifts of God. For these reasons, we (with Nägelsbach, Cheyne, Driver, and Orelli) consider that the Servant of Jehovah is the speaker here. The glory of Jerusalem has been depicted in chap. lx., and the language has been throughout sustained in the form of direct address by Jehovah: here, in chap. lxi. (just as in xlviii. 16*b*, but more fully than there), there is placed alongside of it the address of His Servant, who is the Mediator of this glory, and especially its pioneer in gospel announcement. As Jehovah says of him in xlii. 1, "I have put my Spirit upon him;" so here he says of himself, "the Spirit of Jehovah is upon me." And when he goes on to say, giving the reason of this, "because (יַעַן = יַעַן אֲשֶׁר) Jehovah hath anointed me" (מָשַׁח אֹתִי, distinguishing subject from object more emphatically than the form מְשָׁחַנִי), we have ground for inferring, from the choice of the word, that we have here a reference to the fact that the Servant of Jehovah and the Messiah are one and the same Person. Thus, Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth, after reading the first part of this discourse, closed the book with the words, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears" (Luke iv. 16–22). The combination of the divine names אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה is the same as in xlviii. 16, l. 4–9. Regarding בִּשֵּׂר, *εὐαγγελίζειν* (*-εσθαι*), see the remarks on xl. 9. He comes to apply a bandage to the heart-wounds of those who are broken-hearted (חָבַשׁ לְ or חִבֵּשׁ, as in Ezek. xxxiv. 4; Ps. cxlvii. 2: cf. רָפָא לְ or רִפֵּא, vi. 10; הִצְדִּיק לְ, liii. 11). קָרָא

דְּרוֹר is the expression used in the Law to indicate the proclamation of freedom (viz. liberation of bondsmen, and return of alienated property in land to the original proprietors) which the year of Jubilee (coming every fiftieth year, after seven sabbatical periods) brought with it; for this reason it is called שְׁנַת הַדְּרוֹר in Ezek. xlvi. 17; דְּרוֹר comes from דָּרַר, دَرَّ, a verb-root signifying the direct, shooting flight of the swallow (see our remarks on Ps. lxxxiv. 4), and free movement generally, like that of a ray of light, free outpouring. פְּקַח־קוֹחַ is written as two words (see the remarks on ii. 20): mediaeval Jewish writers explain it as meaning "opening of the prison" (*Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxxvi. 405), קוֹחַ perhaps being a root like לָקַח. But even Abulwalîd, Aben Ezra, and other early writers take פְּקַחְקוֹחַ as one word of the same model as פְּתַלְתֹּל, שְׁחַרְחֹר, and in the sense of opening, viz. of the prison. As פָּקַח, however, is nowhere used, like פָּתַח (in xiv. 7, li. 14), of the opening of a room, but almost always of the opening of the eyes (as in xxxv. 5, xlii. 7, and often elsewhere; once with reference to the ears), we keep to the general usage of the language without needing to betake ourselves to any alteration of the text, if we view פְּקַחְקוֹחַ as referring to the eyes being open, in contrast with the gloomy darkness of a prison; hence Luzzatto rightly renders the expression, *ed ai carcerati il vedere la luce;* the LXX is *καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν*, as if the reading were וְלַעִוְרִים (Ps. cxlvi. 8). Moreover, he has been sent to proclaim aloud the promise of a year of good pleasure (רָצוֹן synonymous with יְשׁוּעָה, xlix. 8) and a day of vengeance which Jehovah has appointed: as in lxiii. 4 (and in some measure, similarly, xxxiv. 8) the length of a year is assigned to the work of grace, but the space of a day to the work of vengeance. The vengeance applies to those who keep the people of God in confinement, and oppress them,—the grace to all those who have been humbled in heart by their condition of punishment, though likewise deeply distressed by its long duration (lvii. 15); the "mourners" whom the Servant of Jehovah has to comfort are the "mourners of Zion," who are deeply affected by the fall of Zion. In ver. 3 he corrects himself by changing from לָשׂוּם to לָתֵת, because

what he brings is not merely a crown, for which שׂוּם is a suitable term, but abundance of manifold gifts, for which only so general a word as נָתַן is appropriate. Instead of אֵפֶר (the ashes of repentance and sorrow upon the head) he brings פְּאֵר (a diadem adorning the head),—the latter word being, in the spelling of its letters also, a play upon those of the former: "the oil of joy" (an expression taken from Ps. xlv. 8; cf. also מְשָׁחֲךָ there, with מָשַׁח אֹתִי here) instead of mourning; "a wrapper (cloak) of renown" instead of a faint and almost expiring spirit: delight is to be the oil with which they henceforward anoint themselves, and praise the cloak with which they cover themselves (the genitival construction is like what occurs in lix. 17). And whence comes this? The gifts of God, though symbolized in outward forms, are spiritual,—the sap and strength, the marrow and energy of a new life. The Church thereby becomes "terebinths of righteousness" (אֵילֵי has been misunderstood by Targum, Symmachus, Jerome, and misrendered "mighty ones;" the Syriac has *dechre*, "rams"), *i.e.* possessors of divinely-produced righteousness manifesting such decision, firmness, and fulness that they seem like terebinths with their strong trunks and their perennial green foliage,—a planting of Jehovah, that He may thereby obtain honour: this idea is a repetition of what is contained in lx. 21.

Even in the latter part of ver. 3 there was introduced with וְקֹרָא לָהֶם, instead of the infinitive indicating purpose, a perfect which declares what is to take place through the instrumentality of the Servant of Jehovah. The second turn in the address, which now follows (vers. 4–9), continues to employ such perfects, which afterwards change into imperfects: the whole, however, is still subordinated to the introductory portion in ver. 1, and there is now expounded, in prophetic form, the substance of the gospel message to be proclaimed by the Servant of Jehovah. Vers. 4–6: "*And they will build up wastes of ancient times, they will raise up desolations of the forefathers, and they will renew waste cities, desolation of previous generations. And strangers stand and feed your flocks, and foreigners become your husbandmen and vine-dressers. But ye will be called priests of Jehovah, 'Servants of our God' will men say to you; the riches of the*

Gentiles will ye enjoy, and in their glory will ye pride yourselves." The wastes and desolations of עוֹלָם and דּוֹר וָדוֹר (*i.e.* of more recent and more remote antiquity, lviii. 12) are not confined to what has been lying in ruins during the seventy years of the Exile: the country will be so densely populated that former dwelling-places will not be sufficient (xlix. 19 f.); hence, what are meant are localities lying waste, situated even beyond the bounds of the holy land till now (liv. 3), which will again be built up, raised up, renewed by the returned ones, and these too of a later generation (lviii. 12, מִמְּךָ; cf. lx. 14). חֹרֶב in the sense of a desolation is a word belonging to the later times of the language (Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel). The thought of assistance by the Gentile nations naturally occurs to the mind in connection with mention of the rebuilding (lx. 10), and ver. 5 states that these will enter the service of Israel: "they stand there (viz. at their post עַל־מִשְׁמְרוֹתָם, 2 Chron. vii. 6, ready to offer their services) and feed your flocks (צֹאן, without a plural form; cf. Gen. xxx. 43), and foreigners are your husbandmen (אִכָּר, أكّار, the noun-form indicating one's life-calling and mode of life) and vine-dressers." But Israel is now among the Gentiles, who have entered into the Church of Jehovah, and become the people of God (xix. 25),—what the Aaronites have hitherto been among the Israelites; it now stands at the height of its original destiny,—to be a kingdom of priests (Ex. xix. 6). They are called "priests of Jehovah," and the Gentile community calls them "servants of our God," for the God to whom Israel renders priestly service is now by the Gentiles called "our God." Regarding the position assigned to the Hebrew nation after it has become the teacher of other peoples and the leader of their worship, as here declared, we can form no conception that will harmonize with the spirit of New Testament liberty and the abolition of all dividing-walls between the nations,—the prophet predicts New Testament matters in Old Testament fashion. Even when he goes on to say, "the riches of the nations will ye eat, and in their glory will ye pride yourselves" (*i.e.* boast in their most glorious things which have passed over into your possession), though this is meant to be understood in

accordance with the ethical limitations laid down in the beginning of ver. 8, there are sense-colourings which receive their explanation in the fact that the future is viewed in the mirror of the present as an inversion of the relation hitherto subsisting. We do not accept the explanation given by Rashi, Hitzig, Knobel, and Bredenkamp, who make the words to mean, "and changing with them ye enter into their glory," and who derive הִתְיַמָּרוּ from יָמַר=מוּר, Hiphil הֵימִיר (Jer. ii. 11, where this is the Massoretic reading), taking the word as properly signifying "to exchange places with another," then, to change a place or kind: a more simple and suitable meaning is obtained by regarding יָמַר as equivalent to אָמַר (cf. יָחַד=אָחַד, יָשַׁם=אָשַׁם, יָלַף=אָלַף, etc.), and signifying "to push upwards," rise on high (allied to תָּמַר: see the remarks on xvii. 9), whence, in Ps. xciv. 4, הִתְאַמֵּר, "to raise one's self up (proudly)," and here הִתְיַמֵּר; this has been the view taken of the meaning of the word by Jerome (who has *superbietis*), and perhaps also LXX (*θαυμασθήσεσθε*, in the sense of *spectabiles eritis*), the Targum, and the Syriac.

The ignominy of banishment then changes into the enjoyment of superabundant possessions and honourable distinction. Vers. 7–9: "*Instead of your shame, ye will have double; and (instead of) reproach, they will shout with joy over their portion: therefore in their land they will possess double; everlasting joy will they have. For I, Jehovah, love equity; I hate robbery with maliciousness, and I give them their reward in faithfulness, and an everlasting covenant I conclude with them. And their race is known among the nations, and their offspring in the midst of the peoples: all who see them will recognise them, that they are a race which Jehovah hath blessed.*" The first half of ver. 7 finds its explanation in the second, according to which מִשְׁנֶה means "double possessions," in the land of their inheritance which they have again reached, and which has been enlarged beyond the bounds of former occupation and possession, while יָרֹנּוּ חֶלְקָם indicates overflowing joy, upon the ground and soil which by divine appointment is their peculiar inheritance (חֶלְקָם being used as in Micah ii. 4). On this view of the relation between the former and the latter portions of ver. 7, the meaning of לָכֵן is not "there-

fore, because they have hitherto suffered shame and ignominy," but what is promised in the former portion is unfolded according to its actual order of sequence, and the condensed view given in the beginning of the verse seems less strange. The transition from the direct form of address into the indirect is similar to what is found in i. 29, xxxi. 6 f., lii. 14 f.; וּכְלִמָּה is a condensed form of expression instead of וְתַחַת כְּלִמָּה (Ewald's *Syntax*, English translation, § 351*a*), just in the same way as וּתְהִלָּתִי in xlviii. 9, for וּלְמַעַן תְּהִלָּתִי and חֶלְקָם is either an object-accusative, as in the construction of רִנֵּן found in Ps. li. 16, or an adverbial accusative, equivalent to בְּחֶלְקָם, like זְבָחֶיךָ in xliii. 23; cf. xxiv. Contrary to the accentuation, the LXX, Jerome, and Saadiah translate the clause, "instead of your double shame and disgrace;" on that view the main portion of the clause would read תָּרֹנּוּ חֶלְקְכֶם; but to explain the middle part of the verse (with the Targum, Saadiah, and Stier) as meaning "disgrace on the part of those who rejoice in their portion," is impossible. In ver. 8 is given the reason for the bestowal of the gracious gifts which are to make up for the wrong that has been suffered: Jehovah loves equity and hates גָּזֵל בְּעוֹלָה; this last expression does not mean "robbery in burnt-offering" (according to Jerome, *Succa* 30*a*, Rashi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Luther, and Luzzatto),—for there would be no basis in the context for this characterization of hypocritical sacrifice-worship on the part of Israel,—but (as correctly given in the LXX, Targum, Syriac, and Saadiah) "robbery (or, properly, the proceeds of robbery) in (or 'with') villainy." There is no need (with Klostermann and Bredenkamp) for regarding עוֹלָה as being incorrectly pointed: it does not stand alone as an instance of softening from the form עַוְלָה (cf. עֹלָתָה in Job v. 16; עוֹלֹת in Ps. lviii. 3, lxiv. 7); the attachment by means of בְּ to the preceding word—especially because this has not the form גְּזֵלָה, but גָּזֵל—is precisely like such instances as occur in Prov. xvi. 8; cf. xv. 16, etc.; cf. i. 13, "iniquity and a festal throng." I was formerly of opinion that מִשְׁפָּט was to be referred to the violation of justice by the Chaldeans, and that the expression גָּזֵל בְּעוֹלָה indicated their robbery; but גָּזֵל is not a suitable word for this idea (cf. בַּז in xlii. 24; שֹׁד, בֹּגֵד in xxxiii. 1; שָׁלָל in x. 6), and rather leads us to think of injustice formerly

rampant in Israel itself (cf. Mal. ii. 16: see also iii. 14, x. 2; Ezek. xxii. 29); and the meaning therefore rather seems to be that it will not be by unjust self-enrichment that compensation will be made to the people impoverished by the world-empire, but by the riches of divine blessing which (as Klostermann and Bredenkamp point out) will manifest itself in the coming of formerly hostile peoples to Israel, bringing their possessions (cf. the latter part of ver. 6 with the first part of ver. 8). In this way will He whose moral nature is opposed to the unrighteousness of avarice give them their reward (פְּעֻלָּה signifying reward of labour in Lev. xix. 13; of hardship endured in Ezek. xxix. 20; and here, of suffering), and this too בֶּאֱמֶת, *i.e.* precisely as he promised it, without keeping anything back. The posterity of those who have in this way risen anew to eminence will become well known (נוֹדַע being used as in Prov. xxxi. 23) among the world of nations; and it will be needful merely to get a sight of them in order to recognise them (by conspicuous signs of blessing), for they are a divinely blessed race. The conjunction כִּי here signifies not *nam*, but *quod;* for, when the predicate is not to receive emphatic prominence, the placing of הֵמָּה at the head of a proposition is a special sign that this is a dependent clause (see Ps. xciv. 11; Jer. xlvi. 5). The object stands in advance, and is unfolded by means of כִּי, after the fashion of the figure called antiptosis, as in Gen. i. 4 (which see); Ps. cxli. 6; Jer. xxviii. 9; cf. xlvi. 5; Ps. cxxxii. 6.

To be the messenger bearing such promises of God to His people, is the joyful calling of the Servant of Jehovah. Vers. 10, 11: "*Heartily do I rejoice in Jehovah; my soul shall exult in my God,—that he hath given me garments of salvation to put on; in the robe of righteousness hath he covered me, like a bridegroom who wears the turban like a priest, and like a bride who adorns herself with her jewels. For, like the land which brings forth its sprouts, and like a garden which causes what is sown in it to sprout forth, so doth the Lord Jehovah cause righteousness and praise to spring before all the nations.*" The Targum prefaces this last turn in the discourse with the words, "Thus saith Jerusalem." But, as vers. 4–9 are an unfolding of the glorious prospects which have to be accomplished through the instrumentality, in word and deed, of

him who speaks in vers. 1–3, the speaker in both of these passages must be the same. As the discourse of the Servant in chap. l. is enclosed within that of Jehovah,—so here, in chap. lxi., the divine announcement is embraced within the address of the Servant. In Jehovah his God (בְּ being used to denote the ground and sphere of experience) he experiences exceeding joy which constrains him to rejoice; for the future,—full of grace, which he has been appointed to proclaim as the Evangelist to Israel, which he has to found as the Mediator of Israel, and which, as an Israelite himself, he will live to see with others,—is wholly salvation and righteousness, so that he, the bearer and messenger of the gracious counsels of God, appears in his own eyes as one to whom Jehovah has given garments of salvation to put on, and whom He has covered in a robe of righteousness. Regarded on the evangelical aspect of the idea, "righteousness" is here the parallel term to "salvation;" and the figurative representation of both by means of articles of clothing is similar to what we find in lix. 17. יְעַט (to "enwrap"), according to the punctuation before us, is equivalent to עָטָה (to wrap one's self up; hence מַעֲטֶה, which occurs in ver. 3); taking the latter verb as the root, we might point the form יַעֲטֵנִי (from the Hiphil הֶעֱטָה). As he is entitled to hope such things for his people, and stands among them preaching the same, he appears to himself like a bridegroom who makes his turban in priest-like fashion (*i.e.* winds it round his head after the manner of the priestly מִגְבָּעוֹת, Ex. xxix. 29, which are called פְּאֵרִים in Ex. xxxviii. 28; cf. Ezek. xliv. 18; חָבַשׁ, Ezek. xxiv. 17). Rashi and others think of the purple-blue מִצְנֶפֶת of the high priest; but the verb יְכַהֵן does not entitle us to think of anything beyond the tall mitre of the ordinary priest, which was formed by winding a long linen band round the head in such a way as to make it stand up in a point. We must by no means (with Hitzig and Hahn) regard יְכַהֵן as equivalent to יָכִין, or alter it into the latter (as Bredenkamp does): כִּהֵן is a denominative verb, and signifies to act the part of a priest, to play the priest; it is here used with the accusative פְּאֵר, which may either be viewed as the accusative of closer specification (so that the clause would mean "who plays the priest in a turban,"—as Aquila renders it, ὡς

νυμφίον ἱερατευόμενον στεφάνῳ), or—what better agrees with the parallel member—"who makes the turban as a priest does." As often as he receives the word of promise into his heart and takes it into his mouth, it is to him like the turban of the bridegroom, like the jewellery which a bride puts on (תַּעְדֶּה is Qal, as in Hos. ii. 15, etc.). For the contents of the promise are nothing but salvation and renown which Jehovah causes to sprout up before all nations, as the earth makes its plants to sprout, and a garden what is sown in it (כ is used prepositionally in both cases, meaning "like," and is followed by attributive clauses: see remarks on viii. 23). The word in the mouth of the Servant of Jehovah is the seed out of which great things are developed before all the world. The ground and soil of this development is mankind, the garden enclosed in it is the Church, and the great things themselves are righteousness as the present inner nature of His Church, and renown as its present outward manifestation. The impulsive force of the seed is Jehovah, but the bearer of the seed is the Servant of Jehovah, and the fact that it is possible to scatter the seed of a future so full of grace and glory is the ground of his festive rejoicing.

Fifth Discourse of the Last Part, Chap. LXII.

The gradual development of the glory of Jerusalem.

Those expositors who think that the prophet is the speaker in chap. lxi. make him to be the speaker here also; in reality, however, it is Jehovah who here begins. Vers. 1–3: "*For Zion's sake I shall not be silent, and for Jerusalem's sake I shall not rest, until her righteousness breaks forth like morning-splendour, and her salvation like a burning torch. And nations will see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory, and thou wilt be called by a new name which the mouth of Jehovah will determine. And thou wilt be an adorning coronet in the hand of Jehovah, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.*" That it is not the prophet who speaks here (as Bredenkamp and others think), nor the Servant of God (as Löhr fancies), but Jehovah,—the view of the LXX, Targum, Vitringa, Luzzatto, Cheyne, and Orelli,—is shown by the first

part of ver. 6, and also by the expression employed; for, in such utterances of Jehovah about Himself, the usual word He employs to signify His permission of things as they are, without interposing, is חָשָׁה (lxv. 6, lvii. 11, lxiv. 11, xlii. 14; cf. אֶשְׁקְטָה, xviii. 4). Jehovah, after having begun to speak for Zion and to bestir Himself, will, for the sake of Zion (*i.e.* just because it is Zion, His Church), neither be silent nor give Himself rest till He has gloriously carried out His work of grace; at present, Zion is still in obscurity, but the time is certainly coming when her righteousness will go forth like נֹגַהּ,—light which breaks through the night (lx. 19, lix. 9), here used of the morning sunshine (Prov. iv. 18; cf. שַׁחַר, morning-red, lviii. 8),—and till her salvation becomes like a torch that blazes. The verb-form יִבְעָר is connected with כְּלַפִּיד (*Merchah*) as an attributive-clause, and is equivalent to בֹּעֵר; it is unnecessary to assume that יִבְעָר is employed, by attraction, instead of תִּבְעַר (cf. ii. 11; and Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, Eng. translation, § 317*c*), especially because, in such a case, the foregoing word would be pointed כְּלַפִּיד (cf. Nah. ii. 5). The force of the conjunction עַד does not extend beyond ver. 1; from ver. 2 and onwards the state of things existing at the final period marked by עַד is described. The eyes of the nations will be directed to Zion's righteousness, the impress of which is now their common nature; the eyes of all kings will be turned to her glory, with which the glory of no single one among them, or of all together, can be compared. And because these circumstances of Zion are new, having never existed before, her old name is insufficient to indicate her real nature and character; she is called by a new name (וְקֹרָא with *Mahpak* and preventive *Metheg* as a counterpoise to the retraction of the tone; see the remarks on xl. 7 f.),—and who could determine this new name? He who makes the Church righteous and glorious,—He and He alone can utter the name corresponding to her new nature; the mouth of Jehovah will determine it (נָקַב signifying to "pierce," designate, call by a distinguishing name, L. *nuncupare;* cf. Amos vi. 1; Num. i. 17). It is only through figurative representations that prophecy here sees what Zion will be in the future: she becomes a crown of adornment, a tiara (צָנִיף, *Kethib* מִצְנֶפֶת=צָנוּף, the head-dress of the high priest, Ex. xxviii. 4;

Zech. iii. 5; and of the king, Ezek. xxi. 31) of royal dignity in the hand of Jehovah her God. It is a leading feature in the picture that Jehovah holds the crown in His hand. Zion is not the ancient crown which the Eternal bears on His head, but she is the crown that He holds in His hand, because in Zion He is recognised by all creation: the whole history of redemption is the history of Jehovah's taking the kingdom and bringing it to perfection,—in other words, the history of the working out of this crown.

Zion once more becomes God's beloved one, and her home the bride of her children. Vers. 4, 5: "*No longer wilt thou be called 'Forsaken,' nor will thy land any more be called 'Desolation,' but thou wilt be named, 'My delight in her,' and thy land 'Wedded;' for Jehovah delighteth in thee, and thy land is married. For* [*as*] *the young man espouseth the virgin,*—[*so*] *thy children espouse thee: and* [*as*] *the bridegroom rejoiceth in the bride,* [*so*] *will thy God rejoice in thee.*" Though the prophecy now mentions new names which will take the place of the old, these new designations indicate what Zion seems to be, not her true and essential nature which is manifested. In the confirmatory clause, לָךְ stands in front because the name of Zion is stated first, as distinguished from the name of her land. Zion has hitherto been called "forsaken" by Jehovah who formerly loved her: instead of this, she now obtains the name "my delight in her" (חֶפְצִי־בָהּ, in Isaiah's time the name of a queen, 2 Kings xxi. 1; cf. אֶרֶץ חֵפֶץ, Mal. iii. 12), for she is now the object of Jehovah's affection: with the delight of the bridegroom in the bride (the employment of the accusative here being like the construction in שָׂמַח שִׂמְחָה גְדֹלָה; see Gesenius, § 117. 2) will her God rejoice in her, turning again to her with a love as strong and deep as the first love of a bridal pair. And the land of Zion's habitation, the fatherland of her children, has hitherto been called שְׁמָמָה; it had been turned into a desert by the heathen, and the connection between it and its children had been broken; instead of this, it will be called בְּעוּלָה,[1] for it will be newly married. "A young man marries a maiden,—

[1] The English ["Authorized"] Version has, "For thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah and thy land Beulah;" hence, in a beautiful novel by Hesba Stretton, "The land Beulah" is the future land of promise.

thy children will marry *thee:*" the figurative and the literal are placed together in the form of an emblematic proverb (see our remarks in *Proverbs*, p. 9 f.), the correlated particles of comparison being omitted,—for, though כִּי often signifies "as," "just as," in Talmudic Hebrew and in Aramaic (see Levy's *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*), it has not this sense in Biblical Hebrew. The relation of the members of the sentence to the confirmatory כִּי at the beginning is the same as in Job v. 7. Viewed in relation to Jehovah, the Church is a weak but beloved woman who has Him for her Lord and Husband (liv. 5): in relation to her home, she is the totality of those who are lords or possessors (בְּעָלֵי, 2 Sam. vi. 8) of the land, and who call the land their own, as it were by right of marriage; hence, out of the loving relation between the Church and her God there flows her relation of power over everything earthly of which she stands in need. In the personification here employed, Church and home-land are intertwined; hence the conjecture (of Lowth and Koppe) that we should here read בֹּנַיִךְ is unnecessary. In MSS. a break is made here.

Watchers stationed upon the walls of Zion do not leave Jehovah till He has fulfilled all that He has promised. Vers. 6, 7: "*Upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, have I appointed watchers; all the day and all the night continually they are not silent: 'O ye who remind Jehovah, give yourselves no rest! And give no rest to him, until he establish and until he set Jerusalem a praise on the earth!*" As the expression הִפְקִיד עַל means to make a person an overseer (superior) over anything, we might explain the passage to mean "over thy walls have I set watchers;" but הִפְקִיד alone may also signify to appoint (2 Kings xxv. 23; cf. הֶעֱמִיד, xxi. 6), and the words עַל־חוֹמֹתַיִךְ therefore indicate the place of appointment (a view which is confirmed by the arrangement of the words), so that the meaning would be "upon thy walls" (LXX, ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν σου). Placed there, those who have been appointed have not merely the care of the walls, but also the care of the city within and without from the walls, particularly during the night (Cant. v. 7). The appointment of such watchmen presupposes the existence of the city; it is therefore inadmissible to think of the walls of Jerusalem as still lying

in ruins, and by the "watchmen" to understand pious Israelites who make entreaty for their re-erection,—or even (according to the view taken in *Menachoth* 87*a*, and supported by Ewald, Hahn, Seinecke, and Cheyne, cf. Zech. i. 12) intercessory angels. The walls intended are those of the city which, though formerly destroyed, is imperishable (xlix. 16), and has now been raised again. And who could be the watchmen upon her walls, if not the prophets (cf. xxi. 11 f.); and if prophets are meant, who could be the one that appointed them but Jehovah? It is He who places upon the walls of Jerusalem, now restored, faithful prophets, that they may see afar and be heard afar; thence, day and night, there arises to Jehovah their entreating cry for the holy city entrusted to their care; thence also spreads their witness to the world around. For, after Jerusalem has been restored and reinhabited, the further end to be attained is that Jehovah should complete the building of the newly-founded city within (כּוֹנֵן being the consequent of בָּנָה, Num. xxi. 27, and עָשָׂה, xlv. 18; Deut. xxxii. 6, cf. liv. 14; Ps. lxxxvii. 5), and, in relation to those without, aid it in securing the central position of honour which has been destined for it. Such post-exilian prophets were Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Aided by these, the city of God arose anew: they stand upon her pinnacles, from which they look into her glorious future, and further its advent through the word of their testimony. Such prophets, who day and night bear upon their anxious and prayerful hearts the good of their people, are bestowed by Jehovah on post-exilian Jerusalem, which, in the view of the prophet, is one with the Jerusalem of the last days; and so vividly does the prophet here picture the city to himself as if it were present before him, that he cries out to them, "Ye who remind Jehovah to make a glorious completion of His work so graciously begun,—let there be no rest to you (דֳּמִי from דָּמַם=דָּמָה, to be dumb, *i.e.* to cease speaking or working, as distinguished from חָשָׁה, to be silent, *i.e.* not to speak and work), and allow Him no rest until He puts Jerusalem in the proper condition, and so glorifies it that it is recognised and extolled as glorious over all the earth.

In the latter part of ver. 6, instead of the address by

Jehovah, there was introduced the address of the prophet, speaking in the name of the people of God: like means have been adopted for the objective introduction of the divine address in ver. 8. There follows a divine promise which forms the ground of hoping for that eminent and universally acknowledged glory of Jerusalem, for the accomplishment of which the watchmen upon her walls make constant efforts. Vers. 8, 9: "*Jehovah hath sworn by his right hand and by his strong arm, Assuredly I will not give thy corn any more as food to thine enemies, nor shall foreigners drink thy must, over which thou hast toiled and wearied thyself. No! they who garner it shall eat it and shall praise Jehovah, and they who gather it shall drink it in the fore-courts of my sanctuary.*" The Church will no more be overcome by an earthly power: undisturbed peace reigns, and unrestricted liberty; with praise and thanksgiving to Jehovah, the fruits of the country are enjoyed by those who have cultivated and reaped them (יָגַעַתְּ, with helping patach, as in xlvii. 12, 15, is used with reference to the cultivation of the ground, in which is included the service of the Gentiles incorporated with the Israelites; אִסֵּף and קִבֵּץ are correlated in the same way as *condere* (*horreo*) and *colligere;* cf. xi. 12). Instead of the Piël מְאַסְפָיו (ס with Raphé), there is also found the Poël-form מְאֹסְפָיו (as in Ps. ci. 5, מְלָשְׁנִי, and in cix. 10, וְדֹרְשׁוּ) or מְאֹסְפָיו (Codices and editions like those printed at Venice in 1515 and 1521: see the remarks on Ps. lxii. 4),—a double variation in reading which has already been noted in *Michlol* 64*a*. The words בְּחַצְרוֹת קָדְשִׁי ("in the fore-courts of my sanctuary") cannot be regarded as implying that the harvest-produce will not be consumed anywhere else than there, but merely—with allusion to the legal appointment regarding the so-called "second tenth," which, with the assistance of the Levites and the poor, was to be consumed by the landed proprietor and his family in a holy place before Jehovah (Deut. xiv. 22–27)—that the enjoyment of the harvest-produce will be consecrated through a festal meal of a religious character. That all Israel will then be a people of priests, and all Jerusalem a sanctuary, is not implied in this promise, which merely affirms that the enjoyment of the blessing of harvest will henceforth continue without interrup-

tion, and be accompanied with grateful homage to the Giver, and hence (because sanctified by thanksgiving) will itself become worship. This is what Jehovah has sworn by His right hand, which He lifts up only for the truth, and by His mighty arm, which irresistibly carries out what has been promised. The Talmud (*Nazir 3b*), following Dan. xii. 7, understands זְרוֹעַ עֻזּוֹ as meaning the left arm, but the ו of ובזרוע is epexegetical.

The concluding strophe goes back to the standpoint of the Exile. Vers. 10–12: "*Pass through, pass through the gates! clear the way of the people. Cast up, cast up the highway! clear it of stones! lift up a banner over the nations! Behold, Jehovah hath caused tidings to sound to the end of the earth: Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him. And they shall be called 'the holy people, the redeemed of Jehovah;' and thou shalt be called 'Sought for,' 'a city that will not be forsaken.'*" We are not to translate the opening words of ver. 10 (as Gesenius does in his *Thesaurus*), "March ye into the gates," whether these be the gates of Jerusalem or those of the temple, for such a meaning would require to be expressed by בּאוּ שְׁעָרִים (Gen. xxiii. 10) or בַּשְּׁעָרִים (Jer. vii. 2); because, though the expression עָבַר בְּ may, under certain circumstances, be used to signify entrance into a city (as in Judg. ix. 26), it is usually employed to mean marching through a country (viii. 21, xxxiv. 10; Gen. xli. 46; Lev. xxvi. 6, and frequently elsewhere), or through a nation (2 Sam. xx. 14), or through a district (x. 28), and here (but nowhere else) through the gates; so that the cry עִבְרוּ בַּשְּׁעָרִים means the same as צְאוּ מִבָּבֶל ("go ye forth from Babylon," xlviii. 20, lii. 11): the summons to march out of Babylon here (as in xlviii. 20 f., lii. 11 f.) forms the conclusion of the prophetic discourse. It is directed to the Exiles, and the summons, "Clear the way of the people" (which is also a summons repeated through all the three books of these discourses; see xl. 3, lvii. 14), is given in a general way, so that there is no need for ingenious and subtle questionings regarding those who are able and ready, whoever they may be: they are to clear the way by which the people will march, to raise the road (הַמְּסִלָּה, as in xi. 16, xlix. 11; מַסְלוּל, xxxv. 8), viz. by depositing heaps of earth; they are to remove stones

from it (סַקֵּל, as in v. 2; cf. שַׁכֵּל מֵאָדָם in Hos. ix. 12), and to raise aloft, over the nations, a banner visible from afar, that the scattered ones of Israel in all places may join themselves to those who are marching home with the friendly assistance of the nations (xi. 12, xlix. 22). For Jehovah has caused tidings to be heard even to the end of the earth, viz. as shown by what follows, the tidings of the liberation; viewed in its actual historical fulfilment, this means the message of Cyrus which he caused to be sent through his entire dominions (Ezra i. 1): the divine announcement of the time of redemption, as now having arrived, stands before the mind of the prophet with all the certainty of a historical fact. The words which follow (viz. "Say ye," etc.) admit of being taken as a summons going forth on the basis of the divine proclamation; but הִשְׁמִיעַ is a word which requires a completion, and what follows is accordingly the divine proclamation itself; everywhere, as far as the earth extends and the scattered ones of Israel are to be found, it is to be told to the daughter of Zion (*i.e.* to the Church that has its home in Zion, but is at present still to be found in foreign lands) that her salvation is coming: it is coming for the purpose of richly rewarding the Church which has attained salutary purification after enduring severe punishment. Those to whom the command "Say ye" is addressed are not merely the prophets of Israel, but all the mourners of Zion, who, by the very fact of their obedience to this summons, become מְבַשְּׂרִים ("bearers of good tidings"); cf. Matt. xxi. 5, where this command, "Say ye to the daughters of Zion," is interwoven with Zech. ix. 9. The whole of the succeeding clause ("behold, his reward," etc.) is a repetition of what the prophet has himself said in xl. 10. The prediction begun with the words of ver. 11, "Behold, Jehovah hath caused to be heard," is continued in the opening words of ver. 12, וְקָרְאוּ: through the actual realization of the good tidings which Jehovah causes to be proclaimed, it has already come to this, that people now call the still banished ones "the holy people," "the redeemed (גְּאוּלֵי, as in li. 10, and פְּדוּיֵי in xxxv. 10) of Jehovah." "And thee"—for so the prophecy concludes, returning to the form of direct address—"will they call דְּרוּשָׁה," *i.e.* earnestly sought for, one in whose welfare men (cf.

the opposite in Jer. xxx. 17), and especially Jehovah (Deut. xi. 12), take the deepest interest; עִיר לֹא נֶעֱזָבָה, "a city that is not forsaken," *i.e.* in which people gladly settle, and which will never again be without inhabitants (the opposite of עֲזוּבָה in lx. 15),—possibly also in the sense that the gracious presence of God is never again withdrawn from it (the opposite of עֲזוּבָה in ver. 4). נֶעֱזָבָה is the 3rd person fem. of the perfect (see the remarks on נִחָמָה in liv. 11),—the perfect being used to express the abstract present.

The following discourse anticipates the question how Israel can rejoice in renewed possession of the land of its inheritance, if, as before, it is still to be surrounded by such malevolent neighbours as the Edomites.

Sixth Discourse of the Third Part, LXIII. 1–6.

The accomplisher of judgment upon Edom.

Just as the Ammonites were characterized by eager desire for extension of their territory, as well as by cruelty of disposition, and the Moabites by a boastful and slanderous spirit,—so the Edomites, though a brother-nation, had ever displayed implacable, fierce, and bloodthirsty hatred towards Israel, which they ruthlessly and maliciously attacked on all occasions of danger or defeat. If Israel is to have such a nation, and, more generally, such neighbour-nations in its near vicinity, after having been redeemed from the tyranny of the mistress of the world, then its peace is constantly threatened. The prophecy against Edom, which here follows, is a sidepiece to the prophecy against Babylon in chap. xlvii., and fits well into the circumstances of the time.

It is the smallest of all the twenty-seven discourses: in the dramatic grouping of its parts it resembles Ps. xxiv., while in the character of its vision and of its emblems it is like the tetralogy extending from chap. xxi. to xxii. 14. A tall and strange-looking form, coming from Edom,—more exactly from Bozrah (which still exists as a ruinous village under the diminutive name *el-Buṣaira*),—attracts the attention of the seer. Ver. 1*a*: "*Who is this that cometh from Edom, in deep red garments from Bozrah? This person, splendid in his*

apparel, bending to and fro in the abundance of his strength?" The verb חָמֵץ, حمض, signifies to be sharp, sour; this meaning, transferred from the impression made on the taste to the impression made on the sight, comes to be "bright-coloured," and particularly, as shown by the Syriac (cf. Prov. xvii. 21, Targum), in which it is commonly employed with reference to shame and reverential awe, the term signifies to be glaringly (ὀξέως) red. The answer to the question regarding the dye-stuff which makes the garments of him who is coming forward so strikingly red, is given afterwards. Apart from their colour, they make a splendid show in their arrangement and draping: he who approaches is הָדוּר בִּלְבוּשׁוֹ, "splendid in his apparel:" the verb הָדַר means to "swell" (xlv. 2), and, as a denominative form, הָדָר (primarily "swelling," bunch, ὄγκος; then pomp or splendour), to honour, adorn; hence הָדוּר means "adorned," handsome (as in Gen. xxiv. 65; Targum II.; LXX, ὡραῖος), splendid. The verb צָעָה, to bow one's self, bend, has been already met with in li. 14; here it is intended to indicate a gesture of proud self-consciousness, as صغا (صَغِيَ) is also used (see the passages quoted from Schröder's *Observationes* on Gesenius' *Thesaurus*), partly with or without the addition of proud bending back of the head (also of bending forward to hear), partly also of swaying to and fro, *i.e.* the gait of one who proudly rocks his body on his haunches: such is the way in which we here understand צֹעֶה (as the synonym of the Arabic *mutamâïl, i.e.* proudly bending one's self from one side to the other); and this also is the view of Vitringa, who renders the word *se huc illuc motitans.* The person beheld gives one the impression of being in his fullest and highest strength, and his walk is the expression of a corresponding height of self-consciousness.

"Who is this?" asks the seer at a third person; but the figure, though seen in the distance, itself replies to the question asked, and thus with a voice that could be heard afar off. Ver. 1*b*: "*I am he that speaketh in righteousness, mighty to help.*" Hitzig, Maurer, Knobel, and others explain this as meaning that righteousness is the subject-matter spoken (בְּ being equivalent to περί, as in Deut. vi. 7); but our prophet uses בְּצֶדֶק (xlii. 6, xlv. 13) and בִּצְדָקָה adverbially, and the expression

means "strictly according to the standard of truth (especially the plan of salvation) and of equity." The person approaching says that he is mighty in word and deed (Jer. xxxii. 19): he speaks in righteousness, by threatening, in the zeal of his holiness, judgment on the oppressors, and promising salvation to the oppressed; and what he threatens and promises he also powerfully carries out. He is great (רַב, not רָב; Symmachus, ὑπερμαχῶν; Jerome, *propugnator*) to help the oppressed against their oppressors. This very fact permits us to think that it is God from whose mouth of righteousness (xlv. 23) the consolation of redemption proceeds, and whose holy and omnipotent arm (lii. 10, lix. 16) performs the act of redemption.

This also is the surmise of the seer, who now further asks whence comes the strange red of the apparel, which does not appear to be the purple of a royal cloak, nor the scarlet of a military cloak. Ver. 2: "*Why the red on thine apparel, and thy garments like* [those of] *one treading a wine-press?*" מַדּוּעַ asks for the reason and cause, as לָמָּה, in its primary and most natural sense, asks after the aim or purpose (cf. v. 4); hence the question signifies, "How comes it that red (אָדֹם being used in a neuter sense, like רַב in ver. 7) is on thine apparel?" (LXX and Syriac have the plural of the noun); the mere fact of employing לְ, which might be omitted (so that the words would then read, "Why is thy vesture red?"), points to the red as something superadded to the raiment: cf. Jer. xxx. 12, and לָמוֹ in xxvi. 16, liii. 8. This is still more plainly shown in the second half of the question, "and [wherefore are] thy garments like [those of] one who treads [grapes] in the wine-press?"—soaked, and spotted with red, as if by the juice of purple grapes. בְּגַת has *á*, without pausal lengthening, like אֶם, בַּז, מַס, סַף, קַשׁ, שַׁל (2 Sam. vi. 7).

The person beheld replies, vers. 3–6: "*The wine-press have I trodden alone, and of the peoples there was no one with me; and I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in my fury, and their life-sap spirted upon my garments, and my whole clothes I stained. For a day of vengeance was in mine heart, and my year of redemption had come. And I looked around, and there was no helper; and I was astonished, and there was no supporter,—then mine arm helped me, and my fury,—it supported me. And I trod down nations in mine*

anger, and made them drunk in my fury, and cast down their life-sap to the earth." He who here exhibits himself to the view of the seer has the appearance of one who treads the wine-press, and has also actually trodden the wine-press,—alone, too, so that the grape-juice has completely soaked and coloured his clothes exclusively. When he adds that of the peoples there was no one with him, it follows that the wine-press he had trodden was so large that he would have been able to utilize the help of whole nations; and when he continues, "and I trod them in mine anger," etc., the enigma is solved. It was to the peoples themselves that the knife was applied; they have been cut off like grapes and put into the wine-press (Joel iv. 13); and that hero-form, regarding which there can be now no doubt that it is Jehovah, has trodden them down in the vigour and strength of his wrath: the red of the clothes is the life-blood of the nations which had spirted out on them, and with which, while treading this wine-press, he had stained all his garments, *i.e.* his whole clothing. According to Kimchi and others, נֵצַח properly signifies *vigour*, vital strength, and metaphorically life-blood, as being the sap of life; the derivation, however, from נָצַח (the same as نضح, نضخ, Ethiopic *nazěha, nahěza*), to spring, leads us directly to the meaning of life-sap. The intimate relation of נֵצַח, in the meaning it has here, to the verb נָזָה (see our remarks on lii. 15) is shown by the connection of both. Hebrew syntax by no means requires us to alter the three imperfects with וְ into "consecutive" forms (see, on the other hand, Driver on the *Hebrew Tenses*, § 84). וְיֵז (not וַיִּז, 2 Kings ix. 33) is meant to be taken like the preceding imperfects, as indicating the contemporaneous past. אֶגְאָלְתִּי (from גָּאַל, lix. 3)—or, according to the Babylonian mode of writing, אֶגְאַלְתִּי—is the perfect Hiphil with Aramaic initial sound, and is as little an erroneous form of writing as the similar forms in Ps. lxxvi. 6; 2 Chron. xx. 35. Jehovah has executed this work of wrath because He had in His heart a day of vengeance which therefore could not be deferred, and because the year (see the remarks on lxi. 2) of His promised redemption had arrived: גְּאוּלַי (such being the proper form, not גְּאֻלַי) is the plural of the passive participle which has

become an abstract noun. And He has executed this work of wrath alone: ver. 5 is an expansion of לְבַדִּי, and an almost literal repetition of lix. 16. The mass of the people had become estranged from God, and the Church devoted to Him was composed of the very persons who were to be redeemed. Hence He found Himself alone, and broke through the regular course of development by a wonderful exercise of His own power: He trod down nations in His wrath, and made them drunk in the heat of His anger, and poured their life's blood down to the earth. The Targum translates as if the reading were וָאֲשַׁבְּרֵם (cf. Deut. ix. 17), which is also found in Sonc. 1486 and some codices, and is preferred by Cappellus, Ewald, Knobel, Cheyne, and Bredenkamp (cf. Lam. i. 15). But the traditional reading is supported by the LXX, together with the other old versions, as well as the majority of MSS. (also the Babylonian Codex); the transition to the figure of the cup of wrath, which is common in our prophet's writings (xxix. 9, li. 21, etc.), is not strange. Moreover, all that is meant is that Jehovah, by treading down the nations in His fury, made them feel it fully.

In this brief and highly poetic piece, as in the cycle of prophecies set forth in night-visions embodying symbols (chaps. xxi.–xxii. 14), there is an evident endeavour after emblematic prophecy. For not only is the name of Edom covertly made an emblem of its coming fate,—אֱדֹם becoming אָדֹם on the garment of Jehovah the Avenger, when the blood of one who is stained with blood-sins against God's people is spirted out,—but the name of Bozrah also is similarly introduced. As Cheyne remarks, Seir was a wine-country, and the wine-press is an ornament on the coins of Bozrah: בָּצַר signifes to cut off bunches of grapes, *vindemiare;* בָּצְרָה becomes a בָּצִיר, *i.e.* a vintage which Jehovah treads in the wine-press of His wrath, by thoroughly punishing the Edomitish nation together with all others which, in a spirit of enmity towards Him and His people, rejoiced when Israel was carried away and Jerusalem destroyed, and gave their help in attaining that end. What was foreseen by the prophet was fulfilled in the days of the Maccabees; when Judas defeated the Edomites, John Hyrcanus compelled them to become Jews, and Alexander Jannai completed their sub-

jection; and at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, when Simon of Gerasa avenged their cruel rioting in Jerusalem in company with the Zealots, by relentlessly turning their highly cultivated land into an awful desert such as a swarm of locusts leaves behind (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, iv. 9. 7).

There now follows (from lxiii. 7 to chap. lxiv.) a prayer which begins with thanksgiving, looking back on the past, and turning to the present, concludes with an entreaty for help. Entreaty preponderates; and the whole prayer, forming an addition to lxiii. 1–6, though without special reference to that, makes request in general for the realization of the redemption already predicted. The three discourses following, from lxiii. 7 to chap. lxvi., form the conclusion of the whole. The announcements of the prophet are now drawing to a close: he is standing close on the threshold of what has been promised; and nothing now remains but the fulfilment of the promise, which he has been turning on all sides like a jewel. And now, as in the conclusion of a piece of music, all the melodies and movements previously presented are gathered into one effective close; but first of all, as in Habakkuk iii., the whole is combined into a prayer, as the lyric echo of the preaching that has gone before.

THE THREE FINAL DISCOURSES.

The First Final Discourse, the Seventh of the Last Part. LXIII. 7–LXIV.

Thanksgiving, Confession, and Supplication of the Church of the Exile.

The prophet here, acting as the Church's intercessor, glides into the Tephillah-style, which expatiates freely on every side, ver. 7: "*I will celebrate the mercies of Jehovah, the praises of Jehovah, as is fitting for all which Jehovah has shown us, and the abundant goodness towards the house of Israel which he*

has shown them according to his compassion and the abundance of his mercies." The speaker is the prophet in the name of the Church, or, which is the same thing, the Church with which the prophet is identified. The prayer begins with thanksgiving according to the cardinal rule of Ps. l. 23. The Church recalls to remembrance, and in God's presence, all the instances, in word and deed, in which Jehovah has shown mercy and won honour. חַסְדֵי (with aspirated ד and euphonic *gaya* guarding it, cf. כַּדְכֹד, liv. 12) are the many gracious thoughts and deeds, in which God's mercy, *i.e.* His purpose and work of grace, has expressed itself; they are so many תְּהִלּוֹת glorifyings of Himself by God, and so many motives to glorify Him. Respecting כְּעַל according to merit or fitness, see on lix. 18. We need not suppose that וְרַב־טוּב is = וּכְעַל רב־טוב (Hitzig, Hendewerk, Knobel *et al.*); with רב־טוב the second statement of object to אַזְכִּיר begins, unfolding itself in what follows in parallelism with the first object. רַב means "much" (Ps. cxlv. 7; cf. Prov. xxvi. 10), as רֹב means "many." טוּב is God's beneficent goodness; רַחֲמִים, His inner, sympathetic pity; and חֶסֶד, the mercy which in condescension goes forth to meet the sinful creature.

After this introduction, the prayer opens with a glance back to the time of the lawgiving, when Israel's filial relation to Jehovah was solemnly proclaimed and legally formulated, ver. 8: "*He said: Verily they are my people, children who will not lie; and he became their Saviour.*" אַךְ has here its primary affirmative meaning. לֹא יְשַׁקֵּרוּ is the future of hope. In making them His people, His children, He looked for their grateful requital of His covenant-grace by covenant-fidelity, and became their מוֹשִׁיעַ whenever they needed help from above. As in xii. 2, so here we hear echoes of Ex. xv. 2; מוֹשִׁיעַ is a favourite word of II. Isaiah; cf. however, also xix. 20.

It is now thankfully told how He proved Himself a Saviour in feeling and act, ver. 9: "*In all their suffering he suffered, and the angel of his countenance brought them salvation; in his love and in his forbearance he redeemed them, and lifted them up, and bare them all the days of the foretime.*" This is one of the fifteen passages in which the *Chethîb* is לֹא and the

Kerî לוֹ.[1] The *Chethîb* only makes sense under pressure. One explanation is: in all the affliction which He brought upon them He afflicted not, namely, according to their desert (Targ. Jerome, Rashi); or: in all their distress there was no distress (Saadia), with which J. D. Michaelis compares the Pauline "pressed on every side, yet not straitened," 2 Cor. iv. 8; or: in all their tribulation they were not in straits, the angel of His countenance (also at once) saved them (Cocceius, Rosenmüller); or: in all their tribulation He (Jehovah) was not their enemy (Döderlein),—but in all these awkward interpretations we miss some such word as אֹתָם or לָהֶם (לֹא צָר). The ancient versions also do not know what to make of לֹא in the text. The LXX takes צר as = צִיר, messenger, and translates according to its own bold pointing: *οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔσωσεν αὐτούς*, not a messenger or an angel, but His countenance, *i.e.* He Himself (Ex. xxxiii. 14 f.; 2 Sam. xvii. 11) saved them.[2] Everything compels us, as is already acknowledged in the Talmud (*Taanith* 16*a*, *Sota* 31*a*), to prefer the *Kerî* לוֹ, already known to Jerome: "Ubi nos interpretati sumus: 'In omni tribulatione eorum non est tribulatus,' quod hebraice dicitur LO et est negantis adverbium, legi potest et IPSE ut sit sensus: In omni tribulatione eorum ipse est tribulatus, id est, Deus." So understood, "in all their distress He was distressed," the sentence gives a weighty thought (cf. *e.g.* Judg. x. 16) in idiomatic phrase (cf. צַר־לִי, 2 Sam. i. 26) and well-studied order of words (לוֹ = *ipsi*). Just as a man may feel pain, whilst in his own person he is raised above it, so God feels pain without His blessedness suffering hurt; and so He felt His people's suffering; it did not remain unreflected in His own life; it moved Him inwardly. Therefore He sent the angel of His countenance and saved them. "The מלאך פני ה', remarks Knobel hereon, is the helpful presence of God in the pillar of cloud and fire." But only once (Ex. xiv. 19 f.) does

[1] See *Masora magna* on Lev. xi. 21. If Isa. xlix. 5, 1 Chron. xi. 20 be added, there are seventeen; but these two passages are doubtful (ותרין פלוגתא). We must not confound with these the two passages in which לו is *Chethîb*, and לא *Kerî*, namely, 1 Sam. ii. 16, xx. 2.

[2] This interpretation was also preferred in the periodical החלוץ; see as to this Geiger in the *DMZ.* 1861, p. 417 f.

the latter protect Israel against its pursuers, and just there the angel of God and the pillar of cloud are distinguished. The cloud and the angel were two different media of God's manifested presence. The cloud was a material medium: veil, sign, place of God's revealed presence; the angel, on the other hand, was a personal medium—an angel in whom God's name (*i.e.* essential manifestation) dwells, Ex. xxiii. 21, and in which, therefore, He is Himself present by immanence, not some one of מלאכי הַשָּׁרֵת ("ministering spirits"), nor some one of the angel-princes standing in God's immediate presence (archangels), but the one whom God makes the medium of His presence in the world for effecting the revelation of Himself in sacred history. Countenance (פנים) of the Godhead means (in non-Israelitish Semitism also) the revealed side of His nature towards the world, on which account God's immediate presence, which led Israel to Canaan, is called directly פָּנָיו (Deut. iv. 37), the angelic mediation which needs to be supplied in thought being left out (cf. פָּנַי, Ex. xxxiii. 14 f.). Accordingly the genitive פניו is not meant in the objective sense: the angel who beholds His countenance, but in the epexegetical sense: the angel who is His countenance, or in whom His countenance is to be seen. The following הוא goes back, not to the angel, but to Jehovah, so revealing Himself; while the angel is conceived as a being different from Jehovah, he is still conceived as altogether transient in comparison with Him whose name is in him. He redeemed them by His love and His חֶמְלָה, *i.e.* forgiving gentleness (Arabic *ḥilm*, but cf. also *ḥamûl*, mild-hearted), and raised them up and bare them (נִשֵּׂא, consequence of the allied and more Aramaic נְטַל) all the days of the foretime.

The prayer now changes into the strain of Ps. lxxviii. and cvi. From the proofs of mercy experienced by Israel of the foretime it passes to the disobedience against Jehovah, into which Israel fell, to the punishment of Jehovah, which it thereby drew upon itself, and to the longing for the renewal of the old Mosaic time of deliverance, by which it was seized in the midst of its suffering. Israel's ingratitude, ver. 10: "*But they resisted and grieved his Holy Spirit; then he turned into their enemy, he fought against them.*" Not only וְעִצְּבוּ (to cause cutting pain), but also מָרוּ (to oppose), has אֶת־רוּחַ קָדְשׁוֹ for its object. Elsewhere the object of מְרוֹת (הַמְרוֹת) is

Jehovah or His word, His command, His providence, here the Spirit of His holiness, who, as an existence capable of feeling, and therefore not a mere force, is distinguished from Him. For as the angel, who is His countenance, *i.e.* the representation of His nature, is described as a person both by his name and the mediatorial work of redemption ascribed to him, so the Spirit of holiness, *i.e.* holy in Himself and producing holiness (Ps. cxliii. 10), is similarly described by the circumstance that He is grieved, and He can therefore feel grief (cf. Eph. iv. 30, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God"). Thus Jehovah and the angel of His countenance and the Spirit of His holiness are distinguished as three existences, in such a way indeed that the latter two have their existence from the first who is the primal ground of the Godhead and of everything divine. If, now, we remember that the angel of Jehovah serves to set forth in anticipation Him who, as the Image of the Invisible (Col. i. 15), as the Effulgence of His glory and the Imprint of His substance (Heb. i. 3), is no mere temporary means of revelation, but the perfect personal revelation of the divine פנים, we have here an unmistakable intimation of the mystery of the triune nature of the one God, which is revealed in historical fulfilment in the New Testament work of redemption. The subject of וַיֵּהָפֵךְ is Jehovah, whose Holy Spirit they grieved. He who proved Himself their Father (cf. Deut. xxxii. 6) became, by the reaction of His holiness, the opposite of what He wished to be to them; He turned into their enemy; הוּא, He, the most terrible of all foes, fought against them.

Brought to reflection by such a state of suffering, Israel longed for the return of the brighter past, vers. 11–14: "*Then his people remembered the ancient days of Moses. 'Where is he who led them up out of the sea with the shepherds of his flock? Where is he who put the Spirit of his holiness within them; who caused the arm of his majesty to march at the right hand of Moses, who divided the waters before them, to make himself an eternal name, who caused them to go through abysses of the sea like the steed on the plain, without their stumbling?' Like the cattle which descends into the valley, the Spirit of Jehovah brought them to rest,—thus hast thou led thy people, to make thyself a majestic name.*" According to the present accentuation 11*a* is to be rendered: Then He,

namely Jehovah, remembered the ancient days, the Moses of His people (LXX, Targ. Syr. Jerome, Luther). But apart from the singular expression: "the Moses of His people," which might perhaps be regarded as possible, because the proper name משׁה suggests the Hebrew meaning *extrahens*=*liberator*, which, however, the Syriac sets aside by the reading "of Moses His servant," in view of the longing inquiries which follow Jehovah cannot be the subject to וַיִּזְכֹּר. It is the people which begins to inquire with "where," just as in Jer. ii. 6 (cf. li. 9 f. above), and which therefore also remembers the "ancient days" in accordance with the admonition of Deut. xxxii. 7. Therefore, Saadia and Rashi, despite the accents, take "his people" as the subject; whereas Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Abrav. follow the accents, and make the people the suppressed subject of ויזכר. Stier's explanation best accords with the accents: "then they (*man*, Fr. *on*) remembered the ancient days, the Moses of his people;" but in this case why did not the prophet follow up ver. 10 by saying וַיִּזְכְּרוּ? Cheyne is inclined with Weir to reject משׁה עמו. But we translate and accentuate: then remembered (*Zakeph-gadhol*) the ancient days (*Mercha*) of Moses (*Tiphcha*) his people; the object stands before the subject, as *e.g.* in 2 Kings v. 13 (cf. the inversions, viii. 22 *extr.*, xxii. 2 *init.*), and משׁה is the genitive belonging to the compound idea ימי־עולם; cf. respecting this form of the *st. constr.* on xxviii. 1, and *Proverbs*, p. 484. With "where is he who led them up" the retrospect begins; the suff. of הַמַּעֲלָם (for which LXX, Syr. and the Arabic of the Lond. Polygl. read המעלה, but without syntactical necessity; cf. on ix. 12) applies to the forefathers, and the suffix is intentionally objective or accusative *ēm*, as in Ps. lxviii. 28, not *ām*, cf. Job xl. 19; Ps. ciii. 4. אֵת רֹעֵי צֹאנוֹ is added as a more precise definition, not dependent on ויזכר, which the accenting also forbids. אֵת is emphasized by *Yethîb*, for it means here *und cum*, not *instar* (=כְּרֹעֶה), as the Targ. interprets. LXX, Targ. give the sing. רֹעֵה; Jerome, on the other hand, רֹעֵי; and this is the Masoretic reading. The Jerusalem Gemara also assumes it in the tractate *Yebamoth*. So also Kimchi, Abrav. *et al.* read; so Sonc. 1486, Complut. 1517,[1] Plant. 1582: the shepherds of the flock of Jehovah

[1] See *Complut. Varianten zum alttest. Texte* (1878), p. 16 f.

are Moses and Aaron along with Miriam, Ps. lxvii. 21; Micah vi. 4; with these (these accompanying and guiding) Jehovah led the flock of His people up through the Red Sea from Egypt. With the reading רֹעֵי the explanation might also be, after the pattern of Ex. ii. 6: Where is he who led them up from the sea, the shepherds of his flock (Kleinert); but the natural, primary object is still the people, whose mention in the first clause would be missed. With the reading רעי the question whether בְּקִרְבּוֹ refers to Moses or Israel falls to the ground. Jehovah put the Spirit of His holiness within His people (Neh. ix. 20: לְהַשְׂכִּילָם); He was present within Israel, inasmuch as Moses, Aaron, Miriam, the prophets possessed Him in the camp, and inasmuch as Joshua, as the official successor of Moses, received Him, and all the people might partake of Him. "The arm of His majesty" means Jehovah's power displayed in majesty. Stier, who is unwilling to let זְרֹעַ תִּפְאַרְתּוֹ pass as object, remarks: What a strange figure, an arm walking at some one's right hand! But the arm visible in its effects belongs, of course, to the God who is invisible in His essence, and the meaning is: the active power of Moses was not left to itself, God's overwhelming omnipotence was at his side and gave him superhuman ability. It was this omnipotence, in virtue of which Moses' raised staff and outstretched hand divided the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 16), not: the rock (Reuss), which מפניהם does not suit. בּוֹקֵעַ has *Mahpach* with ב, and therefore the tone drawn back to the *penult.*, and *Metheg* (העמדה) with the *Tsere*, that it may not be slurred over in the utterance. The clause of purpose "to make Thyself" affirms that God is His own absolute end; but in willing for Himself He wills also the good of His creatures; He makes Himself an "eternal name" by glorifying Himself in miracles of redemption never to be forgotten, as He did at the Exodus. By the strain of the description ver. 13 seems to apply to the passage through the Jordan (Knobel); but the Psalmist, cvi. 9 (cf. lxxvii. 16), understood it of the passage through the Red Sea. The prayer lingers on this mighty miracle of which the other was but an epilogue. "Like," *instar* (accusative indicating quality), "the steed (כַּסּוּס, cod. Babyl. כְּסוּס) on the plain," as a steed gallops on the plain, so they marched בַּתְּהֹמוֹת (so pointed here and in Ps. cvi. 9, whereas elsewhere

in the Old Testament תהום is always without article), and that לא יִכָּשֵׁלוּ (minor sentence stating circumstance) without stumbling. Another fine image: as the cattle (*Pashta*) which descends into the valley, not: as the cattle descends into the valley (כ is preposition, not conjunction), Jehovah's Spirit (*fem.*) brought it (Israel) to rest, namely the מְנוּחָה (Deut. xii. 9; Ps. xcv. 11) of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, where it found rest and refreshment after the long, weary march through the sandy desert, like a flock, and a nomadic flock (see Nägelsbach), descending from the bare hills to the grassy tracts of the lowland. The Spirit of God appears here (as in Ps. cxliii. 10) as a leader, namely, by means of those who, enlightened and prompted by Him, stood at the head of the pilgrim people. Instead of תְּנִיחֶנּוּ, Ewald prefers תַּנְחֶנּוּ, after LXX ὡδήγησεν, which, however, is less significant. The following כֵּן is as little the correlative to the preceding particle of comparison as in lii. 14; it is recapitulating, and refers to the entire description as far back as ver. 9, returning with נִהַגְתָּ to the tone of direct prayer.

The petitions for redemption now following are introduced outwardly by the description passing into direct address in 14*b*, inwardly by the thought that Israel at present is in a condition which leads it to look back with longing to the time of the Mosaic redemption, ver. 15: "*Look from heaven and see, from the dwelling-place of thy holiness and majesty! Where are thy zeal and the proofs of thy power? The yearning of thy bowels and thy compassions are restrained towards me.*" Respecting the relation of הִבִּיט (√ נב), to look up, to open the eyes, and ראה, to fix the eyes on, see on xlii. 18; the reverse order of words, ראה והביט (to look and examine), Hab. i. 5, Lam. i. 11, is found but seldom. The place of מִשָּׁמַיִם is taken in the second clause of 15*a* by "from the dwelling-place מִזְּבֻל (from זבל after the Assyrian 'to establish,' see on Gen. xxx. 20) of Thy holiness and majesty:" the All-holy and All-glorious One, who elsewhere reveals Himself so gloriously in the history of Israel, has now withdrawn to His heaven, where He is only manifested to spirits. The object, evident from what follows, of the suppliant looking and beholding is the present helpless situation of the people in its state of punishment and suffering, which looks as if it were

to have no end. Of the "zeal," with which Jehovah was wont at other times to take the part of His people against its oppressors (xxvi. 11), and of the former proof of His גבורה (וּגְבוּרֹתֶךָ is defective plural, like חֲפָצֶךָ, lviii. 13), nothing is now discernible. In 15*b* the question is not continued: "the sounding of thy bowels and thy compassions, which are restrained towards me?" (Hitzig, Knobel). The words אֵלַי הִתְאַפָּקוּ have the appearance of an attributive clause neither as to the new thought expressed nor as to the order of words (אֵלַי precedes). Respecting *strepitus viscerum* as the effect and sign of deep sympathy, see on xvi. 11. Like מֵעִים (מֵעַיִם), רַחֲמִים also means originally σπλάγχνα, properly the inner soft parts of the body. הֲמוֹן, as the plural of the predicate shows, does not also govern רַחֲמֶיךָ. It is assumed that Jehovah's love for His people urges Him to save them from their misery; but His sympathy and compassion, as it seems, put constraint on themselves (הִתְאַפֵּק as in xlii. 14) not to interfere for Israel's good.

With "for" the petition for help and the lament over its absence are justified, ver. 16: "*For thou art our Father; for Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not. Thou, Jehovah, art our Father; from of old our Redeemer is thy name.*" Jehovah is Israel's Father, lxiv. 7, *i.e.* begetter, Deut. xxxii. 6; His creative power and loving, merciful purpose called it into existence. The second "for" justifies this confession, that Jehovah is Israel's Father, and that it can therefore look for fatherly care and help from Him alone; even the dearest and most honourable men, the nation's progenitors, cannot help it. Abraham and Jacob-Israel have been taken away from this world, and are unable of themselves to intervene in the history of their people. יָדַע and הִכִּיר mean to take sympathetic notice and regard, as in Deut. xxxiii. 9; Ruth ii. 10, 19; יַכִּירָנוּ, in order to rhyme with יְדָעָנוּ, has the copulative vowel *ā* (pausal for *á*, lvi. 3) instead of *ĕ*. The idea, that the good departed to the other world pray for their loved ones here, occurs exclusively in 2 Macc. xv. 13 f. in reference to Jeremiah. In the final clause, גֹּאֲלֵנוּ מֵעוֹלָם go together. From olden days the action of Jehovah towards Israel was such, that the latter might justly call Him "our Redeemer."

But the present time stands in such contradiction to those days as to put faith to a severe test, ver. 17: "*Why, Jehovah, leadest thou us astray from thy ways, hardenest our heart, so that we fear thee not? Return for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thy inheritance.*" After man has scornfully and obstinately rejected God's grace, God judicially withdraws it from him, gives him up to his own error, and indisposes his heart to believe (הִקְשִׁיחַ only again in Job xxxix. 16, here = הִקְשָׁה, Ps. xcv. 8; Deut. ii. 30), as Luther remarks on the passage: *peccatum peccati est poena.* From chap. vi. onwards the history of Israel has been a history of gradual penal hardening. The bulk is lost, but not without the possibility of rescue for the better portion of the nation, the portion which with "why" appeals to mercy, and longs for deliverance from the curse. The petition for the return of God's gracious presence is justified in two ways, first, by the consideration that there are still servants of Jehovah, as this very prayer in fact proves, servants belonging to His elect nation, and truly representing it; and secondly, by the thought that the divine election cannot be frustrated.

But the present condition of Israel looks like a revoking of the election; and no abrogation of these pronounced antagonisms is possible, unless Jehovah descends from heaven as the Saviour of His people, vers. 18, 19: "*For a little time they have possessed thy holy mountain. Our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary. We are become such as those over whom thou ruledst not from of old, over whom thy name was not called. O that thou wouldst rend the heaven, wouldst come down, that the heavens would totter before thy countenance.*" It is natural to ask whether יָרְשׁוּ may not have צָרֵינוּ as a subject coming in afterwards (cf. Jer. xlix. 2). But every attempt, *e.g.* Jerome: *quasi nihilum (d. i. ad nihil et absque ullo labore) possederunt populum sanctum tuum;* Cocceius: *propemodum ad haereditatem;* Stier: For a little they possess entirely Thy holy people; Seinecke and Luzzatto: Within a little (so that only a tiny part is wanting) they have taken possession of Thy holy people,—every such attempt is defeated by לַמִּצְעָר, which can neither have the sense of עַל־נְקַלָּה nor that of כִּמְעַט. It is a harsher form for מִזְעָר, which means in x. 25, xvi. 14, xxix. 17 a minute space

of time, and since לְ is usual as a designation of the time at which, towards which, within which, and through which something happens (cf. 2 Chron. xi. 17, xxix. 17; Ewald, § 217*d*), לַמִּצְעָר means for a (properly, well-known) little time = a little time long, *per breve tempus* (like εἰς, ἐπ', κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, a year long). If, now, the holy land could be called מקדש (Hitzig, Knobel *et al.*), מִקְדָּשֶׁךָ might be regarded as the common object of the two clauses (Ewald's *Syntax*, § 351). But מִקְדַּשׁ ה' is Jehovah's sanctuary, the place of His dwelling and worship; and "to take possession of the temple" is a scarcely admissible expression. On the other hand, יָרַשׁ הָאָרֶץ, to take possession of the (holy) land, is an expression just as common (*e.g.* lx. 21, lxv. 9; Ps. xliv. 4); we accordingly interpret with Rashi, Kimchi, Vitringa, Gesenius: *per exiguum* (*temporis*) *possederunt populus sanctus tuus*, in thought supplying the holy land to ירשו, which has no object (cf. Deut. ii. 24, 31). We should, however, perhaps with the LXX read הר instead of עם, which has in its favour parallels like lvii. 13, lxv. 9; cf. xi. 9, xiv. 25; the subject then follows from 17*b*, and it is unnecessary with Klostermann to take over שבטי נחלתך to ver. 18. למצער, as the most emphatic word, fitly has precedence. Of the two perfects, the first refers to the more remote, the second to the nearer past, like lx. 10*b*. The two clauses of the verse correspond, the holiest thing (the temple) in the possession of the holy people (holy by Jehovah's choice and call) being emphasized; בוסס = πατεῖν, Luke xxi. 24; Rev. xi. 2. The objection of Hahn and Bredenkamp (who substitutes לָמָּה צָרוּ for למצער), that the time of possessing the land up to the Chaldean catastrophe cannot be called "for a little time," is met by the consideration, that the long time past shrivels up to the eye of memory, and that in fact from the days of David and Solomon, when Israel really rejoiced in its possessions, the final catastrophe began already to announce itself in many preludes. From the same point of view, to which the brighter past vanishes before the long continuance of the unhappy present (as conversely this past stretches out to עולם, lxiv. 4), proceeds the complaint of ver. 19. Here where the reference is not, as in xxvi. 17, retrospectively to a vanished, but to an enduring state, הָיִינוּ means: we are

become. Symmachus rightly: *ἐγενήθημεν* (*γεγόναμεν* would be still better) *ὡς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὧν οὐκ ἐξουσίασας οὐδὲ ἐπικλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου αὐτοῖς*. With מֵעוֹלָם begins the virtual predicate to הָיִינוּ: we are become such (like such) as those over whom, etc., which would be perfectly expressed by כְּעַם אֲשֶׁר (Saad., Rashi, Aben Ezra), or even only כַּאֲשֶׁר, or, simply transposing the words, by כְּלֹא מָשַׁלְתָּ וגו׳ (cf. Obad. ver. 16); cf. with Driver the virtual predicate, Gen. xxxi. 40, as well as the virtual subject ה׳ אֲהֵבוֹ, xlviii. 14, and the virtual object יִקְרָא בִשְׁמִי, xli. 25. Every form of "as if" is intentionally omitted. The relation which Jehovah assumed as King to the people named after Him, seems not merely broken off, but never to have existed; the present condition of Israel is the complete practical negation of such a relation. Complaint cannot strike deeper notes than these; and therefore the sigh at once arises: "O that thou wouldst rend the heavens!" To begin a new chapter with the following קָרַעְתָּ is awkward; but the Masoretic division of the verses is unassailable.[1] For 19*b* could not be attached to lxiv. 1, because the latter verse would be unduly burdened. Moreover, the sigh really belongs to 19*a*, rising as it does out of the depth of the complaint uttered there. לוּא is here and there wrongly taken as = לֹוא: as if Thou didst not (for our sake at the Sinaitic law-giving) rend the heaven (Targ. Symm. Saad. Luzzatto). לוּא is nowhere = לֹוא; it expresses a wish. Respecting *utinam discideris* = *discinderes*, see on xlviii. 18. The wish presupposes that God's gracious presence has been withdrawn from Israel, and that Israel finds itself separated from Him by a thick, impenetrable cloud, as by a dividing wall. The final clause is usually rendered: (*utinam*) *a facie tua montes diffluerent* (LXX, *τακήσονται*), more correctly *defluerent* (Jerome), for נָזַל means to flow down, not to melt. The sense would be: O that they would flow to the ground, melting as it were in the fire (Hitzig). On this acceptation the form נָזֹלּוּ cannot be directly derived from נָזַל; for that נָזֹלּוּ can be a modification of the pausal נָזָלוּ, with *ō* for *ā*, and so-called *dagesh affectuosum* (so *e.g.*

[1] "In the Hebrew Bibles, chap. lxiv. commences at the second verse of our version, and the first verse is attached to ver. 19 of the previous chapter," Tr. in former edition.

Aben Ezra and *Michlol* 4*a*), is mere fancy. We should have to suppose that it is *Niph.* (Ewald, § 193*c*), formed from זָלַל=נָזַל. But זָלַל means to hang slack, to wave to and fro (whence זוֹלֵל, not respected, lightly esteemed; and זַלְזַלִּים, xviii. 5, waving branches), as זוּל, xlvi. 6, to shake off, pour out, and נָזֹלּוּ, derived therefrom, gives the meaning *concuterentur*, suitable to mountains (cf. the Arabic *zalzala* used of earthquakes), as Targ. Syr. and LXX translate in Judg. v. 5, and Gesenius, Hahn *et al.* interpret. The nearest Niphal form would be נָזַלּוּ (resolved נָזֹלּוּ, Judg. v. 5); but instead of *a* of the second syllable, the *Niph.* of the verbs ע"ע occasionally has *o* after the verbs ע"ו, *e.g.* נָגֹלּוּ, xxxiv. 4.

The figures now following in lxiv. 1, whatever the interpretation adopted, cannot join on to this נזלו. Yet lxiv. 1 does not form a new, independent sentence; we must repeat in thought the word on which the chief emphasis of lxiii. 19*b* falls, lxiv. 1, 2 (2, 3): "(*Wouldst come down*) *as fire kindles brushwood*, (*as*) *fire causes water to boil, to make known thy name to thy adversaries, that the heathen may tremble before thy countenance, when thou performest fearful acts which we hoped not for; wouldst come down*, (*and*) *mountains totter before thy countenance.*" The ancients harass themselves in deriving המסים from מסס, to melt. Since the days of Louis de Dieu and Albert Schultens it has been admitted that הֲמָסִים from הֶמֶס (properly, crackling, sputtering, Arab. *hams*) means dry twigs, *sarmenta arida.* Gesenius renders, professedly according to the accents: fire of brushwood; but in this case the accents should have been *Legarmeh*, (כִּקְדֹחַ׀) *Munach*, *Rebia*, instead of *Darga*, *Munach*, *Rebia.* The second comparison may be rendered: as water boils in the fire. מַיִם would then, as plural of things, be treated as feminine, for which Job xiv. 19 may be quoted (although מַיִם is masc. elsewhere), and בְּאֵשׁ=אֵשׁ would be locative, like לֶהָבָה, in flame, v. 24. But it is more natural to make אש, which is feminine in any case, the subject of תִּבְעֶה, and consequently, if we are unwilling to vocalize תַּבְעֶה, to give to בָּעָה, which is intransitive elsewhere, the transitive meaning to set boiling, to make bubble up, in parallelism with קדח which is also used transitively. Jehovah is to descend with such irresistible force as fire exerts on brushwood and water, kindling the one, making

the other boil, in order by such a display of power to impress (לְהוֹדִיעַ) His name (revealing itself judicially, therefore " in fire," xxx. 27, lxvi. 15) on His adversaries, and that (idolatrous) nations may tremble before Him (מִפָּנֶיךָ, cf. Ps. lxviii. 2 f.). Like the infin. sentence of comparison, the infin. sentence of purpose passes into the finite verb (cf. x. 2, xiii. 9, xiv. 25). Ver. 2 still stands under the influence of the לוּא. Ver. 2 cannot be a historical retrospect; in that case the idea "formerly" must have been expressed, and the order of words have been different. Nor can we suppose that יָרַדְתָּ מִפָּנֶיךָ הָרִים נָזֹלּוּ is here an expression of confidence in perfects of certainty; the context, the preceding בַּעֲשׂוֹתְךָ נוֹרָאוֹת (in that case why not עָשָׂה ?), and especially the parenthetical assertion לֹא נְקַוֶּה, do not permit this. On the other hand, בעשותך ונו' aptly joins on to the sentences of purpose in ver. 1: tremble when thou performest fearful acts which we, *i.e.* such as we, hope not for, *i.e.* surpassing our hope. And now nothing is left but to see in ירדת מפניך הרים נזלו the resumption of what preceded in lxiii. 19, so that lxiii. 19*b*–lxiv. 2 forms a grand period, well rounded off and returning on itself in Isaiah's style.

The following sentence is confirmatory; frequently ו is logically=כִּי, *e.g.* iii. 7, xxxviii. 15. The justification of the wish, wrung out by the misery of the present, is founded on the incomparable acts of Jehovah for the good of His people, seen in a long series of historical facts, ver. 3 (4): "*From of old men have not heard, nor perceived, nor has eye seen a God beside thee, who acted for him that waits for him.*" No ear, no eye has ever been able to perceive the existence of a God who acted like Jehovah, *i.e.* interfered actively for those who set their hope on Him. So, *e.g.*, even Knobel explains, but erroneously supplying נוראות to יעשׂה; whereas עָשָׂה is used here, not as in Deut. iii. 24, but with such pregnant force as in Ps. xxii. 32, xxxvii. 5, lii. 11 (cf. גָּמַר, Ps. lvii. 3, cxxxviii. 8). The objection has been raised, that הֶאֱזִין is never united with the accus. of the person, and God can neither be heard nor seen. But as שָׁמַע is tenable in Job xlii. 5, האזין cannot be untenable here; to hear and see God is to learn His existence by observing and understanding His works. Rosenm. and Stier differently: "And from of old

men have not heard, nor perceived with the ear, nor has eye seen, O God, beside Thee, what (this God and He only) does for him who waits for Him." The thought is the same as in Ps. xxxi. 19; and so explained, the passage corresponds more exactly to the free citation in 1 Cor. ii. 9. But the leap from "thou" to "he" is intolerable. Even on our explanation the Pauline citation need not with Origen be traced back to lii. 15*b* or a lost book (see Tischendorf's 8th ed. of the *N. T.* on this passage), since the object perceived by no ear and seen by no eye is not God in Himself, but God acting for His people and justifying their waiting for Him. That Paul has no other passage in view, is shown by the similar citation in Clement in chap. xxxiv. of his Corinthian letter, where "those that love Him" is exchanged for "those that wait for Him." The reference of the passage to the perfect glory of the eternal life is an old Rabbinical one, as Rashi expressly says (cf. *Sanhedrin* 99*a*), appealing in favour of the other explanation, which takes, not יעשׂה, but אלהים, as the object, to Rabbi Jose (Joseph Kara ?). But if יעשׂה ונו׳ were meant to be the object, at least אשׁר (את) must have been used; and one cannot hear the words אֱלֹהִים זוּלָתְךָ, here in chaps. xl.–lxvi. with a negation preceding, without at once getting the impression that it is meant to affirm Jehovah's sole Deity (xlv. 5, 21). Therefore: no God but Jehovah alone has ever been heard or seen who acted for (*ageret pro*) him that waits for Him. מְחַכֵּה is constr. according to Gesen. § 130. 1, and יַעֲשֵׂה also here has *Tsere* according to Kimchi (*Michlol* 125*b*) and other witnesses, as תַּעֲשֵׂה occurs four times (Gen. xxvi. 29; Josh. vii. 9; 2 Sam. xiii. 12; Jer. xv. 16), and וַנַּעֲשֵׂה once (Josh. ix. 24).[1]

[1] Besides the examples quoted above there are also the following forms of this class: יִמָּצֵה (with *Tiphcha*), Lev. v. 9; תִּהְיֵה (with *Tiphcha*), Jer. xvii. 17; תֵּרָאֵה (with *Zakeph*), Dan. i. 13; cf. תְּגַלֵּה (with *Athnach*), Lev. xviii. 7, 8 (on the other hand, תְגַלֶּה with the smaller distinctive *Tiphcha, ibid.* vers. 9–11), אֶזְרֵה (with *Zakeph*), Ezek. v. 12, but not ינקה, Nah. i. 3 (see Baer on passage). According to Kimchi, 127*b*, we should also read תִּבָּנֵה in Num. xxi. 27, and in Lev. vi. 10 the cod. Hilleli had תֵּאָפֵה (with *Kadma*). The form with *ē* instead of *ĕ* (like Chaldee יִבְנֵה, Syr. ܢܶܒܢܶܐ) is the lengthened final sound.

After the long period governed by לוא has been followed by the retrospect of ver. 3 (4), it is impossible to think (like Dathe, Rosenm., Knobel, Stier *et al.*) that 4*a* (5*a*) also is to be taken as an optative ("O that thou wouldst help him who" . . .). No, the retrospect already begun is continued, 4*a* (5*a*): "*Thou meetedst him that rejoiced to practise righteousness, when they remembered thee in thy ways.*" שָׂשׂ וְעֹשֵׂה צֶדֶק is one in whom joy and right doing are united therefore = שָׂשׂ לַעֲשׂוֹת; still it is perhaps more correct to take צֶדֶק (with Hofmann) as the object of both verbs: they who make what is right their joy and their practice; for שׂוּשׂ (שִׂישׂ) cannot indeed be joined directly (see viii. 6, xxxv. 1) with accus. of the object, but may perhaps indirectly, as here and lxv. 18. Respecting פָּגַע, *occurrere*, in the sense of *succurrere*, see on xlvii. 3; here it stands in apt correlation to בִּדְרָכֶיךָ in the minor clause, בדרכיך יִזְכְּרוּךָ, *eis in viis tuis tui recordantibus* (cf. as to syntax, i. 5, and also xxvi. 16): when they who love and practise right, walking in Thy ways, remembered Thee (*i.e.* thanked Thee for grace received and longed for new grace), then Thou didst always meet them graciously.

Now Israel seems hopelessly abandoned to the wrath of such a God, 4*b* (5*b*): "*Behold, thou, thou wast enraged, and we stood as sinners; already we have long been in this state; and shall we be saved?*" Instead of continuing with הֵן עַתָּה (contrast of now and formerly), the passage continues with הֵן אַתָּה; אַתָּה stands with קָצַפְתָּ with emphasis: Behold, Thou, a God who so faithfully helps His own, didst break out in wrath (see on liv. 8). The following וַנֶּחֱטָא cannot mean: in consequence of our having sinned, as Abulwalid supposes that here as in Job xiv. 10 (ימות ויחלש) with ו the cause follows its effect; it is *imperf. consec.*, therefore at least: then we sinned (inferring the sin from the punishment); but more correctly as in Gen. xliii. 9: then we stood as sinners, guilty ones. The punishment showed Israel to the world and itself as that which it is. Since ונחטא has *Zakeph*, and therefore, at least according to the accents, we cannot translate with Schelling: *et aberravimus in illis viis a priscis inde temporibus*, we must take the two following clauses as independent, if בָּהֶם (Cod. Babyl. has בָּהֶם, as in xl. 24 also) is to be referred to בדרכיך. Rosenmüller and Hahn, following de Dieu, satisfy

this condition: *tamen in viis tuis aeternitas ut salvemur,* but עוֹלָם, *αἰών,* in this sense of *αἰωνιότης,* is not Biblical. The rendering of Grotius and H. B. Starck is better: *(si vero) in illis (viis tuis) perpetuo (mansissemus), tunc servati fuerimus.* But there is no sequence of tenses, according to which וְנִוָּשֵׁעַ might be a paulo-post future; and, whatever explanation we adopt, the reference of בהם to דרכיך is to be rejected. With הֵן the prayer suddenly takes a new turn, as in lxiii. 19 with לוא, and דרכיך stood before in 4*a* (5*a*) in a subordinate clause of circumstantial or temporal definition. Thus בהם must refer to קצפת ונחטא: *in iris tuis et peccatis nostris* (Schegg). But there is no need to search for a noun-sentence, to which בהם may refer. בָּהֶם means in a neuter sense: therein, Ezek. xxxiii. 18; cf. Ps. xc. 10 (of the sum-total), like עֲלֵיהֶם, thereon = thereby, xxxviii. 16; בָּהֶן, therein, *ibid.*; מֵהֶם, thereout, xxx. 6, therefrom, xliv. 15. The notion connected with such phrases is certainly one of plurality (here: a plurality of displays of wrath and instances of sin), but one that slides into a neutral collective idea. We therefore do justice both to the clause without a verb, which as a logical copula only admits a present *sumus,* and to עוֹלָם which is accusative of duration, when we interpret: In this state we have been already a long time. עולם elsewhere also in these discourses describes the long duration of a penal state (see xlii. 14, lvii. 11), since that seems an eternity to exiles which, in the retrospect, seems "a little time," lxiii. 18. The following וְנִוָּשֵׁעַ is enigmatic. Cheyne changes it into וַנִּתְעֶה (with Ewald after LXX, *καὶ ἐπλανήθημεν*): "and we went astray;" Lowth, J. D. Michaelis, Knobel, Reuss, more in keeping with the LXX (cf. xlvi. 8, פשעים; LXX, *πεπλανημένοι*) into וַנִּפְשָׁע: "and we became rebellious." Neither quite suits עולם בהם, as we explain it. The original is probably וַנְּשַׁוֵּעַ: "and cried for help." The present ונושע only gives a sense agreeing with the context if, with Hitzig, Nägelsbach *et al.*, we take it as a question (cf. xxviii. 28 *init.*): "and shall we get salvation, find help?"

But whether we read וַנְּשַׁוֵּעַ or וְנִוָּשֵׁעַ interrogatively, in both the same state of feeling is here expressed as in lix. 10–12, —the nation does not deem itself worthy of redemption, since its own righteousness is thoroughly put to shame, ver.

5 (6): "*We all became together like one that is unclean, and all our virtues like a cloth soiled with blood; and we all faded away together like leaves, and our iniquities, like the storm, carried us away.*" The whole nation is like one whom the law pronounces unclean, like a leper who has to cry טָמֵא טָמֵא before him, that others may avoid him, Lev. xiii. 45. The right-doing in its manifold forms of action (צְדָקֹת, as in xxxiii. 15, otherwise of the displays of divine righteousness), which aforetime made Israel well-pleasing to God (i. 21), has vanished, and become like a cloth polluted with menses (cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 17), LXX, ὡς ῥάκος (cf. עֵד, cloth of cleansing and investigation, *Nidda* 58*b*) ἀποκαθημένης (= דָּוָה, xxx. 22; נִדָּה, Lam. i. 17; טְמֵאָה, Lev. xv. 33); עִדִּים (so also plural in Talmudic language) means the monthly courses, Arab. عِدَّة, from עָדַד, عدّ, to count (whence space of time عدّان, עִדָּן), as time to be counted, reckoned (period). In the third figure of the fading, falling leaves, the form וַנָּבֶל is not *Kal* = וַנִּבֹּל or וַנִּבַּל, which is impossible, still less, of course, *Niphal* = וַנִּנָּבֶל (which *Michlol* 83*b* gives by way of choice), but *Hiphil*, yet not from נָבֵל = וַנַּבֶּל, but perhaps from בָּלַל, after the form וַיָּגֶל (from גָּלַל), וַיָּסֶךְ (from סָכַךְ), or from בּוּל after the form וַיָּקֶם, וַיָּאֶר, etc.; thus in any case a borrowed formation, whether from בָּלַל or בּוּל = נָבֵל, like וַיָּשַׂר, 1 Chron. xx. 3, after the form וַיָּסַר from שׂוּר = נָשַׂר, or after the form וַיָּרַע from שָׁרַר = נָשַׁר. The *Hiph.* הֵבֵל or הֵבִיל, as inwardly transitive, means to produce fading (= to fade away). In the fourth figure עֲוֹנֵנוּ (as in ver. 6 also according to correct codd.) is defective plural (as in Jer. xiv. 7, Ezek. xxviii. 18, Dan. ix. 13, instead of the more usual עֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ, lix. 12). עָוֹן is the usual designation of sin as guilt which evolves punishment from itself. The nation, robbed by its sin of all vital strength and joy, became like a dry leaf; and the guilt and doom, born of sin, then carried it away as an easy prey.

Universal forgetfulness of God was the consequence of self-incurred abandonment by God, ver. 6 (7): "*And there was none that called on thy name, that aroused himself to lay hold of thee; for thou hadst hidden thy countenance from us, and melted us away into the hand of our iniquities.*" There

was none (see lix. 16) who raised himself out of this deep fall in prayer and intercession, none who shook off the sleep of security, the lethargy of impotence (מִתְעוֹרֵר, as in li. 17), to lay hold of Jehovah, *i.e.* not to let Him go until He again blessed him and His people. The divine ban crushed all down, God had withdrawn His grace from them, and given them up to the consequences of their sins. The form וַתְּמוּגֵנוּ is not softened from the *Pilel* וַתְּמֹגְגֵנוּ, but, like וַיְכֻנֶנּוּ, Job xxxi. 15 (see there), *Kal*, since מוּג, as there כּוּן (cf. שׁוּב, lii. 8; מוּשׁ, Zech. iii. 9), is used transitively. LXX, Targ. Syr. render *et tradidisti nos*, without indicating certainly that they read תְּמַגְּנֵנוּ (Knobel), or rather וַתְּמַגְּנֵנוּ (Grotius, Cappellus). The prophet doubtless has in mind the phrase מִגֵּן בְּיַד, Gen. xiv. 20 (cf. Job viii. 4), but saying in more pregnant form: *liquefecisti nos in manum*, in the sense of *liquefecisti et tradidisti* (παρέδωκας, Rom. i. 28), from which it is also clear, that בְּיַד is no bare διά (LXX); the "hand" of their iniquities is their destroying, condemning power.

So it befell when the measure of Israel's sin was full. They were sent into exile, where they fell deeper and deeper. The mass of the nation proved itself really a *massa perdita*, and was lost among the heathen. But there were also those, although a diminishing few, who humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, and, when redemption could no longer be far off, wrestled in such prayers as this, that the whole people might share in it, and, if possible, none might be left behind. With "and now" the present state of sin and punishment is given over to the past, and the significance of a turning-point in history is invoked on the present moment of prayer, vers. 7, 8 (8, 9): "*And now, Jehovah, thou art our Father; we are the clay, and thou our Maker, and we all are the work of thy hand. Be not wroth, Jehovah, very sore; and remember not iniquity for ever! Behold, consider now! We are all thy people.*" In the translation of the first word the Targum hesitates between וְאַתְּ and the correct וּכְעַן; it is the concluding וְעַתָּה. A change must come at last, for Israel is Jehovah's work; and more than this, Jehovah is Israel's begetter and loves Israel, not merely as its Maker, but its Father (cf. xlv. 9 f., xxix. 16). Then let Him not be wroth עַד־מְאֹד, to the last degree (cf. Ps. cxix. 8);

let Him not bear iniquity in mind for ever to punish it; but let Him, on the ground that Israel is the people of His choice, show mercy instead of justice. הֵן strengthens the petition in its own way (see Gen. xxx. 34), just like נָא; and הַבִּיט signifies here also as elsewhere: to fix the gaze on something; the object here is the state of things expressed in "we are all thy people." Hitzig rightly thinks the "we are all" repeated in this prayer significant. The aim everywhere is to implore the inheritance of the coming deliverance for all the nation, that the exit from Babylon may resemble the exit from Egypt.

The setting up again of the vast ruins of the Promised Land demands the zeal of all; and this state of ruin cannot continue. It calls forth Jehovah's loving faithfulness, vers. 9–11 (10–12): "*The cities of thy holiness are become pasture-ground, Zion is become pasture-ground, Jerusalem a desolation. The house of our holiness and of our glory, where our fathers praised thee, is given up to flames, and everything that was our delight is given up to devastation. Wilt thou despite this restrain thyself, O Jehovah, wilt thou be silent and afflict us very sore?*" The cities of Canaan, inasmuch as the whole of Canaan is the land of Jehovah (xiv. 25) and holy soil (Ps. lxxviii. 54), are all "cities of holiness;" "pasture-ground" is repeated to show that the same fate has fallen on Zion-Jerusalem as on the cities of the country. The climax of terror is that even the temple has fallen a prey to the burning (flame) of fire (cf. for the expression ix. 4, and the matter Jer. lii. 13). The nation calls it "house of our holiness and of our glory;" Jehovah's holiness and glory have in the temple, as it were, planted heaven on earth (cf. lxiii. 15 with lx. 7); and this earthly dwelling-place of God is Israel's possession, and therefore Israel's holiness and glory. What grand historical recollections cling to it, is stated in the relative sentence; אֲשֶׁר is here = אֲשֶׁר שָׁם, as in Gen. xxxix. 20; Num. xx. 13 (cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 4); Deut. viii. 15, and often. מַחֲמַדֵּינוּ may include favourite resorts, splendid edifices, pleasure-grounds; but the parallelism leads us to think chiefly of things used in worship, in which the people had a sacred pleasure; כֹּל here, contrary to custom (Ewald, § 317*c*), has the sing. of the predicate after it, as in Prov.

xvi. 2; Ezek. xxxi. 15; cf. Gen. ix. 29. Will now Jehovah עַל־זֹאת, in such a state of things, or despite (Job x. 7) such a state of things, longer do violence to Himself, and impose silence on His mercy and love? Respecting הִתְאַפַּק, see lxiii. 15, xlii. 14. The suffering would be aggravated עַד־מְאֹד, if it introduced Israel's destruction, or did not issue at last in Israel's restoration. Such an aggravation is inconceivable. Jehovah's mercy cannot violently restrain itself longer; it must burst forth, like Joseph's tears in the recognition scene, Gen. xlv. 1.

The Second Final Discourse, the Eighth of the Last Part, Chap. LXV.

Jehovah's Answer to the Prayer of the Church.

After the people have poured out their hearts before Jehovah, He declares what they have to expect from Him. But promise does not follow at once, as one might expect, after the preceding prayer, but at first rebuke and menace; for although the penitent portion of the Church identifies itself in this prayer with the entire nation, destruction, not redemption, awaited a portion of the people, and that portion the larger one. The bulk is in the state of a "sin unto death" (1 John v. 16), which sets all intercession at defiance, because it rejected with persistent scorn the grace which was offered to it long and unceasingly, vers. 1, 2: "*I was made known to those who inquired not, found by those who sought me not. I said: Here am I, Here am I, to a nation that was not called by my name. I spread out my hands all the day to an obstinate people, who walked in a way that was not good after their own thoughts.*" The LXX (*A*) translate 1*a*: *Εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν* (*B* in reverse order); and Paul, Rom. x. 20 f., accordingly refers ver. 1 to the heathen, ver. 2, on the other hand, to Israel: the former, to whom He was hitherto unknown, enter into fellowship with Him; whilst the latter, to whom He continually offers Himself, rejected Him and forfeited His fellowship. In accordance with this, Luther translates: "*I am sought by those who asked not after me, I am found by those*

who sought me not. And to the heathen, who called not on my name, I say: Here am I, Here am I." Zwingli remarks on ver. 1: *Hoc irrefragabile testimonium est cooptationis Gentium;* and Calvin: *Ex hoc loco Paulus fortiter pugnat pro vocatione Gentium ac dicit Isaiam audere fortiter clamare et asserere, Gentes esse a Deo vocatas, quia majus quiddam et clarius expressit, quam ferret ratio illius temporis.* So Hendewerk, Hofmann, Stier, Nägelsbach explain in harmony with Paul. Among the Jewish expositors there is only one, namely, Gecatilia, who refers ver. 1 to the heathen, but in this he has the Midrash (*Jalkut Schimoni ad loc.*) on his side. The application of the passage in Paul has great weight. Nevertheless, in Rom. ix. 25 f., he cites also Hos. ii. 25 and ii. 1 for the calling of the heathen, whereas he could not but know that the reference there is to the recovery of Israel; he only means that the calling of the heathen found its most adequate expression in those prophetic words. St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 10) reproduces the very same impression of the words. In the present passage the case is certainly different. The apostle shows himself dependent, in his application of Scripture, on the Alexandrian version, and perhaps also on the traditional interpretation. The interchange of גּוֹי (cf. lv. 5) and עָם; the description לֹא קֹרָא בִשְׁמִי, which, so pointed, scarcely suits Israel, but perhaps suits the heathen; the teaching of the context to the effect that Jehovah contrasts His success among the heathen and His want of success in Israel,—these are probably the reasons which determined the apostle in his use of these Scripture words. Nevertheless נִדְרַשְׁתִּי does not mean ἐμφανὴς ἐγενόμην, but, according to Ezek. xiv. 3, xx. 3, 31, xxxvi. 37, as the so-called *Niph. tolerativum:* I caused myself to be searched for, asked after, and in keeping with this נִמְצֵאתִי, according to lv. 6: I caused myself to be found; so taken, 1*a* stands in parallel relation to 2*a:* Jehovah was open to be known and found[1] (cf. Zeph. i. 6) by those who did not (לַאֲשֶׁר לֹא=לְלוֹא, Gesen. § 156. 4) care and trouble the least about Him,—an acceptation confirmed by the fact that 1*b* speaks only of a spontaneous offer, not of results of any kind. Israel is called גוי לא־קרא בשמי, a people not called by His name. But does not Israel, even in

[1] [*Erkundbar, findbar.*]

its apostasy, bear the name of Jehovah's people in testimony against itself? And why קֹרָא, which means "to be called," xlviii. 12, and not נִקְרָא, xliii. 7? We should perhaps then point קָרָא after LXX (*οἵτινες οὐκ ἐκάλεσαν τὸ ὄνομά μου*), Targ. (דְּלָא מְצַלֵּי בִשְׁמִי) Syr. Jerome (with Ewald, Cheyne, Bredenkamp): a people (גּוֹי, LXX, *ἔθνος*, perhaps intentionally for עַם in allusion to its heathen degeneracy), which calls not on my name, *i.e.* is estranged from me in its wishes and prayers; and yet the Lord continued favourable to it in infinite patience, and, as ver. 2 adds, with ever-open arms of love. He spread out His hands (as one does who would attract and embrace another) the whole day, *i.e.* always (cf. xxviii. 24), to a stubborn people (סוֹרֵר from סָרַר, i. 23, xxx. 1), who walked in a way not good (cf. Ps. xxxvi. 5; Prov. xvi. 29, here with article which could not be repeated with the adjective because of the לֹא), after their own thoughts. That which led them and which they followed was not God's will, but selfish views and aims after their hearts' lusts, and yet God did not leave them; they were the constant mark and goal of His seeking, alluring love in His desire for their good.

But rejecting this love with stiff-necked obstinacy, they have incurred wrath, which, though long and patiently restrained, now bursts out with uncontrolled violence, vers. 3–5: "*The people that continually provokes me to my face, sacrificing in the gardens, and burning incense on the tiles, who sit in vaults and pass the night in retired places, who eat flesh of swine, and broken pieces of abominable things are in their dishes, who say: Halt! Come not too near me! For I am holy to thee,—these are a smoke in my nose, a fire blazing continually.*" The retrospective "these," 5*b*, sums up the subject characterized from ver. 3 onward; what follows in 5*b* is predicated of it. The heathen practices of the exiles are described; at least so it would seem, for one looks in vain in the idolatrous practices of their fathers, ver. 7, for anything of the kind. Only in the mention of gardens as places of worship, which occurs exclusively in the Book of Isaiah, does this passage, along with lvii. 5, lxvi. 17, coincide with i. 29. עַל־פָּנַי, "to my face" = freely and openly, without being ashamed and afraid before me, cf. Job i. 11, vi. 28, xxi. 31. "Burning incense on the bricks," *i.e.* on altar-tops of brick,

points to Babylon the proper home of *cocti laterες* (*laterculi*). The Torah mentions לְבֵנִים only in reference to Babylonian and Egyptian buildings; the Torah itself knows and permits only altars of earth cast up, unhewn stones and wood boards with brass covering. "Who sit in vaults" describes them, according to Vitringa, as sacrificing to the dead; he refers to the Roman and Greek *inferiae* (sacrifices to the dead), and *februationes* (expiations for the dead), as probably springing from the East. But Böttcher, *De Inferis*, § 234, explains the purpose of the sitting in or among (*inter*) the graves as being to hold intercourse with the dead and demons, a view more in keeping with בַּקְּבָרִים (not עַל־קברים). The next feature: "They pass the night in retired places," *i.e.* places not accessible to every one, may allude to the mysteries celebrated in crypts; but the LXX (followed by the Syriac) translates *ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι' ἐνύπνια*, and understands it of the so-called *incubare, ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι*, as also Jerome explains: *in delubris idolorum, ubi stratis pellibus hostiarum incubare soliti erant, ut somniis futura cognoscerent, quod in fano Aesculapii usque hodie error celebrat ethnicorum.* The phrase ובנצורים suggests not so much open temples as inaccessible caves or subterranean places; Rawlinson (*Monarchies*, ii. 269) mentions "clay-idols in holes below the pavement of palaces." Ewald (§ 187*b*) erroneously refers נְצוּרִים, as also נְצֻרוֹת, xlviii. 6, to the *Niph.* of צָרַר: confined = concealed. It is much easier to get from נָצַר, "to preserve," to the meaning "to close outwardly, conceal." The plur. נצורים is that of extension, like הֲדוּרִים, xlv. 2, *loca tumida*; נְעִמִים, Ps. xvi. 6, *amoena*. The complaint: "who eat swine's flesh," refers to the adoption of heathen customs; we know from the inscriptions that the Babylonians ate swine's flesh.[1] The clause וּפְרַק פִּגֻּלִים כְּלֵיהֶם is of the same kind as in v. 12*a*, cf. Jer. xxiv. 2. פִּגּוּל means stench, corruption (Ezek. iv. 14, בְּשַׂר פִּגּוּל); then concretely something corrupt, uneatable, to be avoided according to the laws of food and law generally (synon. פִּסּוּל, פָּסוּל), and with פְּרַק (*Chethîb*), which is related to מְרַק as crumbs (from פָּרַק, to break) to broth (from מָרַק, to rub away, boil away); decoction, or broth (Targ. רוטב=רְטַף, רֹטֶר, LXX, Jerome, *ζωμόν, jus*), used

[1] See Jensen "das Wildschwein in den assyr. babyl. Inschriften," in Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. i. (1886) p. 309 f.

of sorts of flesh and parts of the body forbidden by law. Such heathen sacrifices and feasts are meant as are repulsive to legal piety. For the words in 5*a* come from the lips of those who pride themselves greatly on having gained initiation into the mysteries, or at least a high degree of sanctity, by taking part in specially sacred rites, so that to every one who keeps aloof from such rites, or does not enter so deeply into them, they utter their *odi profanum vulgus et arceo:* קְרַב אֵלֶיךָ, keep near to thyself, *i.e.* keep by thyself, as in Arabic it is said *idhab ileika,* go away to thyself, for: take thyself off (cf. הִקְרִיב מֵאֵת, 2 Kings xvi. 14, and Hitzig on Ps. xxxii. 9); אַל־תִּגַּשׁ בִּי, come not near me (=גֶּשׁ־הָלְאָה or גְּשָׁה־לָּךְ, make way, give place, Gen. xix. 9; Isa. xlix. 20), for קְדַשְׁתִּיךָ, I am holy to thee, *i.e.* unapproachable. The verbal suffix stands for the dative, as in xliv. 21, according to Gesen. § 117. 4, 3; for that the *Kal* קָדַשׁ, like חָזַק, Jer. xx. 7, is used transitively (Luther, Calvin, Zwingli *et al.*, finally Hitzig), rightly occurs to none of the Jewish expositors. Bredenkamp reads קִדַּשְׁתִּיךָ; but the cry is certainly no warning against communicating a burdensome קְדֻשָּׁה, which had to be removed by ablution before one could engage again in the affairs of daily life (as *e.g.* the קְדֻשָּׁה of one who touched sacrificial flesh, or who was sprinkled with sacrificial blood, Lev. vi. 20; cf. Ezek. xliv. 19, xlvi. 20),[1] but a "heathen and pharisaic" (Cheyne) demand to respect sacred things, and not by want of reverential fear to incur the vengeance of the gods. After this exhaustive description, they who answer to this character receive their due predicate: they are in the power of the divine wrath which expresses itself as it were in smoking pantings. That has not to seize them hereafter; they are already in the midst of the wrath-fire, burning there inextinguishably.

The divine justice will not rest until it has procured full satisfaction, vers. 6, 7: "*Behold, it is recorded before me. I will not keep silence, except I have recompensed, and I will recompense into their bosom. Your iniquities and the iniquities of your fathers together, says Jehovah, that they burned incense*

[1] According to the rule: He that touches holy things is made holy, יִקְדָּשׁ, Ex. xxix. 37, xxx. 29; Lev. vi. 11, 20. So יקדש is to be understood in these passages, not: "must be holy" (Riehm, Baudissin), still less, of course: "falls to the temple" (Knob. *et al.*).

on the mountains, and insulted me on the hills (I will recompense); and I measure their reward first of all into their bosom." Led astray by passages like x. 1, Job xiii. 26, Jer. xxii. 30, where כָּתַב (כְּתָב) refers to written decrees, Vitringa explains כְּתוּבָה of the divine sentence. But the reference is to their idolatrous practices in scornful contempt of God's laws; these are written before Him in uneffaceable characters against the day of vengeance. With this agrees what follows: I will not keep silence until I have recompensed. The accentuation rightly gives the tone of the penultimate to the first שִׁלַּמְתִּי, as a pure perfect, and that of the ultimate to the second as *perf. consec.* כִּי אִם, with preceding imperf. and following perf., means "unless first," lv. 10; Gen. xxxii. 27; Lev. xxiii. 6; Ruth iii. 18; cf. also Judg. xv. 7 (conceived originally thus: I will not keep silence, then I will keep silence only when . . .). Instead of עַל־חֵיקָם, to their bosom, it might also run אֶל־חֵיקָם, into their bosom, as in Jer. xxxii. 18; Ps. lxxix. 12; in ver. 7 אֶל is actually *Kerî* for עַל, whereas, in ver. 6, עַל is *Chethîb* without *Kerî* (see Norzi); cf. with the figure "into your bosom," Luke vi. 38. What is to be recompensed follows in 7*a*, but not, as the form of the address shows, governed by ושלמתי, but by a אֲשַׁלֵּם easily supplied in thought from it. Whether אֲשֶׁר is used in the sense of *qui* or *quod* (that) is doubtful; the structure of the sentence favours *quod*. Sacrificing "on mountains and hills" is a standing description of pre-exilian idolatry; cf. lvii. 7; Hos. iv. 13; Ezek. vi. 13. The object having been more exactly defined, וּמַדֹּתִי goes back to ושלמתי in 6*b*. Many expositors take פְּעֻלָּתָם רִאשֹׁנָה together: their former reward, *i.e.* what was previously deserved by their fathers. But in this case the final clause would only affirm, in a one-sided way, in opposition to 7*a*, that the sins of their fathers would be visited on them; and this explanation has against it, not only the accents, but also the parallel passage, Jer. xvi. 18, which stands in manifest correlation to this passage (see Hitzig there). Accordingly ראשׁנה is an adverb (Ewald, Nägelsb., Orelli, Bredenk.): the first thing which Jehovah has to do, in virtue of His holiness, is this, that He punishes the sins of apostate Israel, punishing them in such a way that, because the sins of the children are simply the con-

tinuance of those of the fathers, the punishment is adjusted to the demerit of both together.

After the intimation given already in "first of all," that the work of the future is not limited to the infliction of punishment, the transition from menace to promise does not come abruptly, vers. 8, 9: "*Thus says Jehovah: Like as when the must is found in the cluster men say: Destroy it not, for there is a blessing therein, so will I do for my servants' sake, that I may not destroy the whole. And I will bring forth a seed from Jacob, and an heir of my mountains from Judah; and my elect ones shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there.*" Of the two co-ordinate clauses of the protasis, 8*a*, the first states the condition (inserted in the translation in due sentence-form) of the second. הַתִּירוֹשׁ and בָּאֶשְׁכֹּל have the generic article; וְאָמַר means, as in xlv. 24, "men say," with indefinite subject. As one does not destroy a cluster consisting of good and bad berries, because one would also destroy the divine blessing contained in it, so Jehovah for His servants' sake will not annihilate Israel. He will not destroy הַכֹּל all indiscriminately; the sense is not: the sap along with husk and shell (Knob. Hahn), but: the berries having good sap along with the preponderant bad berries (J. H. Michaelis, Seinecke). The figure differs somewhat from that in v. 1–7; Micah vii. 1. The servants of Jehovah remain safe. Jehovah leads forth, makes to proceed, brings to light (הוֹצִיא, as in liv. 16, but here: by means of sifting, Ezek. xx. 34 ff.) a seed, a race, from Jacob and Judah, *i.e.* the people of the two captivities (see xlvi. 3), which will possess His mountains, *i.e.* His holy mountain-land (xiv. 25; cf. Ps. cxxi. 1, and "my holy mountain," xi. 9, lxv. 25). Since "my mountains" is = "land of Israel" in meaning, for which Ezekiel is fond of saying "mountains of Israel," *e.g.* vi. 2 f., so it may be further said: and my elect ones shall possess it (*i.e.* "the land," lx. 21; cf. viii. 21; Ps. lxix. 36 f.

From east to west, in its entire breadth, the land then presents the appearance of thriving peace, ver. 10: "*And the plain of Sharon becomes a meadow for flocks, and the valley of Achor a resting-place for oxen, for my people that asked after me.*" Sharon is the fertile plain stretching along the Medi-

terranean coast from Jaffa to the neighbourhood of Carmel. The valley of Achor is a valley, made notorious by the stoning of Achan, in one of the hill-ranges running through the plain of Jericho (see Keil on Josh. vii. 24 ff.). From one point to the other pastoral wealth will extend; and there as here the peace will be at home, which God's people now enjoy, the people that asked after Him in time of trouble, and therefore truly bear that name. The idyllic picture of peace recalls xxxii. 20 and other passages; cf. רֵבֶץ and נְוֵה in xxxv. 7.

The discourse now turns anew to those already described in vers. 1–7, who serve strange gods in a strange land, vers. 11, 12: "*And ye who are estranged from Jehovah, O ye that are unmindful of my holy mountain, who prepare a table for Gad, and fill up mixed drink for the goddess of destiny, I have destined you for the sword; and you shall all stoop to the slaughter, because I called and you answered not, I spoke and you heard not, and you did that which is evil in my eyes, and what I disapproved you chose.*" That ver. 11*b* speaks of two deities, and of *lectisternia* held in their honour (meals of the gods, cf. Jer. vii. 18, 51, 44), may be regarded as admitted. עָרַךְ שֻׁלְחָן (whence הַעֲרְכִים with *Pathach*, according to *Michlol* 53*b*) is the other side of the *lectum sternere*, *i.e.* of the laying the cushions on which the images of the gods were laid in these feasts. In the present passage at least the *lectus*, corresponding to the שלחן (like the *sella* usual in the case of goddesses), must be understood as a couch for eating, not for sleeping on. Accordingly מִלֵּא ממסך in the second clause (וְהַמְמַלְאִים לַמְנִי מִמְסָךְ) means to fill with (pour in) mixed drink, *i.e.* wine made ripe and rich by spicing or diluting (see on v. 22), since מִלֵּא may be joined with the accusative not only of the vessel filled, but also of what is poured in, *e.g.* Ex. xxviii. 17. Both names of deities have the article, as הַבַּעַל also is said. הַגַּד (out of pause with *Pathach*), which appellatively signifies "good fortune," is perfectly plain in meaning. The word has this meaning in all the three chief Semitic dialects, whence it passed into Hutzwaresh and modern Persian, and so it occurs already in Gen. xxx. 11, where the *Chethîb* בְּגָד should be read, LXX ἐν τύχῃ; the ד is *geminata*, as the inflection shows (cf. the Biblical proper names גַּדִּי

and גַּדִּיאֵל, the Aramaic גַּדָּא, Arabic جَدّ). The radical word, therefore, is גָּדַד (Arabic ǵadda), in the sense to cut off =distribute; جَدّ means, like حَظّ (cf. also قِسْم, what is allotted, and especially the fortune allotted). It is therefore beyond doubt that גד is the god of fortune (being translated by Τύχη, בית־גד by Τυχεῖον, *DMZ.* xxxi. 99–101); perhaps if the local name בַּעַל־גָּד is to be treated like בַּעַל־חָמֹן, it is Baal (Bel) as god of fortune. Already Gecatilia remarks that this is the deified planet Jupiter. This divine name appears on Phoenician and Palmyrean inscriptions in the most diverse combinations, *e.g.* גדעת (fortune of the עת, *i.e. opportunitas*). The Arabs called Jupiter السعد الاكبر, "great Fortune," as the chief star of Fortune (and at the same time Venus, "little Fortune;" *opposite* to Mars and Saturn as the two unlucky stars), probably one with the رب البخت (*rabb el-bacht*), worshipped by the Zabians, "Lord of Fortune" (Chwolsohn, *ibid.* ii. 30, 32).[1] If, then, *Gad* is Jupiter, nothing is more probable than that מני means the other of the two stars of Fortune (السعدان), and so Venus as السعد الاصغر, "little Fortune."[2] Of itself certainly the name מְנִי does not suggest a female deity; for מְנִי from מָנָה either means, as a passive participial noun (like בְּרִיָּה בְּרִי, creature): what is allotted, or, if it is modified from the radical form *mani:* allotment, destination, fate. A synonym is the Arabic مَنِيَّة (plur. منايا), the old pre-Islamite name of the power of fate, and the Persian *bacht* (adopted into Arabic), which signifies universal fate, and from which *bagobacht* is distinguished as that which is exceptionally allotted by the gods. A deity of this name מני is, in addition to the present passage, perhaps attested by the fact that עבדמני occurs on some Aramaico-

[1] In *Nedarim* 56*a* the Mishnic דרגש is explained by ערסא דגדא, couch consecrated to the god of Fortune and used for nothing else. In later idiom גד acquires the general sense of *numen*, *e.g. Chullin* 40*a*: גדא דהר, the mountain-spirit; and hence we understand how the Persian גדמן means royal majesty in a titular sense.

[2] See also Siegfried in the essay, "Gad-Meni and Gad-Manasse," in the *Jahrb. für protest. Theologie*, 1875, pp. 356–367; cf. Mordtmann's essay, "Tyche-Gad-Meni," in *DMZ.* xl. 44–46.

Persian coins of the Achaemenides, with which Fürst associates the Biblical personal name אֲחִימָן. מן and מני would in this case be Semitized from *Μήν*, *Deus Lunus*, the worship of whom in Carrae (חרן) is attested by Spartian (chap. vi. of Caracalla's Life), and in Pontus, Phrygia, etc., by Strabo (xii. 3. 31 *s.*); and *Μήνη*, *Dea Luna* (cf. *Γενείτη Μάνη* in Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 52, *Genita Mana* in Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxix. 4, and *Dea Mena* in Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, iv. 11), who, according to Diodorus (iii. 56) and Nonnus (*Dionys.* v. 70 *ss.*) was worshipped in Phoenicia and Africa. For the identity of the two with מני the rendering of the LXX may be quoted: *ἑτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ* (another reading *δαίμονι*) *τράπεζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα*, if we compare therewith what Macrobius (*Saturn.* i. 19) says: "According to the Egyptians there are four deities who preside over the birth of men: *Δαίμων*, *Τύχη*, *Ἔρως*, *Ἀνάγκη*. Among these *Δαίμων* is the sun, the author of spirit, warmth, and light. *Τύχη* is the moon, the goddess with whom the bodies under the moon grow and decline, and whose ever-changing course accompanies the multifarious changes of mortal life." A passage of the Antiochian astrologer Vettius Valens, quoted by Selden in his first *Syntagma de Diis Syris*, is in similar terms: *Κλῆροι τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος σημαίνουσιν* (namely, by the nativity-signs) *ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην*. But the Egyptian pantheon knows no moon-god מני, and other doubts arise against the combination of מְנִי and *Μήνη*. We agree with Siegfried and also with Gesenius, who, in accordance with the popular Arabic combination of Jupiter and Venus as the two heavenly powers of fortune, understands מני of Venus and גד of Jupiter; she is called מְנִי as the dispenser of fortune and arbitress of fate generally. It is strange that this entire description of the Babylonian Isaiah draws no illustration at all from the mythology and worship of the Babylonians. *Gad* is an Aramaic, old Hebrew deity (Nöldeke in *DMZ.* xlii. 474, 478 f.), not a Babylonian one, nor even, as Baethgen thinks,[1] imported into Babylonia. And *Menî* is just as little Babylonian, and rather recalls مناة, *Manât*, one of the three chief deities of the pre-Islamite Arabians.[2] The passage

[1] *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 80.

[2] Respecting the Arabic goddess *Manât*, see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen*

continues with וּמָנִיתִי, resembling an apodosis and playing on the name *Menî*. The address in ver. 11 is like a protasis containing the real reason of their future fate. Because they slight Jehovah and court the favour of the two gods of fortune, Jehovah assigns them to the sword, and they must all bow down (כָּרַע, as in x. 4). Next, all this is justified, the discourse at last returning on itself like a circle; because you replied not when I called, listened not when I spoke (which is here expressed in just such irregular form as in v. 4, xii. 1, l. 2), and did that which was evil in my eyes (*i.e.* what to me, the Holy One, is evil),—a confirmatory sentence of four clauses, repeating lxvi. 4 (cf. lvi. 4) almost word for word.

Because of the transgression above-mentioned the announcing of punishment begins anew, and the diverse fate of Jehovah's servants and of His despisers, is declared in five theses and antitheses, vers. 13–16: "*Therefore, thus says the Lord, Jehovah: Behold my servants shall eat, but you shall hunger; behold, my servants shall drink, but you shall thirst; behold, my servants shall rejoice, but you shall be put to shame. Behold, my servants shall exult for joy of heart, but you shall cry out for anguish of heart, and you shall lament for tribulation of spirit. And you shall leave your name behind as a form of curse to my elect ones, and the Lord, Jehovah, will slay you; but he will call his servants by another name, so that whoever blesses himself in the land, will bless himself by the God of faithfulness, and whoever swears in the land, will swear by the God of faithfulness, because the former troubles are forgotten, and because they have vanished from mine eyes.* Starving, confounded for salvation rejected (תֵּבֹשׁוּ, as in lxvi. 5), crying out and lamenting (תְּיֵלִילוּ, *imperf. Hiph.* as in xv. 2 with double preformative) for heart-ache and anguish of spirit (שֶׁבֶר or שֵׁבֶר, LXX well *συντριβή*, like *συντετριμμένους*, lxi. 1) the apostates remain behind in the land of captivity, whereas the

Heidentums, pp. 22–25. Sprenger, in his *Leben Mohammads*, 1862, and Reuss associate this Arabic *Manât* with מני. Osiander's judgment is more hesitating, *DMZ.* vii. 497. Lagarde would read נני for מני: the Elymaean Nanaea, Persian Anaitis, Babylonian *Nanâ* (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gramm.* § 13). A Babylonian god *Manu* (Cheyne after Finzi and Lenormant) is just as little in evidence as a Babylonian *Gad* (according to Sayce, a star-name of Merodach).

servants of Jehovah enjoy the richest divine blessings in the land of Promise, lxii. 8 f. *Pasek* stands between עֲבָדַי ׀ יֹאכֵלוּ, that the two consonantal *Yods* may not be confounded in utterance. The former, perishing in the land of captivity, leave their name to the latter as a form of oath and imprecation שְׁבוּעָה, Num. v. 21, so that men say: Jehovah slay thee as He slew them. Such in any case is the meaning of the threat, but the words וֶהֱמִיתְךָ וגו' cannot be the form of imprecation itself; for even granting that the perfect is admissible (which Driver denies, *Tenses*, § 20) as precative (see on Job xxi. 16), still כָּהֶם or כָּאֵלֶּה, indispensable in a form of imprecation (see Jer. xxix. 22; cf. Gen. xlviii. 20), would be absent. We must therefore suppose that the prophet, having the wording of the form of oath in his mind without expressing it, borrows from it the continuation of the threat, and in consequence of this slips from the plural of the address into the singular. Whilst their name becomes a form of cursing, on the other hand Jehovah calls His servants by another name (cf. lxii. 2), so that henceforth it is the God of faithfully-fulfilled promise whose name men will take on their lips when they wish good and affirm the truth (הִתְבָּרֵךְ בְּ, to bless oneself by some one or by his name). No other divine name is heard in the land but this one, now so gloriously attested; for the former afflictions, to which the mixed state of Israel in exile and the persecution of Jehovah's worshippers by His despisers belongs, are forgotten, so that they do not mar the enjoyment of the present; and they have vanished from God's sight, so that any renewal of them is utterly remote from Him. Such is the connection between ver. 16 and vers. 13–15. אֲשֶׁר signifies here, not *eo quod*, as *e.g.* in Gen. xxxi. 49, but *ita ut*, as *e.g.* Gen. xiii. 16. What follows is the effect of the separation now carried out and of the promise realized. For this very reason God is called אֱלֹהֵי אָמֵן, God of the Amen, *i.e.* He who translates what He promises into Yea and Amen (2 Cor. i. 20),—a striking appellation (Cheyne would prefer אֹמֶן or אֱמֻן), borrowed from the confirmatory אָמֵן,[1] as when Jesus is called in Rev. iii. 14, "the Amen, the faithful and the true Witness." In וְכִי the

[1] See *Talmud. Studien*, No. ix.: 'Αμὴν Αμὴν in *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1856, pp. 422–424.

justifying כִּי is emphatically repeated as in Gen. xxxiii. 11; Judg. vi. 30; 1 Sam. xix. 4 (cf. the repetition of the deductive כִּי, Job xxxviii. 20). The inhabitants of the land stand in intimate, unclouded relation to the God who has shown Himself faithful to His promise, for all the former evil that followed on sin has utterly passed away.

That it has passed away, the prophet proves by adding one "for" to another, as in ix. 3–5, vers. 17–19: "*For behold, I create a new heaven and new earth; and men shall not remember the first, nor do they come into any one's mind. Nay: be ye joyful and exult for ever for that which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem anew in exultation and her people in joyfulness. And I will exult over Jerusalem and be joyful over my people; and the voice of weeping and the voice of crying is heard in her no more.*" The promise here reaches its summit, already pointed at afar in li. 16. Jehovah creates a new heaven and new earth, which so fascinate by their splendour, so satisfy every wish, that all remembrance of the first, all wishing them back again, is utterly out of the question. The majority of expositors from Jerome to Hahn understand הָרִאשֹׁנוֹת, according to ver. 16, of the former troublous times. Calvin says almost literally as Aben Ezra: *Quod priorum memoriam fore negat, nonnulli ad coelum et terram referunt, quasi diceret nullam utriusque famam nullumque nomen posthac fore, sed ego ad tempora superiora referre malo.* But that the first reference is the right one, is shown by Jer. iii. 16, according to which there will be hereafter no ark of the covenant: לא יעלה על־לב ולא יזכרו־בו, since now the Kapporeth with the symbolical cherubs will no longer be the throne of Jehovah, but the whole of Jerusalem. Even this promise is a glorious one, but Jeremiah and all the prophets lag far behind the eagle-flight of our prophet. Luther correctly: *that men shall no longer remember the former ones* (*i.e.* the old heaven and the old earth), *nor take them to heart.* But עָלָה עַל־לֵב does not mean to take to heart, but to come into mind, said of something, the thought of which "rises" in us and which occupies us. To take the imperfects of 17*b* as imperative (Hitzig) is needless. Even if the following כִּי אִם־שִׂישׂוּ be taken predictively, it joins on very aptly. In opposition to a remembrance of the past and

wishing it back, which though not actually existing is possible, those who see the new age are called upon, on the contrary, to rejoice always in that which Jehovah is about to create and then will have created. אֲשֶׁר introduces the object and ground of the joy: "in respect to this" (cf. xxxi. 6; Gen. iii. 17; Judg. viii. 15) = on account of this which I create (see on lxiv. 4, xxxv. 1). The imperatives "be joyful and exult" are not so much words of exhortation as of authority, and in this sense are justified by "for." Jehovah creates Jerusalem an exultation and her people a rejoicing by making joy her uniform, constant state, the characteristic of her inner and outer life. But there is joy not only on the side of the Church, but also on the side of its God (see the fundamental passage, Deut. xxx. 9). When thus the Church rejoices in God and God in the Church, no sobbing of weepers, no sound of mourners is heard again in Jerusalem (see the expression of the obverse, li. 3*b*).

Then the measure of the duration of life characterizing the patriarchs before and after the Flood will be renewed. The term of life and grace will be determined by an incomparably higher standard than at present, ver. 20: "*And there shall no more come into existence thence a suckling of days, and an old man who does not live out his days; for the young man in it shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner, smitten by the curse, a hundred years old.*" Henceforth from Jerusalem (מִשָּׁם not of time, but, as in Hos. ii. 17 and everywhere, of place, cf. lviii. 12) there shall not come a suckling (see on iii. 12) of days, *i.e.* who only reaches the age of a few days (יָמִים, as in Gen. xxiv. 55 and often), nor an old man who does not fill up his days, *i.e.* who does not attain the regular measure of human life.[1] He who dies as a youth, and whose death is regarded as premature, shall not die before his hundredth year: and the sinner (וְהַחוֹטֶא with *Seghol*, as in Eccles. viii. 12, ix. 18), who is struck by the divine curse and succumbs to the infliction, will not be carried away before his hundredth year. It would be wrong to think that all this means less than what is said in xxv. 8 only in appear-

[1] In Hesiod, Ἔργ. v. 130, a hundred years were the duration of childhood in the silver age, on which the testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3. 9) rests, that the men of primeval days lived a thousand years.

ance. There the final annulling of death is spoken of, here only the limiting of its power.

Then in place of the menaces of the law, Lev. xxvi. 16 (cf. Deut. xxviii. 30), the opposite will find its full realization, vers. 21–23: "*And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and plant vineyards, and enjoy their fruit. They shall not build and another inhabit, nor plant and another enjoy; for like the days of trees are the days of my people, and my elect ones shall enjoy to the full the produce of their hands. They shall not weary themselves for vanity, nor beget for sudden calamity; for they are a generation of those blessed of Jehovah, and their offspring remain to them.*" They themselves shall enjoy what they worked for, without someone else, whether fellow-countryman by violence or inheritance, or foreigner by plunder or conquest (lxii. 8), entering into the enjoyment of their houses and vineyards; for the Messanic age is also the restoration of the original duration of life (*Bereshith rabba* xii. on Ruth iv. 18). The duration of life will equal that of trees, *i.e.* oaks, terebinths, palms, cedars, which live for centuries (Ps. xcii. 14); and so they will be able thoroughly to enjoy what their own hands have worked for. בִּלָּה means not merely to use and enjoy, but to do so to the full. Work and begetting will then be blessed, and there will no longer be disappointed hopes; they do not work without effect, and get children לַבֶּהָלָה for calamity which falls unexpectedly and carries them away, Lev. xxvi. 16; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 33. LXX, *εἰς κατάραν* (according to Arabic بهل = لعن, *execrare*). The two clauses of the explanation which follow are correlative to the two clauses of the foregoing promise: they are a generation of blessed ones, on whose labour God's blessing rests, and their offspring are with them, *i.e.* they have not lost their offspring by premature death. Such is the meaning in accordance with Job xxi. 8, not: their offspring along with them, *i.e.* in like manner (Hitzig).

Every prayer then finds a hearing, ver. 24: "*And it shall come to pass,—before they call I will answer; they are yet speaking, and I already hear.*" The will of the Church of the new Jerusalem will be Jehovah's will to such a degree, that He already hears and fulfils the slightest movement

of prayer in the heart, the prayer but half-uttered (cf. xxx. 19).

Then peace and unity will reign on every side, even in the animal world, ver. 25: "*Wolf and lamb then feed together, and the lion eats fodder like the ox, and the serpent—dust is its bread; they shall not hurt, nor destroy in all my holy mountain, says Jehovah.*" Knobel sees in this verse an unconnected addition; but it is as little this as xi. 6–9, of which it is a compendium; כְּאֶחָד for יַחְדָּו = *unâ* (answering to the Chaldaic כַּחֲדָה), which occurs elsewhere only again in Ezra and Ecclesiastes, betrays the later linguistic date of the second Isaiah. What is said of the serpent is new. "There is a manifest allusion to Gen. iii. 14," says Cheyne. The serpent will then no longer lie in wait for man's life. It will still creep in the dust, but without injuring man. When will all that is promised in vers. 20–25 come about? Not in the state of future blessedness, for the promises assume a continued mixture of good men and bad, and a limitation, not complete destruction, of the power of death, and therefore that the promise of xxv. 8*a* is still unfulfilled. Perhaps, then, in the millennium, for what the Apocalypse foretells of the millennium in definite form is the substance of all prophecy. But one thing tells against this view; the picture is preceded by the creation of a new heaven and new earth. The prophet, therefore, seems to mean the Jerusalem, which in the Apocalypse descends from heaven to earth after the new creation of the earthly world. But even this is not the true account. The state of the case, rather, is that the O. T. prophet is still unable to keep apart what the Apocalyptist divides into distinct periods. The O. T. teaches nothing of a blessed hereafter. Beyond the grave lies Hades. Of a heaven with happy human beings the O. T. knows nothing. Round God's throne in heaven are only angels, not human beings. And before the Risen One ascended to heaven, heaven was really not open to men; there was therefore no heavenly Jerusalem, whose descent to earth could be the object of hope. For this reason in O. T. prophecy the eschatological idea of the new cosmos certainly coalesces with the millennium. It is exactly so in lxvi. 23 f. In both cases what is described lies beyond the new creation of

heaven and earth. And in both cases the prophet does not depict the future state in colours taken from this one, but for him the final renewal of the world coalesces with its prelude here.

The Third Final Discourse, the Ninth of the Last Part, Chap. LXVI.

Exclusion of Despisers from the Coming Salvation.

Although the strain in which this discourse begins is one not hitherto raised, it still has much in common with the previous discourse. For not only is lxv. 12 repeated here in ver. 4, but the sharp line of division drawn in chap. lxv. between the servants of Jehovah and the worldly majority of the nation in regard to the approaching return to the Holy Land is also continued here. Since the idea of the return is at once connected with that of a new temple to be erected, we are not surprised after lxv. 8 ff. to find that Jehovah puts away with horror the thought of having a temple built to Him by the Israel of the exile, such as the majority were, vers. 1–4: "*Thus says Jehovah: The heaven is my throne, and the earth the footstool of my feet. What kind of a house is this which you would build for me, and what kind of a place as my resting-place? All these things my hand made; then all these things arose, says Jehovah; and upon these I look—on the afflicted one and him of contrite spirit, and who trembles at my word. He that slays a bullock is a man-slayer; he that sacrifices a sheep is a dog-strangler; he that offers a meat-offering, it is swine's blood; he that presents smoke of incense blesses idols. As they have chosen their ways, and their soul delights in their abominations, so I will choose their misfortunes, and I bring their terrors upon them, because I called and none answered, spoke and they heard not, and they did that which was evil in my eyes; and that in which I delighted not they chose.*" Hitzig thinks (and with him Knobel, Hendewerk) that the author here begins quite abruptly to oppose the purpose of building a temple to Jehovah; the builders are those who meditated remaining behind in Chaldea, and wished also to have a temple, as the Jews in Egypt at a later time

built one in Leontopolis. This view is at least better than Umbreit's, who fancies that the prophet here places us "at the spiritual elevation of Christian thought. In the new Jerusalem no temple is seen, and no sacrifice; Jehovah forbids this in strong language, putting them on a level with deadly sins." The prophet is thus involved in contradiction with himself, for in the new Jerusalem, according to chaps. lvi. and lx., there is a temple with permanent sacrifices, as even the present discourse assumes, ver. 20 ff. (cf. ver. 6), and in contradiction with the spirit of the O. T., in which the position, that one who in the new Jerusalem slays a bullock in sacrifice will be like a murderer, is simply impossible. But even the supposition, that here there is any condemnation of building a temple to Jehovah in Chaldea, is without support in the text. Nor does the question mean generally, that Jehovah does not need temple and sacrifice at all in order to look on men with favour (Klostermann), but it refers to the temple which is to take the place of the one destroyed (lxiv. 9 f.). The address, directed to the entire body ready to return, says without distinction that Jehovah, the Creator of heaven and earth, needs no house made by men's hands, then in the entire body distinguishes between the penitent and those alienated from God, rejects all worship and offering at the hand of the latter, and threatens them, vers. 3*b* and 4 dropping the address to the entire body, with just retribution. Just as in the Asaph-psalm, Ps. l., Jehovah rejects ceremonial sacrifice, because the whole animal-world, the earth and its fulness, are His property; so here He asks the whole body of exiles the question, What sort of house is this which you would build as worthy of me, and what sort of place would be worthy to be assigned me as a resting-place. Respecting מְקוֹם מְנוּחָתִי (apposition instead of genitival connection), see on xxx. 20*a*. He needs no temple, for heaven is His throne and the earth His footstool; He it is who fills all, the Creator, and therefore the Proprietor of the universe; and although His promise holds out the prospect of the rebuilding of the temple (xliv. 28, lvi. 7, lx. 7, lxii. 9), He will have none, if men think by temple-building itself to do Him service and forget His infinite majesty in petty architecture. כָּל־אֵלֶּה,

pointing as it were with the finger, as in Jer. xiv. 22 (Job xii. 9), denotes the world of the visible surrounding us; וַיִּהְיוּ has the meaning of the וַיְהִי, which followed on the creative יְהִי. In view of His creative dignity a temple is a trifle to Him; but His merciful look is directed to one of the following character (זֶה, pointing forward, as in lviii. 6), namely, to the mourners and broken-hearted and trembler at (עַל) His word, *i.e.* one filled with reverential fear of it. What the connection with ver. 3 is, Ps. l. 9 shows. As concerns the mass of the exiles, whom punishment has not humbled, and the prophets' preaching could not lead to reflection, He will have no temple or sacrifice from them. The several acts of sacrifice, described here by such detestable predicates, are those which end in the externalism of the act; whereas the spirit of the offerer is in contradiction to the desire for good typified by all sacrifices; therefore the acts are regarded as "dead works," lifeless acts of the spiritually dead. The articles in הַשּׁוֹר and הַשֶּׂה are used generically in regard to sacrificial animals; the slaying of a bullock counts as the killing (מַכֵּה with *Tsere*) of a man; the offering up (זוֹבֵחַ, like שׁוֹחֵט, of killing for the purpose of eating, here of an animal designed for Jehovah) of a sheep like the strangling (עֹרֵף, denom. of עֹרֶף) of a dog, that unclean animal; the presenter (מַעֲלֵה) of a meat-offering (as one presenting) swine's blood, *i.e.* as if he offered on the altar the blood of this impure animal; he that offers incense as אַזְכָּרָה (see on i. 13*a*; Ps. xxxviii. 1), as one blessing אָוֶן, wickedness, here as in 1 Sam. xv. 23, and in the renaming of Bethel בֵּית אָוֶן, in Hosea used of idolatry, and indeed in the concrete sense of the idols themselves, which, according to xli. 29, are אָוֶן. So already Jerome: *quasi qui benedicat idolo*, and Vitringa: *cultum exhibens vano numini.* מְבָרֵךְ, like עֹרֵף (cf. also יֹלֵד, ver. 8; נֹבֵל, xl. 7 f.), has the accent drawn back, and *Metheg* (העמדה) with *Tsere*. That here, as also in i. 11–15, sacrifices are not rejected in themselves, but the sacrifices of those whose heart is divided between Jehovah and idols, and who refuse Him the best sacrifice, Ps. li. 17 (cf. l. 23), is shown by the following correlative double sentence, 3*b*, 4, which is divided into two Masoretic verses, because their symmetry could not otherwise be secured. גַּם . . . גַּם, elsewhere "both—and," and in nega-

tive sentences "neither—nor," means here, as in Jer. li. 12, "as certainly the one as the other," therefore = "like as, so," in the sense of requiting like with like (cf. Mal. ii. 9). They have chosen their own ways, lying remote from those of Jehovah, and their soul has found pleasure, not in honouring Jehovah, but in all sorts of heathen abominations (שִׁקּוּצֵיהֶם, as frequently from Deut. xxix. 16 on). Therefore, Jehovah desires no temple built by them or with their help, and no sacrificial service restored by them; but in harmony with the law of retribution He chooses תַּעֲלֻלֵיהֶם, *vexationes eorum*, LXX, *τὰ ἐμπαίγματα αὐτῶν* (see on iii. 4) with object. suff.: fates that will play havoc with them, and their terrors, *i.e.* positions filling them with horror (מְגוּרֹת, as in Ps. xxxiv. 5), He brings upon them. שָׁמֵעוּ is the pausal form for שָׁמְעוּ.

From the majority of the whole body, godless and heathen in character, the prophet now turns to the minority, who tremble with reverence when they hear God's word. Let them hear how Jehovah will help them against their persecutors, ver. 5: "*Hear the word of Jehovah, ye who tremble at his word. Your brethren, who hate you, who push you from them for my name's sake, say: Let Jehovah gain glory, that we may behold your joy. These shall be put to shame.*" They who hate them are their own brethren, and (what aggravates the sin still more) Jehovah's name is the ground (cf. Luke xxi. 12) on which they are hated by them. According to the accents certainly (מנדיכם, *Rebhia*; שמי, *Pashta*) the meaning would be: "Your brethren say . . . for my name's sake (*i.e.* for my = our good) Jehovah will glorify Himself, then we shall behold your joy, but—they shall be put to shame." But למען שמי joined to יכבד gives only a forced meaning, which throws the relation of the clauses into confusion; whereas this relation is natural and agreeable to the context if למען שמי is joined to שֹׂנְאֵיכֶם מְנַדֵּיכֶם, as should be done according to parallels like Matt. xxiv. 9. נִדָּה, √ נד, to scare away, thrust away (Amos vi. 3 with dative of object), corresponds to *ἀφορίζειν*, Luke vi. 22 (cf. "put out of the synagogue," John xvi. 2); excommunication or inflicting the ban, נִדּוּי, goes back beyond the Herodian age (see *Eduyoth* v. 6),[1] at least to the

[1] Cf. Wiesner, *Der Bann in seiner gesch. Entwickelung auf dem Boden des Judenthums*, 1864.

post-exilian age. In the present passage, the meaning of ignominious renunciation of fellowship is enough for נִדָּה. To these followers of Jehovah, who believe the message of approaching redemption, they say in unbelieving scorn: Let Jehovah glorify Himself (properly, become glorious, *i.e.* show Himself glorious, cf. יִגְדַּל, Mal. i. 5), that we may be satiated with the sight of your joy; they regard the hope of believers as illusion, the word of the prophet as imagination. They are the same who, when the permission to return is suddenly given, will desire to go, but will not reach the goal, because they did not formerly rejoice in faith, and now, while rejoicing in the palpable, they do so in a wrong way.

The city and temple, where they would go, are to them the source of righteous doom, ver. 6: "*A sound of tumult from the temple! A sound from the temple! A sound of Jehovah who repays punishment to his foes!*" All three קוֹל, to the second of which שָׁאוֹן is supplied in thought, are exclamations (as in lii. 8); but in the third the interjectional sentence comes near to a substantive clause ("it is a sound of Jehovah"), the caller indicating here the author and cause of the uproar which is at first enigmatic. City and temple lie indeed at present in ruin; but they are the place where Jehovah will again make His abode, and are already, when promise and fulfilment touch each other, on the point of rising again. In Jer. xxv. 30 the thunder of judgment goes forth from God's heavenly dwelling-place; here as in Joel iii. 16, Amos i. 2, from His earthly dwelling-place, of which He is again taking possession, followed by the faithful remnant of His people (xl. 9, lxii. 11). Thence may be heard a dull roar (like tumult of war, xiii. 4): it is He who is throned in Zion-Jerusalem, and who rules from thence (xxxi. 9), rendering recompense to His foes. Elsewhere שִׁלֵּם (הֵשִׁיב) גְּמוּל usually means to repay what is earned (deserved), *e.g.* Ps. cxxxvii. 8 (cf. above, iii. 11); but in lix. 18 גְּמוּל was the parallel of חֵמָה, and therefore referred, as in xxxv. 4, not to what was earned by men, but to recompensing by the judge, as also in Jer. li. 6, where it is used just as absolutely. According to the context, "his foes" refers primarily to the God-estranged and yet arrogant mass of the exiles.

This mass falls a prey to judgment, and yet Zion is not

left without children and people, vers. 7–9: "*Before she travailed, she has brought forth; before pangs came on her, she was delivered of a man-child. Who has heard anything like this? Who has seen the like? Is a land born in a day? Or is a nation begotten in a moment? For Zion travailed, yea has brought forth her children. Should I bring near to the birth and not cause to bring forth? says Jehovah. Or should I, who make to bring forth, shut up? thy God has said.*" Before Zion travails, before a birth-pang (חֵבֶל, with *Tsere*) comes on her, she has already borne, brought easily into the world (הִמְלִיט, like מִלֵּט of an animal, xxxiv. 15; cf. יָסַף of an animal, Gen. viii. 12, with הוֹסִיף, *ibid.* ver. 10) a man-child. This child, of which she is delivered with such wonderful rapidity, is a whole land full of men, a whole nation. The seer exclaims in astonishment, like Zion herself in xlix. 21: "Who has heard such a thing, seen the like: is a land brought forth in a day, is a nation born in a moment? This unheard-of thing is now realized, for Zion has travailed, has also brought forth her children," not one child, but her children, a whole nation calling her mother. The *Hiph.* הוּחַל has here the meaning of the *Pul.* חוּלַל. The subj. אֶרֶץ is preceded by the predicate in the masc. as in ix. 18, Gen. xiii. 6, and frequently. Luzzatto takes אֶרֶץ, after the pattern of Num. xxxii. 5, as accus. of object; this is possible (since אֶת־אֶרֶץ was here out of place), but not syntactically necessary. The land here, as *e.g.* Judg. xviii. 30, has the sense of the population of the land. כִּי, 8*b*, assumes the suppressed middle thought, that the unexampled has now taken place; יָלְדָה follows on חָלָה with גַּם, because חִיל means properly *parturire;* יָלַד, *parere.* Ver. 9 ratifies what has been promised. Jehovah asks: "Should I bring about the breaking forth and not the birth (both *Hiph.* causative), so that the child, although it tries to pass the mouth of the womb, does not come to the light? Or should I be one to bring to the birth, and shut up, namely, the womb, so that when all that remains is the last pangs for pressing forth the child, the work of bringing forth is ineffectual?" From אֱלֹהַיִךְ we see that the questions are addressed to Zion, whose faith they are meant to strengthen. The meaning of the two clauses of the twofold question, which is disjunctive rather in form than sense, as

often, runs into one. The first clause affirms that Jehovah will bring the birth to an end; the second, that He will not at last frustrate what is nearly brought to an end: *an ego sum is qui parere faciat et (uterum) occluserim (occludam)?* יאמר (see on xl. 1) and אמר (LXX both times εἶπε) interchange in no other sense than that the former denotes God's word sounding at present, the latter God's word spoken and still echoing. The predictive message of our prophet is now so far advanced, that the future promised is at the door; the Church of the future is already like a child ripe for birth, and about to separate from the womb of Zion hitherto barren. The God, who has already prepared everything so far, will suddenly make Zion a mother; a man-child, *i.e.* a whole nation after Jehovah's heart, will suddenly lie in her lap; and this new-born Israel, not the corrupt mass, will build Jehovah a temple.

In presence of such a future, they who feel deep sympathy with Zion's present suffering are to rejoice beforehand in the change of all her suffering into glory, vers. 10, 11: "*Rejoice with Jerusalem and exult over her, all ye who love her; be exceedingly joyful with her, all ye that mourn over her, that you may suck and be satisfied with the breast of her consolations, that you may quaff and revel in the abundance of her glory.*" They who love Jerusalem (the dwelling-place of the Church, and the Church itself), who sorrow for her (הִתְאַבֵּל, sorrow inwardly, 1 Sam. xv. 35; show themselves mourners, Gen. xxxvii. 34; wear mourning, *Moëd katan* 20*b*, the ordinary prose-word; on the other hand, אָבַל, to fall into sorrow, to sorrow, occurs only in higher style), therefore the "mourners of Zion" (lvii. 18, lxi. 2 f., lx. 20), are now already to rejoice in spirit with Jerusalem and exult for her (בָּהּ), and share ecstatic rapture with her (אִתָּהּ), that when that in which they now rejoice in spirit shall be fulfilled, they may suck and be satisfied, etc. Jerusalem is thought of as a mother, and the rich, real comfort which she enjoys, li. 3, as the milk filling her breast (שֹׁד, as in lx. 16), and with which she now richly nourishes her children. The √ מץ, مصّ, in weaker form מז, مزّ, means to suck, sip, enjoy with relish. זִיז, parallel to שֹׁד (not זִיו, which none of the ancients read),

signifies waving abundance, which moves to and fro like a body of water, from זָאזָא, to move by fits and starts (Bernstein, Knobel); on the other hand, the meaning *emicans fluxus* (Schröder), *radians copia* (Kocher), rests on an erroneous combination with ציץ (cf. ضو, to pour out in the form of rays). The rendering of Aquila, ἀπὸ παντοδαπίας (after which Jerome, *ab omnimoda gloria*), looks like a derivation from the Midrash, according to which the miraculous bird זיז has its name from its varied taste (מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה), *Wayikra rabba*, c. 22. Luzzatto and Cheyne give the word the meaning "teat," Ital. *zizza*, vulgar Arabic زيزة, as Juda b. Koreish already remarks that זיזא is a foreign word for "dug," in which sense Lagarde would read בִּיז (Targum word for שֹׁד);[1] but the parallelism does not compel us to give the word a meaning which is also unsuitable to זִיז שָׂדַי, Ps. l. 11, lxxx. 14.

That the future of the Church promises such full satisfaction to those who suffered with her is now confirmed, ver. 12: "*For thus says Jehovah: Behold, I guide peace to her like a river, and the glory of the heathen like an overflowing brook, that you may suck; you shall be carried at the side, and caressed on the knees.*" Jehovah guides or turns (Gen. xxxix. 21) peace to Jerusalem, the greatest of all inward blessings, and also the most glorious of outward blessings in the possession of the heathen world (כְּבוֹד, as in lxi. 6), and both in richest abundance. There is another punctuation, which regards כְּבוֹד גּוֹיִם as the object of both clauses: like a peaceful stream (כְּנָהָר, not כַּנָּהָר, xlviii. 18), which Luzzatto rightly rejects (Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 136 s.). The correct punctuation would have been אֵלֶיהָ כנהר שלום. Blessed so abundantly with peace and good gifts, they shall suck to their hearts' content (cf. lx. 16); the figure of the new motherhood of Zion and of her children as *quasimodogeniti* still continues its influence. The members of the Church can then revel in peace and wealth, like a child on its mother's breasts; the world belongs entirely to the Church, for the Church belongs entirely to God. The

[1] See *Handschriftliche Funde*, ii. (1862) p. 5, on the Greek βυζύ, man's breast, and βυζά, woman's breast.

mention of the heathen leads on to the thought already similarly expressed in xlix. 22, lx. 4: You shall be borne on the side (arm or shoulder), and caressed on the knees (שֳׁעֳשָׁעוּ, *Pulpal* to שִׁעֲשַׁע, xi. 8), namely, of the heathen, who will vie with each other in showing you delicate attention.

The prophet now sees the members of the Church grown up from childhood to manhood; they suck like a child and are comforted like a grown-up son, ver. 13: "*Like a man whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you; and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem.*" Hitzig thinks אִישׁ not well chosen; but the prophet here intentionally refrains from saying בֵּן, xlix. 15. אִישׁ has not the feeble meaning given it by the LXX: *ὡς εἴ τινα μήτηρ παρακαλέσει*, but the prophet now views the nation, which he first regarded as children, as a man. Israel then will be like a man returned from foreign soil, escaped from captivity, full of sad remembrances, whose echoes, however, completely vanish in the mother-arms of divine love in Jerusalem, the beloved home that was the home of their thoughts even on foreign soil.

Wherever they look, nothing but joy greets them, ver. 14: "*And you shall see, and your heart shall be glad; and your bones shall flourish; and thus the hand of Jehovah makes itself known in his servants; and he rules his foes in wrath.*" They shall see and their heart shall rejoice, *i.e.* (cf. liii. 11, lx. 5) they shall enjoy a heart-cheering sight, and gain new life in such delightful surroundings. The body is like a tree, the bones like its branches; these move and stretch with the energy of renewed youth (cf. lviii. 11, *et ossa tua expedita facit*); and thus the hand of Jehovah is made known in acts (וְנוֹדְעָה, *perf. consec.*) in His servants, the hand at whose gracious touch vernal life awakes both in a spiritual and bodily sense. Thus it happens to the surviving remnant of Israel, whereas Jehovah deals fierce wrath to His foes. The first אֶת has the force of a preposition, as in Ps. lxvii. 2: in His servants, so that they come to know it; the second אֶת is accusative, for זָעַם (to deal angrily, passionately with[1]) is

[1] The Arabic زَغْمٌ denotes, according to the Turkish Kâmûs, the dull growl of the camel, especially when provoked; and next, the speech of a man excited with passion (مُتَغَضِّب).

joined either with עַל or (as in Zech. i. 12; Mal. i. 4) with accus. of object; to take both את according to the phrase עשׂה טובה (רעה) את (עם) is contrary to usage.

With the thought, "He rules His foes in wrath," the discourse takes a new turn. The wrathful doom, which paves the way of redemption and ensures its permanence, is more fully described, ver. 15: "*For behold, Jehovah—in fire he will come, and his chariots are like the whirlwind, to deal out his wrath with burning; and his menace goes forth in flames of fire.*" Jehovah comes בָּאֵשׁ, *in igne* (Jerome; on the other hand, LXX says ὡς πῦρ, כָּאֵשׁ), since it is the fiery side of His glory in which He appears; and fire streams from Him, which is primarily a stirring up of the destructive forces within the Godhead (x. 17, xxx. 27; Ps. xviii. 8), and passes into the form of cosmical forces of destruction (xxix. 6, xxx. 30; Ps. xviii. 13). He is compared to a commander, careering on rushing war-chariots, which sweep everything out of the path, and crush to pieces everything falling under the wheels (מַרְכְּבֹתָיו, as in Hab. iii. 8). The same substantive clause, וכסופה מרכבתיו, occurs also in Jer. iv. 13, not, however, of Jehovah, but of the Chaldean, where the language goes on in a passage taken from Hab. i. 8. In the following sentence of purpose: לְהָשִׁיב בְּחֵמָה אַפּוֹ, we must not translate: "to breathe out His wrath with burning heat" (Hitzig), for השׁיב may indeed mean *respirare*, but not *exspirare* (in which sense it would be better with Lowth to read לְהַשִּׁיב from נשׁב); nor *ut iram suam furore sedet* (Meier), for even in Job ix. 13, Ps. lxxviii. 38, השׁיב אפו does not mean to still or cool His wrath, but to turn it aside or withdraw it; nor, "in order to apply His wrath with burning heat" (Gesen. Knob.), for in this sense השׁיב must have had an object-reference with לְ, אֶל (Job xv. 13), עַל (i. 25). השׁיב has rather the meaning *reddere* in the sense of *retribuere* (Arabic أثاب, synon. שִׁלֵּם), and "to deal out or pay back His wrath" is = השׁיב נָקָם, Deut. xxxii. 41, 43; אַפּוֹ is object, and בחמה, *in fervore*, a secondary qualification (cf. xlii. 25). The repaying of the wrath deserved, and His rebuke (גְּעָרָה) going forth in flames of fire, are correlative thoughts.

Jehovah appears with these warlike terrors, because He

appears in order to a great judgment, ver. 16: "*For by means of fire Jehovah holds judgment, and by means of his sword with all flesh; and great is the multitude of the pierced of Jehovah.*" Fire as an instrument of executing judgment points to destructive physical events, and the sword to destructive historical events; nevertheless all the emphasis lies here, as in xxxiv. 5 f. (cf. xxvii. 1), on Jehovah's personal action. The parallelism in 16*a* is progressive; נִשְׁפַּט אֶת, to enter into judgment with one, as in Ezek. xxxviii. 22, Jer. ii. 35, cf. Joel iii. 2, 2 Chron. xxii. 8, μετά, Luke xi. 31 f. Zeph. ii. 12 is a reminiscence of 16*b*, not the only one of this discourse in that prophet.

The judgment here predicted is a general one, and falls, not only on the heathen, but also on the mass of Israel, who have fallen away from their gracious election and become like the heathen, ver. 17: "*They who consecrate and purify themselves for the gardens after one in the midst, who eat flesh of swine and filth and field-mouse,—these all come to an end together, says Jehovah.*" First they are characterized, then the judgment pronounced follows as the predicate of the sentence. They submit to heathen rites of lustration, and that with truly bigoted thoroughness, as shown by the combining of the two synonyms הַמִּתְקַדְּשִׁים and הַמִּטַּהֲרִים (*Hithpa.* with assimilated ת), of which one applies to religious, the other to physical self-preparation. The אֶל of אֶל־הַגַּנּוֹת points to the purpose or object: their intention therein being directed to the gardens as places of worship (i. 29, lxv. 23), *ad sacra in lucis obcunda* (Schelling). In the *Chethîb* אַחַר אחד בַּתָּוֶךְ, the אֶחָד (for which also אַחַר, the construct form, may be read, although the two pathachs of the text belong to the *Kerî*) is the hierophant, who prescribes the rites of worship to the laity; and since he stands בַּתָּוֶךְ (as in Num. xxxv. 5 and often) in the midst of the worshipping crowd who surround him, אַחַר cannot be understood locally, as if the *servûm imitatorum pecus* formed his tail; rather, he who stands in their midst prescribes the rites to them, and they follow him, imitate him. On the other hand, the *Kerî* אַחַת (which the Cod. Babyl. has in the text) starts from the supposition that אחד must mean the idol, and substitutes the femin. relating to אֲשֵׁרָה (Aben Ezra), so that בתוך would refer, not to the middle of the worshipping

congregation, but to the middle of the gardens. In this case אַחַד has the same meaning as in הלך אחרי אלהים אחרים (therefore as to sense = לְכַבּוֹד), and is אחת, which, according to Cheyne, is also equivalent to אחד, "a contemptuous or evasive appellation" of the idol worshipped. An attempt has been made to find in אחד, as well as in אחת, the actual name of the idol, allusion being made since the days of Scaliger and Grotius in favour of אחד to the Phoenician Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν in Philo Byblius in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 10. 1, and to the Assyrian sun-god *Adad*, of which Macrobius says, *Saturn.* i. 23: *Ejus nominis interpretatio significat unus* (חדחד? *DMZ.* xxxi. 734); but *Adad* is the Syrian הדד (attested by the Assyrians as a Western name of the god of thunder, *Rammân*, and that in the form *Addu*); no divine name אחד is in evidence.[1] Nor is it correct to say that אחד points to Adonis (Tammuz) as the only One, the greatly-beloved (as Lagarde supposes, *Hieronymi quaestiones Hebr.* p. 121); Cheyne rightly remarks that in this case we should at least expect יחיד (Zech. xii. 10) instead of אחד. There is no ground at all for the combination suggested by Clericus of אַחַת with *Hecate*, who certainly seems to have been worshipped by the Harranians as an evil goddess (Chwolsohn, ii. 31), but not under this name, and not in gardens (which does not accord with her character). We therefore continue, with Baudissin, to understand אחד of the hierophant, mystagogue, coryphaeus. The ancient versions are confused, and nothing is to be learnt from them. The vocalizing בַּתָּוֶךְ (not בְּתוֹךְ, Symm. ἐν μέσῳ ἐσθιόντων) is correct; אֹכְלֵי begins the further description of those who are so zealous for heathen ways. There is no reference to the worshipping of the animals mentioned (cf., on the other hand, Ezek. viii. 10 f., and Smend there),[2] but to eating them. Whilst readily adopting heathen rites, they set themselves in the boldest way above Jehovah's law, eating the flesh of swine (lxv. 4), and loathsome creeping things (שֶׁקֶץ, a technical phrase of Leviticus, here alluding to Lev. xi.), which are also

[1] See Baudissin, *Studien*, i. 113–117, and the supplement thereto in Schürer's *Lit.-Zeitung*, 1877, col. 412.

[2] That proper names like חזיר, עכבור, etc., point back to primitive animal-worship (animal-fetichism or animal-totemism), is a bold hypothesis of W. Robertson Smith's, which cannot yet be accepted as proved.

forbidden (Lev. xi. 41), especially the mouse, עַכְבָּר (Lev. xi. 29), according to Jerome and Zwingli the dormouse (*glis esculentus*), which the Talmud also mentions under the name עכברא דברא (wild mouse) as a dainty for epicures, and which was fattened by the Romans in special conservatories (*gliraria*).[1] However inward and spiritual the view taken of the law in these discourses, they still regard the regulations about food, as we see here, as inviolable. As long as the educative limits set up between Israel and the idolatrous world exist, all who wilfully break through them will fall into destruction (סוף, to pass away, be lost).

Prophecy now plainly describes the course which Israel's history will take. It is the same as the one described by Paul, the apostle-prophet, Rom. chaps. ix.–xi., as the many-winding but adorable path of the divine mercy to its comprehensive end. A general judgment is the turning-point, ver. 18: "*And I,—their works and their thoughts. It comes to pass that all nations and tongues are gathered together, that they come and see my glory.*" If we wish to avoid the ellipsis in ver. 18*a*, the best explanation is Hitzig's: "as to me, their works and thoughts are come, *i.e.* are revealed (ἥκασιν, Susanna, ver. 52; cf. with the construction, Prov. xv. 22; Jer. iv. 14, li. 29), so that I will assemble." But this tearing asunder of בָּאָה לְקַבֵּץ is improbable; also, according to the accents, the first clause extends to ומחשבתיהם (with the twin-accent *Zakeph-Munach* instead of *Zakeph* and *Metheg*), after which the second clause begins with באה, which by definite rules can have no other disjunctive than *Zakeph gadhol* (see *e.g.* Num. xiii. 27). The text is apparently corrupt (Klosterm. Nägelsb. Reuss). If the aposiopesis is not designed, we must not insert יָדַעְתִּי (Targ., Syriac, Saadia, with Gesen. *et al.*), but, which better accords with the strength of feeling, אֶפְקֹד, *puniam* (Dachsel, Meier): And I, their works and thoughts—(I shall know how to punish). The thoughts stand after the works, because the special reference is to their plan against Jerusalem; this is the first work to be carried out, which Jehovah will turn into judgment upon them. The passage might now continue with כִּי מִשְׁפָּטִי, as in the dependent passage, Zeph.

[1] See Brillat-Savarin's *Physiologie des Geschmacks*, by C. Vogt, p 253.

iii. 8; but the emotional rush of the language proceeds: בָּאָה (rightly accented as partic.) is = בָּאָה (בָּא) הָעֵת, Jer. li. 33; Ezek. vii. 7, 12 (cf. הַבָּאִים, xxvii. 6); still nothing need be supplied, since באה may signify, even by itself, in the neuter sense *venturum* (*futurum*) *est*, Ezek. xxxix. 8. "Nations and tongues" (as in Gen. x.) is no tautology, since differences of nation and language greatly diverge in the course of history. All nations and all human communities of like speech Jehovah gathers together (including the apostates of Israel, cf. Zech. xiv. 14): they shall come, namely, as already described in Joel iii. 9 ff., impelled by enmity against Jerusalem, but not without Jehovah's superintendence, who makes even evil subservient to His plan, and shall see His glory, not His glory manifested in grace (Ewald, Umbreit, Stier, Hahn), but His majestic manifestation of judgment, by which, entangled as they are in their coil of sinful purposes, they will be overcome and brought to nought.

But a remnant escapes, which Jehovah uses to inaugurate the conversion of the heathen world and the restoration of Israel, vers. 19, 20: "*And I set a sign upon them, and send away those that escape of them to the heathen, to Tarshish, Phul, and Lud, those that draw the bow, Tubal and Javan, the distant islands, which have not heard my name, nor seen my glory; and they shall proclaim my glory among the heathen. And they shall bring your brethren out of all heathen nations, an offering to Jehovah, on horses, and on chariots, and on litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain, to Jerusalem, says Jehovah, like as the children of Israel bring the meat-offering in a clean vessel to the house of Jehovah.*" Most expositors understand "I set a sign on them" according to Ex. x. 2: Jehovah sets a miraculous sign on the assembled host of nations of such a kind as He put on the Egyptians at the time of the exodus; Hitzig refers "sign" directly to the dreadful miracle of the battle, in which Jehovah fights against them with fire and sword; cf. the parallel in matter, Joel iii. 14–16; Zeph. iii. 8; Ezek. xxxviii. 18 ff.; Zech. xiv. 12 ff. But since, in keeping with the preceding threat, "they see my glory" affirms that they shall witness the judicial revelation of Jehovah's glory, "I set a sign on them" in that retributive sense would more suitably precede than follow the

words "they see my glory." Moreover, "I set a sign on them" would be a colourless description of that which befalls the assembled host of nations,—a frame without a picture. For this reason what comes next is to be taken (with Ewald, Umbreit) as the picture for this frame. The "sign" consists in the unexpected, surprising circumstance—considering the general slaughter—that a remnant is spared. Fugitives will carry to the far-off heathen world the tidings of Jehovah,—the God who is revealed in judgment and grace,—tidings founded on their own experience. It is evident from this, that despite the "all nations and tongues," the nations assembled against Jerusalem and perishing in this enterprise are not to be taken as all without exception, for the prophet can here mention many nations by name who lie outside the range of these great events. *Tarshish*, as the opposite point to Ophir, represents the extreme west, where the name of the Spanish colony, *Ταρτησσός*, coincides with it in sound; the Middle Ages gave this name to Tunis. Instead of "Phut and Lud," we should perhaps, with LXX (*Φοὺδ καὶ Λούδ*), read פוט וְלוּד (*Phut* and *Lud*), as in Ezek. xxvii. 10, xxx. 5; Jer. xlvi. 9; Wetzstein (*Comm.* 3rd ed. 720) conjectures פוּן ולוּד (*Phun* and *Lud*), Poeni (Phoenicians) and Lydians. The epithet, "drawers of the bow," which the *Phut* also bear in Jeremiah, suits the *Phut*, since this nation, in old Egyptian *Phet* (Phaiat), is represented ideographically on the monuments by nine bows. And since *Lud* here scarcely means the Lydians of Asia Minor, who, in a book describing prophetically the victorious course of Cyrus, would not be mentioned among the nations of the extreme horizon, but the North-African *Lud*, which Ezekiel (xxx. 5) names among the nations under Egyptian rule, and in xxvii. 10 among the auxiliaries of the Tyrians, and Jeremiah (xlvi. 9) describes along with *Phut* as armed with bows; *Phut* and *Lud* form in this respect also a suitable pair, whereas *Phul* does not occur elsewhere. The Targum represents it by פּוּלָאֵי, *i.e.* (according to Bochart) dwellers in *Φιλαί*, an island of Upper Egypt, which Strabo calls (xvii. 1. 49) "a common abode of Ethiopians and Egyptians;"[1] in any case more suitable than Apulia (certainly called *Phul* by the mediaeval Jews), which is meant here according to Knobel's *Völker-*

[1] See Parthey's treatise, *De Philis Insula.*

tafel, p. 94, or Lower Italy. *Tubal* are the Tibarenes on the south-east coast of the Black Sea, the neighbours of the Moschi (מֶשֶׁךְ), together with whom they are often mentioned in Ezekiel (xxvii. 13, xxxviii. 2 f., xxxix. 1).[1] *Javan* is a designation of the Greek nation after the original tribe of the Ἰάϝονες. The direction of the look is westward; the "distant islands" are the islands rising out of the great western sea (Mediterranean) and the coast-lands projecting into it. To all these nations, who have hitherto known nothing of the God of revelation, either by hearing His word or by their own experience, Jehovah sends fugitives from the general judgment; and these proclaim there His glory, the judicial manifestation of which they have just themselves witnessed. A judicial intervention of God will, at last, determine the entrance of the fulness of the Gentiles into God's kingdom; and this entrance of the fulness of the Gentiles will then lead to the restoring of the diaspora of Israel, since the Gentiles, won to Jehovah by the testimony of these saved ones, "will bring your brethren out of all nations." Among the means of assistance צָב means here, as in Num. vii. 3, the litter as floating only a little above the ground (elsewhere like ضَبّ, "the lizard," from ضَبَّ, *adhaerere terrae*),[2] and כִּרְכָּרוֹת, a species of camel (she-camel), from the rhythm of its step (√ כר, of circular or alternating movement); respecting פְּרָדִים, mules, so called as fleet runners, see Friedr. Delitzsch's *Prolegomena*, p. 94 f. The address is directed, as in ver. 5, to the diaspora. The prophet assumes that his countrymen are scattered among all nations to the farthest verge of the horizon. As matter of fact, the commercial journeys, common since Solomon's days, as far as India and Spain, the selling of Jewish captives as slaves to Phoenicians, Edomites, and Greeks in the days of King Joram (Obad. ver. 20; Joel iii. 6; Amos i. 6), the Assyrian deportations, free emigrations, as of those who remained in the land to Egypt after Jerusalem's overthrow,—

[1] *Paradies*, p. 250.

[2] The LXX translates σκιαδίων, *i.e.* perhaps: palanquins. Jerome remarks on this: *quae nos dormitoria interpretari possumus vel basternas* (a word connected with the name of the Bastarnians, as Ἀμαξίβιοι).

had already scattered the Israelites over the whole world (see on xlix. 12). Zeph. iii. 10 is an abbreviation of ver. 20: "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia" (from Isa. xviii.) "they shall bring my worshippers, the daughter of my scattered ones, as an offering to me." It is the diaspora of Israel which there bears the suggestive name עֲתָרַי בַּת־פּוּצַי. The figure suggested in מִנְחָתִי we find expanded here in the Book of Isaiah: "as the children of Israel are wont to bring" (imperf., as in vi. 2) "the meat-offering," (*i.e.* that which is to come on my altar as such: wheaten flour, incense, oil, first-fruits of corn, etc.) "in a clean vessel to the house of Jehovah;" for in keeping with the point of comparison the reference is not to offering in the temple, but to bringing to the temple.

The mincha is the diaspora of Israel, and the heathen who have become vessels of honour, correspond to the "clean vessel." Incorporated in Jehovah's priestly Church (lxi. 6), the heathen are not now excluded even from priestly and Levitical service in the temple, ver. 21: "*And from them I will also add to the priests, to the Levites, says Jehovah.*" Hitzig, Knobel, Cheyne, Duhm *et al.* refer "from them" to the Israelites who have been brought home; if ver. 22 is taken as confirming that which comes immediately before, it seems to favour this view. But in this case something would be promised which needs no promise at all, since the official fitness of the born Cohen and Levite is not extinguished by foreign sojourn, and the magnificent confirmation of ver. 22 would be out of proportion to the thing confirmed. But if the meaning were this, that Jehovah would take priests and Levites to Himself out of those brought home without regard to Aaronic priestly descent,—or, as Jewish expositors interpret, despite the fact that their priestly character had fallen into oblivion in heathen surroundings (*Mechilta* בא, chap. xii.), this should have been expressly said; moreover, the confirmation would also then be out of keeping. Therefore, "from them" refers to the converted heathen, by whom the Israelites were brought back to their home, and the confirmation of ver. 22 applies to ver. 20 along with ver. 21. Even Jewish expositors cannot avoid this impression of "from them," but seek to set aside the variance with the Mosaic

law in this way,—they understand by the heathen original Israelites of Aaronic and Levitical descent, whom Jehovah will pick out (Rashi, D. Kimchi *et al.*). Friedländer and Ottensosser rightly: "from them, *i.e.* of the heathen bringing them, He will take for priests and Levites, for all are saints of Jehovah, on which account He has just compared them to a clean vessel, and the Israelites offered by their hand to the mincha." The majority of expositors do not even raise the question, in what sense לַכֹּהֲנִים לַלְוִיִּם with the art. is used. But Joseph Kimchi interprets: לצורך הכהנים, to serve the priests, the Levites, so that they (the converted heathen) take the place of the Gibeonites (cf. Zech. xiv. 21*b*), and therefore of the former Caananite נתינים (see Köhler, *Nachexil. Proph.* iii. p. 39). But this explanation is an attempt to confine the prediction within the limits of the law, which it goes beyond. Nevertheless, according to the present pointing, the rendering is not, "also from them I will take for priests, for Levites," *i.e.* take those whom I make priests, Levites. So Bredenkamp, Baudissin,[1] but ignoring the article; for we say לָקַח לְאִשָּׁה, not לָאִשָּׁה; cases like xxix. 17, xxxii. 15, where, against expectation, ל is pointed with article, are not of the same kind. The article presupposes the existence of priests, Levites, to which Jehovah adds some from the heathen. לכהנים ללוים does not mean, "to the Levitical priests," which would have required לכהנים הלוים; which, however, is here unsuitable, since, as Bredenkamp remarks, the idea "Levitical priests" does not get rid of the genealogical element. Were the reading וְללוים original, it would be undeniable that the prophet, like Ezekiel, distinguishes priests and Levites as classes.[2] But the better attested reading is לכהנים ללוים as an asyndeton; and even on this reading it is just as possible that the prophet distinguishes, according to the standpoint of the priest-codex, priests and Levites as a narrower and wider circle of the clerus (cf. the asyndeton, xxxviii. 14), as that,

[1] *Das altest. Priesterthum* (1889), p. 243 f.

[2] LXX, Targ. Jerome translate, "and to the Levites;" and this reading really has imposing attestation (see Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests*, pp. 205–213); but in the Babyl. Cod. of the prophets of the year 916 the ו is erased (by Sheva-stroke above), and on the margin ל' קרחי (*i.e.* here only without ו) is noted. So according to the Masora.

according to the Deuteronomic standpoint, he appends ללוים as a more precise definition to לכהנים, *i.e.* to the Levites with priestly authority (cf. the asyndeton, Josh. viii. 24, and also Gen. xix. 9; 2 Sam. xviii. 29; Ps. lxxiv. 14); the former seems to me the more probable, as also to Cheyne and Bredenkamp (see p. 360 of his commentary). When the heathen are converted, Israel will be brought back; then the temple-service will require a numerous clerus, and Jehovah will supplement the existing one, not only from מובאים, but also from the מביאים. The same Spirit who broke through the legal limits in chap. lvi. moves here also. Geiger[1] finds in this the spirit of reform; we find in it the spirit of nascent Christianity.

The confirmation now following refers to the entire preceding promise, inclusive of ver. 21, the election of Israel, as Hofmann rightly observes, being equally well attested by the two facts, that the heathen vie together in bringing back the diaspora of Israel to their home, and that it is the highest honour and reward for some of their number to take part in the priestly and Levitical service of the temple, ver. 22: "*For as the new heaven and the new earth, which I am about to make, continue before me, says Jehovah, so your race and your name shall continue.*" The bulk of the heathen world and also of Israel perish, but Israel's name and seed, *i.e.* Israel as a nation with the same ancestors and an independent name, remains for ever (cf. Jer. xxxi. 35 f., xxxiii. 20–26), as the new heaven and the new earth. And just because Israel's calling in regard to the heathen world is now fulfilled and all things are made new, the old fencing off of Israel from the heathen now comes to an end; and what qualifies for priestly and Levitical service in God's temple is no longer mere natural descent, but inner nobility. The new heaven and the new earth, God's approaching creation, exist eternally before Him (לְפָנַי, cf. xlix. 16); for the old ones pass away because they do not please God, but the former please Him and are as eternal as His love, whose work and image they are.

The prophet thus represents to himself the Church of the

[1] In the essay, "Maleachi und der jüngere Jesaias," in *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, vi.

future on a new earth and under a new heaven; but he is unable to represent the eternal in the form of eternity; he represents it to himself merely as an unending continuation of temporal history, ver. 23: "*And it shall come to pass: from new moon to new moon and from Sabbath to Sabbath all flesh shall come to worship before me, says Jehovah.*" Thus, new moons and Sabbaths are still observed; and as once all Israel assembled on the three great feasts, so now all flesh does so every new moon and every Sabbath. דַּי (construct דֵּי) signifies what is sufficient, then also what is abundant (see xl. 16), the comely and befitting, whence *e.g.* כְּדֵי, sum-total of sufficiency, ὅσον ἀρκεῖ, *quantum satis*, so that thus מִדֵּי חֹדֶשׁ (שַׁבָּת) means, "from when (or, as often as) what pertains to the new moon (Sabbath) comes about" (cf. xxviii. 19). If בחדש (בשבת) is added, בְּ is that of exchange: as often as new moon (Sabbath) for new moon (Sabbath) is due, *i.e.* is to happen, 1 Sam. vii. 16; Zech. xiv. 16; 2 Chron. xxiv. 5 (cf. 1 Sam. i. 7; 1 Kings v. 25; 1 Chron. xxvii. 1: year by year, month by month; Aramaic עִדָּן בְּעִדָּן, 1 Sam. xxvii. 7; Gen. xxiv. 55; Onkelos). When it is said, as here, בְּחָדְשׁוֹ (בְּשַׁבַּתּוֹ), the meaning is: as often as it has to happen on one new moon (Sabbath) after the one preceding it, *i.e.* in the periodical succession of one upon another.

The prophet now concludes the third Part of his discourses with a ghastly illustration of the closing idea of the first two Parts. They who go at that time as pilgrims to Jerusalem on every new moon and Sabbath see there with their own eyes the fearful punishment of the rebellious, ver. 24: "*And they go forth and look on the corpses of the men who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, nor their fire be quenched; and they become a horror to all flesh.*" The perfects are *perf. consec.* regulated by the preceding יָבוֹא; וְיָצְאוּ refers to going forth from the city. In ver. 18, the prophet implicitly predicted that in the last days the whole multitude of Jerusalem's foes would gather against it in order to get it into their power. Hence it comes about that the neighbourhood of Jerusalem becomes such a theatre of God's retributive judgment. רָאָה with בְּ (=في) always denotes a looking that adheres to its object, lingers on it; here with

thankful feeling of satisfaction at God's righteous rule and their own merciful escape. דֵּרָאוֹן (cf. دَرَأَ, to push, repel, ذَارَ, *fut. a.* to disgust) is the strongest expression for *abominatio;* only again in Dan. xii. 2. The prophet by his own mode of description precludes the possibility of our conceiving what is described in literal reality. Whereas we are forced to transfer what is set forth in ver. 23, in accordance with Zech. xiv. 16, to the yet unglorified earth of those days, 24*b*, on the other hand, looks like eternal punishment raised above the conditions of temporality. The prophet blends temporal and eternal. This world and the next coalesce to his view; the new creating of the heaven and the earth does not in his view go beyond the horizon of the present life; for the separation of what lies on this side the gulf of the "regeneration" and what lies beyond we are remitted to the New Testament. The latter knows of a new setting-up of the present Jerusalem after the "times of the Gentiles" (Luke xxi. 24) have run their course, and of a glorious temporal "restoration" of Israel (Acts i. 6 f.); but it knows also of a worm that dies not and a fire that is unquenchable beyond the history of time, Mark ix. 43 f. The vision of the matter *sub specie aeternitatis* faintly dawns already in the Apocrypha, Wisd. vii. 17; Judith xvi. 17.

The public reading of the synagogue repeats once more after ver. 24, on account of its terrible import, the encouraging words of ver. 23, "in order to conclude with words of comfort" (לחתום בדברי נחמות). The Masoretic *siman* (mark, *vox memorialis*) for the four books, in which, on account of the awful import of the last verse, the preceding one is afterwards repeated, is ית"קק, the initial letters of Yesaia, Terêsar, Kînoth, Koheleth.

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